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CONTENTS OF No. LXIII.

	PAGE
ART. I.—SALON LIFE—MADAME RECAMIER, . . .	1
Souvenirs et Correspondance tirés des papiers de Madame Récamier. Paris: Michel Levy.	
ART. II.—COAST DEFENCES AND RIFLE CORPS, . . .	26
The Military Opinions of General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B. Collected and Edited by Captain Hon. George Wrottesley, Royal Engineers, A.D.C.	
ART. III.—ERASMUS AS A SATIRIST, . . .	49
ΜΟΡΙΑΣ ΕΥΚΩΜΙΟΝ. Stultitiæ Laus. Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami declamatio, 1518. Erasmi Opera Omnia IV., 380–503.	
Colloquia Familiaria Auctore Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo. 1524. Erasmi Opera Omnia I., 626–894.	
Erasmus Roterodamus De Utilitate Colloquiorum ad Lectorem. 1527. Erasmi Opera Omnia I., 901–908.	
ART. IV.—THE SILENCE OF SCRIPTURE, . . .	68
The Silence of Scripture. A Lecture by the Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D. London.	
Essays on Certain Peculiarities of the Writings of St Paul. By R. Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London. 1858.	
ART. V.—AUSTRIA, . . .	90
Secret History of the Austrian Government, and of its Systematic Persecutions of Protestants. By Alfred Michiels. London. 1859.	
ART. VI.—FORM AND COLOUR, . . .	126
On Colour, and on the Necessity for a General Diffusion of Taste among all Classes; with Remarks on laying out Dressed or Geometrical Gardens. By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.G.S., M.R.S.L., M.R.I.B.A., etc. London. 1858.	
ART. VII.—WESLEYAN METHODISM, . . .	159
The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.; with Notices of Contemporary Persons and Events. By his Son, Thomas Percival Bunting. London. 1859.	
ART. VIII.—CEYLON AND THE SINGHALESE, . . .	188
Ceylon: An Account of the Island—Physical, Historical, and Topographical. By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K.C.S., LL.D., etc. London. 1859.	

	PAGE
ART. IX.—PROFESSOR GEORGE WILSON,	223
Works of George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.S.A., Regius Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland, and Professor of Technology in the University of Edin- burgh.	
Chemistry in Chambers' Educational Course.	
The Life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish.	
Life of Dr John Reid.	
Researches on Colour Blindness.	
The Five Gateways of Knowledge.	
Electricity and the Electric Telegraph.	
On Isomeric Transmutation.	
Experimental Demonstrations of the Existence of Haloid Salts in Solution.	
On the Employment of Oxygen as a Means of Resuscita- tion in Asphyxia, and otherwise as a Remedial Agent.	
Account of a Repetition of several of Dr Samuel Brown's Processes for the Conversion of Carbon into Silicon.	
On a Simple Mode of constructing Skeleton Models to illustrate the Systems of Crystallography.	
On Dr Wollaston's Argument from the Limitation of the Atmosphere as to the Finite Divisibility of Matter.	
On the Applicability of the Electro-Magnetic Bell to the Trial of Experiments on the Conduction of Sound, espe- cially of Gases. (<i>And other Works.</i>)	
ART. X.—FOSSIL FOOTPRINTS,	247
Ichnology of New England. A Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, especially its Fossil Foot- marks. By Edward Hitchcock, Professor in Amherst College, Boston.	
ART. XI.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	264
1. Mrs W. Fison's Handbooks for the Advancement of Science.	
2. Obras Completas de Fernan Caballero.	
3. La Bretagne Ancienne.	
4. Histoire des Jesuites. Composee sur Documents Authen- tiques en Partie Inedits.	
5. Macpherson's Philological System Delineated; or, the Japhetic Languages derived from the Hebrew.	
6. Bryce's Geology of Clydesdale and Arran.	
7. Page's Handbook of Geological Terms.	
8. Buchanan on the Book of Ecclesiastes: Its Meaning and its Lessons.	
9. Revival Literature.	
10. Present State of the Longitude Question.	

CONTENTS OF No. LXIV.

	PAGE
ART. I.—REDDING'S REMINISCENCES—THOMAS CAMP-	
BELL,	287
Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell. By Cyrus Redding.	
ART. II.—QUAKERISM—PAST AND PRESENT,	321
Quakerism, Past and Present. By John S. Rowntree. Post 8vo. Prize Essay.	
The Peculium. By Thomas Hancock. Post 8vo. Prize Essay.	
A Fallen Faith : being a Historical, Religious, and Socio- political Sketch of the Society of Friends. By Edgar Sheppard, M.D. Crown 8vo.	
The Society of Friends : an Inquiry into the Causes of its Weakness as a Church. By J. J. Fox, Fellow of the Statistical Society. (<i>And other Works.</i>)	
ART. III.—SIR HENRY LAWRENCE,	345
Essays, Military and Political. Written in India by the late Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, Chief Commis- sioner in Oude, and Provisional Governor-General of India.	
General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the Years 1850–51.	
ART. IV.—AUSTRALIAN ETHNOLOGY,	366
Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines ; together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices. By Authority: John Ferris, Government Printer, Melbourne.	
ART. V.—POEMS BY HEINRICH HEINE,	389
The Poems of Heine, complete : Translated in the Original Metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life. By E. A. Bowring.	
ART. VI.—CHURCH AND STATE,	416
Church and State ; the Spiritual and the Civil Courts. Fragment on the Church. By Thomas Arnold, D.D.	
The State in its relation with the Church. By W. E. Gladstone, Esq.	
The Cardross Case. Proceedings at the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.	

	PAGE
ART. VII.—THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES,	455
<p>On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races, in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.L.S., Author of Journal of "Researches during H. M. S. Beagle's Voyage round the World."</p>	
ART. VIII.—BRITISH LIGHTHOUSES,	487
<p>A Narrative of the Building, and a Description of the Construction of the Eddystone Lighthouse with Stone. By John Smeaton, Civil Engineer, F.R.S.</p> <p>Account of the Bell Rock Lighthouse. By Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer.</p> <p>A Rudimentary Treatise on the History, Construction, and Illumination of Lighthouses. By Alan Stevenson, etc.</p> <p>Treatise on Burning Instruments, in which Lenses are built up of Separate Zones and Segments of Zones. By David Brewster, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edinburgh Encyclopædia."</p> <p>Memoire sur un Nouveau Systeme D'Eclairage des Phares. Par M. A. Fresnel.</p> <p>On the Construction of Polyzonal Lenses for Lighthouses, etc. "Edin. Phil. Journal." By David Brewster, LL.D., F.R.S.</p> <p>Account of a New System of Illumination for Lighthouses. By David Brewster, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edin. Trans." (<i>And other Works.</i>)</p>	
ART. IX.—THE STATE OF EUROPE,	520
ART. X.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS,	545
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dr Dawson's Archaia. 2. Pre-Adamite Man. 3. Curtis on Farm Insects. 4. The Aquarian Naturalist. 5. Popular Natural History. 6. Ranke—Englische Geschichte. 7. Amari—Gioberti. 8. Du Cellier—Classes Laborieuses. 9. De Villahermosa a China. 10. Le Chancelier D'Aguesseau. 	

THE
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

FEBRUARY, 1860.

ART. I.—*Souvenirs et Correspondance tirés des papiers de Madame Récamier.* 2 Vols. Paris : Michel Levy.

IT has been a constant subject of regret with men of the world in our own country, that the social habits of France in former times (namely, the establishment of social intercourse upon intellectual bases) should never have been introduced into England. From Horace Walpole to Lord Holland, you meet everywhere with the strong feeling of French superiority, as far as the organization of society is concerned. It is quite clear that we envy the French their *salons*, and that directly an Englishman ceases to be an irreclaimable “sporting character,” or to be riveted to the mere drudgery of political life, he is ready at once to exclaim, “Why don’t we talk like the French? why are we so utterly ignorant of what they term *la causerie*?”

Now, at the same time with this, may be observed in France the disposition to cast a regretful, retrograde glance upon society as it once existed in that country, and to say with a sigh, “The real genuine *salon* exists no longer—it is extinct.” From the sadness with which Frenchmen speak of the decline and fall of *salon* life, and from the regret expressed by Englishmen whom we have been taught to regard as of superior intelligence, that no such thing could be established in our own country, we might reasonably infer that the Paris *salon* was a social institution of importance and undeniable worth.

That the “*salon*,” such as it was constituted in France from Madame de Rambouillet down to Madame Récamier, was one of the chief springs whereby the political and social machine was set working, is not a fact to be disputed; and therefore the institution—“*salon*,” is of importance. But from its *de facto* importance to its actual worth, and to the admission of its beneficial

influence, there is some distance. We do not think it easy to exaggerate the mere importance of salon life, as it once was, in France. The questions that depend immediately upon it are no less than these: the superiority of domestic over social influences, and *vice versa*; the more or less active power of women in public affairs; the respect for intelligence, or the subserviency to wealth; the substitution of coterieism for public opinion, and several others we could name. Because all these questions bear upon the morals of a nation, and have mainly contributed to fashion the public life of France to what we now see, we maintain that *le salon*, as the term was understood some years back by our neighbours, is a thing of very great importance, and ought to be studied by all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of French civilization as it has been and is.

Whether our inability ever to found the *salon*-sovereignty in our own society be, or be not, to be regretted,—that, we take to belong to a different order of topics, and to be subject to a different system of discussion.

The first *salon* established in France (for in social life especially Paris is France) was that of Madame de Rambouillet in 1620; the last one was that of Madame Récamier. What precedes the former, and what follows the latter, are equally without action, and undeserving of note. The great Revolution of '89-'93 has passed between the two epochs, and has torn up out of the political soil all the roots wherefrom other nations draw their political existence. A crown has been shattered, a *noblesse* suppressed, and the most insane theories set up in lieu of the humbler devices of practical experience. Yet between the *Hotel Rambouillet* and the *Abbaye aux Bois* there is an astonishing likeness; and assuredly, if any very considerable changes have been wrought by events upon the mass of the French race by the century and a half which extends from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the nineteenth age, such changes have not told upon the two types of female supremacy denominated la Marquise de Rambouillet, and Madame Récamier. These two women are terribly alike,—terribly, for they ought to be so dissimilar. Both of them might have made their daily *toilette* in that bright apartment,

“Sacred to dress, and Beauty’s pleasing cares,”

of which we are told in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad* as having been built with “skill divine” by Vulcan for Imperial Juno. They are no more simply, naturally, women than that comes to. Their home is in Olympus; and well might a witty Frenchman of the present day say, “You are trying now to make a saint out of Madame Récamier; but it is in vain. *Ce n’est pas une sainte, c’est une déesse.*” She is so—a goddess belonging to that

mythology, where Catherine de Rambouillet is familiar to "immortals" under the name of *Arthenice*. And yet an entire society, a very world, had been overthrown from base to summit between these two, whose order of ideas remained so nearly identical, and the very graceful folds of whose vaporous *classical* veils enshroud their charms in like fashion, and all undisturbed by the fierce breath of that hurricane, the Revolution.

"My great desire," says the Duc de Montmorency in one of his tenderly serious letters to Madame Récamier, "is to see you conceive some weariness of all your parties (*un peu d'ennui de vos soirées*), and some distaste of a vast number of 'charming people.' Is not that a cruel wish? yet it is far from my intention to do anything displeasing to you."

"*Un peu d'ennui de vos soirées!*" In those words lies the whole thing. It is just that "weariness" that French society never did feel. It went on from year to year, *satisfied* with its superficial existence, and not anxious for anything beyond it. It is a question, how far a nation, or an individual, can keep up in an equal proportion two different kinds of activity? how far any *intensity* of energy can be brought to bear upon two totally dissimilar pursuits? Now, a Frenchman usually shows as much vivacity with regard to his amusements as we devote of energy to positive business; and it has been justly enough remarked, that whilst Frenchmen discuss matters of art, for instance, with a large amount of earnestness, and even gravity, reserving all the constitutional levity of their natures for serious affairs, we, who give to public affairs all the energy that is in us, have small power left for the delicate appreciation of finer, lighter subjects. We probably are the most indiscriminating nation upon earth as to our amusements. We do not make them our study; we take them as they come; asking chiefly from them the largest amount of physical and mental relaxation that they can possibly afford to us. Our habitual mode of securing them is to *pay* for them; but we give them but little of our time, and none of our genuine selves. The French system is precisely the reverse. They fashion their diversions by contributing to the utmost perfection of the latter with all their might. Amusement is, and has always been, the business of a Frenchman; for the business that is *not* amusement has always been to him an insufferable bore. Work, hard work, the harder the better, comes natural to the Anglo-Saxon race; they find an excitement in absolute labour that is unknown to any other set of men;—hence their persistent predilection for the roughest and most fatiguing of field sports;—whilst the French, on the contrary, and generally all communities of Latin origin, *escape* from toil at the first opportunity; and *not* having thrown their very souls and their very selves into the

work, throw all that they are into the pleasure. Let this pleasure be of one species or of another, that is comparatively of little import; with one race it will be artistic, with another social—that is of no consequence; it is the fact of its being pleasure and not work that has to be noted. The French, who are *not* an artistic nation, and are utterly wanting in all the qualities that could make them so, are pre-eminently a social one: namely, a race for whom the pleasures of society, properly so called, were, up to a very late period, the one chief aim of existence. The consequence of this was, that what the French themselves term “*la vie des salons*,” when *salons* were in their splendour, was the one form under which, what *we* call *public life* was tolerable to a Frenchman. They never *voluntarily*, and of their own free will, made a nearer approach to it; and what an ambitious young Englishman achieves in Parliament, was achieved in France in the salon of some great *social authority*.

It would be far beyond the purpose of these pages to examine all the causes which have struck at the existence of social centres in France; but one of those which have irrevocably destroyed them, is the love of and the necessity for gain.

Speculation is the inevitable resource of those who worship gold and hate work. *All* France (and there is no exaggeration in the expression)—idolatrous of money as the representative of enjoyment, and more averse from toil than ever—has thrown itself insanely into speculation under every imaginable shape and form; and now the nation is incapacitated from taking any interest in what were its pursuits and amusements in other times. Gambling, of whatsoever species, is a curse to the gambler, and utterly absorbs and enslaves him, leaving no freedom of any description. Frenchmen have not replaced an idle and elegant by a toilsome life. They do not work more or harder than they were used to do, nor gain in wholesome labour a desire for such pleasures as merely relax.—No! they are not incapable of their former pursuits because they are devoted to more serious ones. They are incapable of them because they are less free, because their entire social and political system, since the great Revolution, binds them down to the dire necessity of gaining wherewithal to live upon, and that, their inborn laziness of nature not having in any degree been modified, they, as a national aggregate, and from the highest to the lowest ranks, prefer speculation to toil. They derive no satisfaction from the continuous efforts of their own energy, or from any assertion of will, but like rather to trust to the caprices of Fate. There is something irresistibly charming to the French mind in undeserved favours; and the easily-won wealth which, by *Bourse* transactions, falls to the lot of the “lucky” gambler, constitutes in France a sort of

distinction, and proves the winner to be on good terms with Destiny. The French like the "wheel of Fortune" better than that rougher, harder, but surer "wheel," to which practical men know how to set their own "shoulders" when they are determined to get on in the world.

But this being the case, gambling being the most absorbing and enslaving of all pursuits, and all France being infected by the gambling fever, it is not very hard to see how the importance of salon life has ceased. It *has* ceased altogether; and a "*salon*," such as it existed even under the Restoration, for example, is, we should say, a thing of absolutely impossible existence now. At the time when *salons* flourished, we must do the society of France the justice to say, that it was, of all European societies, the one in which personal and intellectual superiority took the most decidedly the lead of wealth. Money really was powerless to achieve social consideration for any one in the *ancien regime*; and the people who founded the traditions of French social excellence were all free from any preoccupations of mere money-getting. From the moment when outward show parade, *le luxe*, as it is termed—has been imposed *as a duty* upon a society that is—whatever may be said—not richer but poorer than it formerly was, and upon a race more and more degenerate, morally and physically, every day, and less capable of transforming time and labour into gold,—from that moment the struggle was inevitable of a whole nation against "Chance." What we would fain term the "Social Institutions" of France were overthrown; for that species of intercourse which is founded on extensive mental cultivation, and on delicacy of perception, inseparable both from habitual freedom of thought, cannot co-exist with a state of things in which every man is for ever rushing through life as through an overcrowded thoroughfare, pushing and being pushed, splashing and being splashed—in which he would give all the poets, from Homer to Lamartine, for a "rise" of 20 cents, and subordinate the honour of his very country to the fluctuation of a "*valeur publique*." From the moment when "the Beautiful" grows to be a word literally void of sense, and when the "*Ideal*" awakens no more vibration than would the song of a nightingale upon an untanned cow-hide,—from that moment, what is understood as "polite society" is at an end. Balls where no one dances, concerts where no one listens, crushes, routs,—excuses for the bringing together of a heterogeneous crowd,—all these are possible, but these are not "society;" and the meeting of well-educated and refined men and women, who derive delight from exchanging and comparing the impressions produced upon them by things of an intellectual order—the "communion of minds"—is destroyed, the power of appreciating it is gone.

Something else, too, to which we would almost rather not allude, is so natural a consequence of the restless condition to which a race must come which is engaged in a perpetual conflict with luck, that "society" is put upon the defensive, and has to barricade itself against the attacks of an out-door enemy it had been accustomed to despise. The "*Demi-monde*" drives the "*Monde*" into a corner, captures what might be its best ornaments, and whenever an encounter occurs, carries off the victory. With a race whose sole energies are exhausted by the feverish and ceaseless attempt to compel Fortune, self-forgetfulness is the synonym of relaxation. Hence the kind of immorality which is to the *galanterie* of the *ancien régime* what a Republic is to a Monarchy. The orgy is substituted for the salon; the *Dame aux Camélias* is put upon a pasteboard throne, but Madame Récamier is impossible.

Why it is that the *salon*, as an institution, was of such difficult establishment in England that it may be said never to have been rightly achieved, will, we think, be made evident more than once in the course of the few pages we have devoted to the salon life of our neighbours; but it is as the representative of that life in its fullest expression, though in its last farewell splendours, that Madame Récamier seems to us pre-eminently to claim our notice. Madame Récamier is, to use an Americanism, a representative woman. In her was incarnate the civilization of a country and an age. She was a link between Past and Present, and clearly shows where the link dropped, where the chain lies for ever broken. She prolonged salon life far beyond the term of its natural existence in France; but as she prolonged it, it was the true semblance and image of what the once important reality had been. Madame Récamier's *salon* did not spring living out of the national life, but it perpetuated the memory of what had once exuberantly lived, and was a lingering part of bygone France, just as are the *Théâtre Français* and the *Grand Opéra*. The comedies of Molière played by Mlle. Mars, or, later, the classical tragedies of Racine and Corneille, galvanised into *being* by Rachel, did not more thoroughly appertain to the traditions and to the social organization of the pre-revolutionary epoch than did the *Abbaye aux Bois*. Madame Récamier's *salon*, after the democratic bewilderment of the Revolution of '93, the military despotism of the Empire, and the pretentious and unpractical "Parliamentary" drama so absurdly performed by the Monarchy of July, was not a "revival," it was merely a *survival*. It endured till its equilibrium was disturbed; but when once it fell, nothing springing from it took its place. It was the last—it marked the irrevocable end of what had once been and could no more be.

Juliette Bernard, the daughter of a notary of Lyons, and wife

to a hatter's son of the same town, was, by a combination of circumstances, formed expressly for presiding over the last salon in a capital whose aristocracy had lost all its power, whilst preserving all its pretensions. Had Madame Récamier married a *grand seigneur*, or even a well-authenticated *gentilhomme*, she would have been too decidedly "somebody," to consent to follow the lead of the haughty class of people who chose to make her house their place of rendezvous. Now, no *salon* has ever become famous in France whose mistress was *predominant*. M. de Talleyrand distinctly told the Duchesse de Duras, in 1823, that she was by no means what the head of a salon ought to be, for that she was not half "passive" enough. There is a curious proof of how right he was, in the different *use* made of the same "*idol*" by Madame de Duras and Madame Récamier. The former lady was handsome, distinguished, higher-born could not be; she was still nearer to youth than age—"elle était presque jeune encore," to quote M. Villemain's ingenious words,—she was as evidently "somebody" as it was possible to be; and the high priest of her temple was M. de Châteaubriand, then in the zenith of his fame and influence; yet never did Madame la Duchesse de Duras succeed in establishing a *salon* that could be compared to that which was nominally *held* by Juliette Bernard Madame Récamier, the wife, and later widow, of the Lyons banker. The high priest of the temple, too, was the same; only, when he fell to the lot of his latest idolatress, he was *not* in the zenith of his fame or influence. But the *salon* of the *Abbaye aux Bois* was then infinitely superior to that of the Hotel de Duras. The devoted editor of the *Souvenirs* before us shall, in spite of her devotion to the memory of her aunt, give us herself the principal reason: "Madame Récamier," she observes,¹ "submitted to those around her upon intellectual matters (*dans l'ordre des choses de l'esprit, elle se subordonnait encore davantage*); happy in being able to reflect lofty thoughts, and feeling herself capable of inspiring them, she entirely refused all attempts at producing any work of her own. She disliked even to write a letter."

Here is the real secret: Madame Récamier's nature was a subordinate one; and such only have the pliancy that is requisite to put at their ease the various and often conflicting elements of which a *salon*, properly so called, is composed.

It was not her personal character alone that prevented Madame Récamier from any predominance, it was her social position also. She never would, in a natural and ordinary state of affairs, have found herself mixed up on a footing of equality with what remained of the once arrogant *Cour de Versailles*. Circumstances brought her into the intimacy of these people; but she

¹ *Souvenirs. Avant Propos*, p. iv.

was so perfectly "adopted" by them, because she could not by any possibility reign over them.

These obsolete distinctions, made doubly ridiculous by the lamentable and complete political inferiority of the French *noblesse*, were nevertheless of such weight (nay, are so, up to the present hour!), that Madame Lenormand herself, alluding to her aunt's connection with the aristocratic society of France, comments upon the friendship for her of Madame de Boigne in these words: "Her birth, relationships, tastes, and family traditions, placed her far more *naturally* and more exclusively than Madame Récamier in the centres of Royalist opposition. . . . Madame Récamier liked everything in Madame de Boigne,—even that slight touch of *disdain* that made her kindness and approbation, where vouchsafed, more flattering."

We suppose that to a Frenchwoman, whose habits of life have familiarized her with such "distinctions" as are here pointed out, and who has been enabled to regard as "flattering" the "approbation" that pleasantly contrasts with "disdain," it would be an impossible task to make clear what are the feelings roused in the minds of British gentlemen and gentlewomen by such a passage as the one above quoted. But we maintain that that passage speaks volumes touching the whole social organization of France, and throws a strong light upon the incurable stolidity of the *noblesse*, the incurable subserviency of the middle classes, and upon the standing in society of Madame Récamier.

The most curious part of the latter's early existence is, to our mind, her juxtaposition to Bonaparte. It is strange that the two persons who are to tread the down-hill road of life hand in hand, and the most romantic portion of whose earthly career is to be found towards its close, are, both of them at its outset, brought face to face with the hero of the Italian campaign. M. de Châteaubriand is a mere youth when he finds himself glared upon, looked through, by the "deep, gray, watchful eyes of Napoleon," as *Eöthen* calls them. And those extraordinary eyes have power over him; fascinate, draw him on, and—through the *poetic* sense that is in him—subjugate him. "*Il n'eut pas été ce qu'il était si la muse n'eut été là,*" exclaims the author of *René* of the young conqueror, whom he delighted to picture to himself as fascinated in turn by his own genius. Certain it is, that, whether the influence or not of "the muse" dictated the preoccupation of Bonaparte, preoccupied he *was* by M. de Châteaubriand; and *therefore*, too, when he has discovered his future diplomatist, and when the glaring gaze of the "gray, watchful eyes" has been received *en pleine poitrine* by the poet, the poet proclaims the hero "*un grand découvreur d'hommes!*" He likewise attributes a wondrous gift of "discrimination" to the despot, "for that he

saw at once *what men* could only be called to the *highest* places—could only lead, never follow.” The eulogistic strain sinks into a very different key, it is true, when the “great discoverer of men” has, instead of the “highest position,” left the diplomat no position at all save that of an opposition chief, which he is forced to occupy as best he may; but however that may be, the coming together of Bonaparte and M. de Châteaubriand was no ordinary one; it was the shock of two poetic temperaments, and from the sudden contact, fire flashed forth.

The manner of Napoleon’s first meeting with Madame Récamier was no less strange, and perhaps even more characteristic. But this time we have the stage-hero whole and entire, the man who studied Talma to the least as closely as he did Turenne, and who endured impatiently that his theatrical “effects” should be interfered with. We will give the account of this meeting as it stands in the editor’s own words:—

“On the 10th of December 1797, the *Directoire* gave a species of triumphal *fête* for the reception and in honour of the vanquisher of Austria in Italy. The ceremony was to take place in the grand court of the Palace of the Luxembourg. At the extreme end of the court was an altar, and a statue of *Liberty*; at the foot of the altar were the five directors, attired in full *Roman costume*; lower down, the ministers, ambassadors, and all sorts of public functionaries were grouped together upon semicircular benches; whilst the crowd of persons invited found room as they might behind the officials. At every window of the Palace was a cluster of heads; and the adjacent courts, the garden, and streets leading to the Luxembourg were thronged with sight-seers. Madame Récamier and her mother seated themselves upon the *banquettes réservées*. Madame Récamier had never yet seen General Bonaparte; but she shared the enthusiasm which at that moment was universal, and she certainly was impressed in the liveliest manner by the prestige of a renown so sudden, and won at such an early age. Bonaparte appeared: he was at that time slight, thin, if not all but emaciated, and the outlines of his head and face had an extraordinary character of grandeur and firmness. He was surrounded by generals, and by his aides-de-camp. To a speech of M. de Talleyrand’s (then Minister for Foreign Affairs) he only replied by a few, short, plain-spoken sentences, that were greeted by a burst of applause. From the seat she occupied, Madame Récamier could not distinguish the speaker’s countenance. A feeling of curiosity, easy enough to understand, made her wish to have a good view of Bonaparte’s features; taking advantage of a moment when Barras was engaged in making a long reply to the young general, she rose from her place, and stood up in order to see him

better. But this movement, which suddenly also showed her to the whole assembly, attracted its attention towards herself. All eyes were fixed upon her, and a low but long-enduring murmur of admiration greeted the apparition. This murmur did not escape the notice of Bonaparte; he turned his head abruptly towards the point where the attention of the public was fixed, as though to ask at once what object could possibly divert from its contemplation of himself that worshipping crowd, whose idol he deemed that he exclusively was. He perceived a female figure robed in white, and a glance fell on Madame Récamier, the harshness whereof she was unable to bear; she resumed her seat as quickly as she could."

So! here we have all the irrepressible envy, all the uncontrollable meanness and greediness for applause, of the genuine "stage-player!"—of the man with whom self-exhibition is a passion at once and a trade, and who revels in the noise and show of reputed greatness far more than he derives any satisfaction from the consciousness of a great deed done. He has played through his part at Arcola and Lodi, chiefly, for that to do so was to insure the enacting of such scenes as we are here called upon to witness at home. He is destined to scale great heights in a fallen country, to domineer over men whom there is small honour (and this he knew!) in subduing; and he is luxuriating in a foretaste of all this, on that said 10th of December 1797; he is sacrificed to by the pagan Barras, and anointed as it were in words by the still half-Christian ex-Bishop Talleyrand; he has at his feet all the corrupt tribe of law-givers and breakers, of whom he dimly guesses what he shall one day make; and more than all,—five directors in *full Roman costume* (!), whose mock citizenship of Rome his hand is soon to scatter to the winds. Nothing is omitted of what "scenic effect" requires: there is the "altar," commemorative, however, only of a profaned, proscribed, and utterly uncomprehended creed; and the statue of Liberty, in "whose name so much wrong" had been, and so much more was to be "done." Nothing could be better "got up" than the whole exhibition; and the leading actor, for whose benefit it was all arranged, was enjoying to the utmost that species of intoxication which with true histrionic natures ranks above *every* other sensation, when all at once there is a sudden interruption to all this rapture. Some one else is applauded! some one dares to stand between the great artist and *his public*! and then the "hero" turns round sharply upon his *rival*, becomes aware of the presence of a very young woman dressed in white, and with (again) the "gray, watchful eyes" (they flash with anger this time) looks down into subserviency, and drives away from these his own particular "boards," this

impertinent, venturesome "*bella creatura bianca vestita*." We can really fancy we see the whole scene, which for the thousandth time justifies the exclamation of the poor old Pope, Pius VII., at Fontainebleau: "*Commediante!*" is reported to have been the one word by which the Holy Father replied to all the vain phantasies, mad projects, and ungenerous insults that, in their first interview, the "modern Charlemagne" showered upon his captive.

The *second* interview of Bonaparte with Madame Récamier was of a different order. It took place two years after. Lucien Bonaparte, the First Consul's *republican* brother, had chosen to fall desperately in love with the beauty of the day, and, under pretence that her name was Juliet, to propose himself for the part of Romeo, and to write letters, which she showed to M. Récamier. Persistent discouragement ended by cooling Lucien's flame, and he remained upon cordial terms of innocent intimacy with the wealthy banker and his fair wife. In the winter of 1800, after the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire had restored to the French the utmost amount of that over-government which they bear so pleasantly, and for which they seem so fitted, the winter in Paris opened agreeably. Upon one occasion Lucien Bonaparte, then Minister of the Interior, gave a banquet and a concert to the First Consul. Madame Récamier was amongst the guests. As at the *fête triomphale* of the Luxembourg, Madame Récamier was attired all in white, with only a necklace and bracelets of pearls. The whole ceremony was pompous and theatrical as before, and as always, wherever a Bonaparte is connected with the business on hand; but we are relieved to find that there are positively no more "Roman costumes,"—this part of the pageant having been abolished when the last semblance of Republicanism was so cavalierly "thrown out at windows" by the "General-in-Chief of the army of Italy."

"Having on entering the rooms seated herself close to the chimney," says the editor of the work before us, "Madame Récamier remarked at a little distance a man whom she took for Joseph Bonaparte. As she often met Joseph at Madame de Staël's, she made him a sign of friendly recognition, which was responded to with eagerness, but with a certain slight air of surprise. At the same moment the lady became aware of her mistake, and saw it was the First Consul she had bowed to."

Madame Récamier was upon this occasion, as we are told, extremely struck by the expression of Bonaparte's countenance, which appeared to her quite different from what she had thought it upon the former occasion. She was this time impressed by the "gentleness" of his air. A moment or two after they had exchanged bows, Napoleon turned to speak with Fouché, who was at his elbow; and it was plain that their whispered words had the

lovely Juliette for their object, for, whilst speaking, the eyes of the future despot never left Madame Récamier for an instant—an attention that may have been rather embarrassing to its object, we should presume. Here, too, comes the first *entrée en scene* of that vilest of all Napoleon's counsellors, Fouché; the man to whom, perhaps of all others, the perpetual mixture of crime and corruption came easiest. No sooner had his master released him, than Fouché glided up to the back of Madame Récamier's chair, and murmured pleasantly in her ear, "The First Consul finds you charming!"

They certainly had an off-hand way of doing these things at that time; and bashfulness scarcely seems to have constituted one of the qualities of even a professed prude, as was Madame Récamier. The editor of these "*Souvenirs*" distinctly states, that "the respectful and evidently admiring attention paid to her upon this evening, by the man whose glory was beginning to fill the world, predisposed her to judge him favourably;" and she records above all, the superiority of his "simplicity" over Lucien's pompous and "theatrical airs." There is undoubtedly "simplicity" sufficient in his first words to a lady he had never addressed before. Bowing gracefully, he said with a smile, and in by no means a low tone, "I too should like to go to Clichy."¹ Rather a free and easy *entrée en matière*, as we might perhaps conceive! but thought, on the contrary, graceful in the extreme, and full of a delightful "simplicity" there where it took place in reality.

Dinner was announced. The First Consul rose, and not offering his arm to any lady, passed on to the dining-room alone, and at the head of his guests; thus already assuming the airs and etiquette of royalty. After the same fashion, he seated himself at table; his mother, Madame Letitia, taking the chair at his right hand. The chair on the left hand remained vacant. As Madame Récamier walked into the *salle à manger*, Madame Bacciocchi whispered to her something she did not hear; and the fair Juliette seated herself several removes below Bonaparte, who, after looking round at the assembled guests with undisguised ill-humour, beckoned to Garat, the celebrated singer, saying sharply, "*Eh! bien, Garat, mettez vous là.*" Garat took the chair to the left of the First Consul; and when the very hurried repast was over, which Napoleon's rapid way of devouring what he ate inflicted upon whomsoever had the honour of eating with him, he approached *la belle Juliette*, and abruptly enough asked, "why she had not taken the seat by his side?" "I should not have presumed to do so," answered she; to which "*It was your place,*" was the rejoinder; Madame Bacciocchi justifying her-

¹ *Souvenirs*, Livre i. p. 37. "Clichy" was the name of the villa at the gates of Paris where M. and Madame Récamier received their friends.

self in her brother's eyes by eagerly adding: "That was what I tried to make you understand as we went to dinner!"

Later in the evening there was music; and Garat, the idol of the place and of the time, sang air after air from Gluck's operas, to the enthusiastic applause of every one present. Madame Récamier, who really loved music, was absorbed by her admiration of Garat's singing,—not, however, so entirely so as to prevent her from appreciating Napoleon's admiration of herself; "for," says her biographer, "as she every now and then raised her eyes, she found those of Bonaparte persistently fixed upon her, their gaze riveted to her features, with a determination that *in the end* made her feel a certain degree of embarrassment; and when the concert was over, he came up to her, remarking, that 'she *really* cared for music.' He would have resumed the conversation; but Lucien came up, and it was broken off."

We confess that our want of familiarity with the tone of fashionable manners in France at the period we are treating of, induces us to think, that the fair Juliette's sense of embarrassment at the Dictator's "persistent" attentions was somewhat long in manifesting itself; and when the admiring editor of her "*Souvenirs*" does chronicle the fact of her being "*in the end*" (though only in a "certain degree") "embarrassed," we are strongly tempted to cry, "*Enfin!*" and speculate upon how much less it might take to bewilder and confuse an Englishwoman of seventeen or eighteen, as was then Madame Récamier's age.

This meeting at Lucien's house is the circumstance to which we shall find Fouché alluding later, in the course of a wondrous negotiation entrusted to him by his master, and in which the morals and manners of the epoch, and of the Napoleonic court, are shown in the strongest possible light. This is the one solitary interview with the ruler of France which, four years after, Madame Récamier is assured that formidable potentate has been pleased "never to forget."

Meanwhile, when this one interview was over, and the effect of Madame Récamier's beauty upon the First Consul had ceased to be immediate, the First Consul seems to have easily enough made up his mind to worry and annoy Madame Récamier in her most intimate *entourage*. There is even, as it appears to us, a species of mean and jealous satisfaction felt by Bonaparte and by his nearest relatives in any kind of alarm, or of persecution inflicted on the person who failed to be sufficiently dazzled by the autocrat's marked attentions. In 1802, two years after the concert at Lucien's house, M. Bernard, Madame Récamier's father, who had been made *Administrateur des Postes*, was arrested, and thrown into prison. We have the story of the arrest in Madame Récamier's own words. Madame Bacciocchi, who,

whatever she might think of *la belle Juliette's* want of discrimination as far as her illustrious brother was concerned, liked extremely the society she was used to meet at the Chateau de Clichy, Madame Bacciocchi had begged Madame Récamier to make her know M. de La Harpe, in the way of a literary *lion*. M. de La Harpe was accordingly invited to Clichy, had been presented to the First Consul's sister, and the guests were about to sit down to table, when Madame Bernard (the mother of Madame Récamier) received a letter, and having glanced at its contents, screamed, and fainted away. Her husband, M. Bernard, was arrested!

Now, to be just, we must allow, that if ever any one deserved to be punished, M. Bernard seems to us to have been that individual. His daughter, coolly enough, as we conceive, states the case thus:—"In the autumn of that year (1802), a very active Royalist correspondence gave the Consular Government no end of trouble and anxiety. Pamphlets, too, in the same shade of opinion, were circulated all over the south of France, without any one being able to discover how they escaped the watchfulness of the authorities. The latter were a long time without suspecting that the connivance of a public functionary—of one of the very heads, indeed, of the postal administration—was the cause of all. The whole of these communications passed under the cover of my father's name!"

Without expecting that a woman, and a Frenchwoman, should judge of this kind of proceeding with the rigid straightforwardness that men in England would apply to it, or desiring, even, that a daughter should view her father's conduct in its worst light, we cannot refrain from saying, that if Madame Récamier made up her mind to leave a written record of this circumstance, we could have wished the tone of it to have been somewhat different. Here, again, is one of the forms assumed in France by *dishonesty*; one of the evils brought about by the unstable condition of public affairs, which are now delivered over to the anarchical rule of the mob, now compressed into the grasp of one self-chosen tyrant. The moral sense of the nation is so perverted, the genuine notion of right and wrong is so absent from the national mind, that courage and deceit are actually confounded, and a mere act of treachery is applauded as an act of resistance. From the Revolution and the first Empire, down to the present day, Frenchmen have shown less and less eagerness to protest, but they have shown more and more readiness to betray; and, unfortunately, party spirit has invariably admired a base, as it ought only to admire a bold action. "I am with the Emperor only *nominally*," exclaimed a too famous Royalist *marquis*, two or three years ago, on being made a senator. "My

opinions are unchanged, and in heart I am with you." Berryer was the person thus addressed. He shook his head, and haughtily replied, "God defend us from such friends as are traitors to both parties at once!" But this is not sufficiently understood in France; and here we have a case in point, in the conduct of M. Bernard. He is an honest, honourable man; Madame Récamier the most honest-hearted woman in France, as her admirers devoutly believe. Yet neither M. Bernard nor Madame Récamier feel *rightly* upon this question. Bonaparte is an oppressor, a tyrant, the scourge of France! Well and good. So think these people who are sincere Royalists, and so think we, who are free-born Britons; but they never arrive at the conviction, that whilst it is right and proper to oppose and protest against your enemy, and to encounter all risks in order to overthrow, it is forbidden to *betray* him. They do not see that a political opinion is a thing to be sacrificed to; that it is a luxury, and, like other luxuries, must be bought and *paid for*; and that those who are morally too poor to pay for it to the last farthing, must do without it. Failing the heroic qualities (to which no one is obliged), they can, at all events, practise the one virtue, to which all who *serve* are held, namely, *honesty*. It is here they show that deplorable perversion of the moral sense, of which so many successive revolutions have, alas! made a chief characteristic of the French race. They *profit* by a government which they expect to be applauded for hating; they take the one master's *pay*, and try to secure his adversary's praises; incapable of consenting to be obscurely honest—honest "*sans phrases*"—they would fain set up for being devoted partisans; and, as has been truly said of them, *ils veulent avoir de l'héroïsme au rabais*."

We are glad to have found that half a century ago this one form of corruption was already known in France; for we confess to having been somewhat converted to the notion, that the want of a genuine distinction between what is *right* and what is *wrong* was a vice peculiar to contemporary Frenchmen. Well, here then we see M. Bernard consenting to receive from a government he hates a goodly annual income, and at the same time doing all he can—in the very exercise, too, of the functions for which he receives payment—to subvert that government, hoping thereby so to satisfy his future employers that his reward from them shall be insured! We submit that this constitutes a manner of misdemeanour for which a ruler less self-willed, less tyrannical even, than Napoleon might be excused if he proved himself severe.

For the Royalist party, of course, Madame Récamier's father was a "victim;" and we have so far no desire to dispute with

them about terms. M. Bernard is in prison, and must be got out of it, or his beautiful daughter will die of grief. Madame Bacciocchi is in that daughter's company at the moment the news of the arrest and imprisonment is known. *La belle Juliette* flies to the First Consul's sister, and naturally enough tells her she counts upon her for protection. But the First Consul's sister does not seem at all disposed to act as Providence to *la belle Juliette*; and she merely answers, with (according to Madame Récamier's own version) "considerable hesitation," that the first step to take is, in her opinion, "to see Fouché!" Here we have the connecting link of the chain, which we fancy we see running from the dinner at Lucien's in 1800, to a scene we shall describe presently, and the date of which is 1804. Madame Récamier's own impulse had been to see at once the First Consul; but Elisa Bonaparte says, "No! you must see Fouché!" It is true she adds that if, after that, her fair friend needs her good offices, she shall be ready to oblige her. "I would not be discouraged," continues Madame Récamier, "by the coldness of her air and tone, but I asked her where I could see her in the course of the evening? 'In my box at the Theatre Français,' was the reply, 'where I am going to join my sister Pauline.'"

Such a place of rendezvous to a woman who is in fear for her own father's life! and so like one of the frail, yet thoroughly unfeminine females of this race!—so like what the German language now universally designates by the title of "*the Napoleones!*"

Yet, nothing daunted, Madame Récamier must go through all this, or await the worst. She goes to Fouché, who certainly does not understate the gravity of the case, but who unhesitatingly advocates the visit to the First Consul. Then Madame Récamier resolves to apply to Madame Bacciocchi, and drives to the *Theatre Français*. Naturally enough her manner is full of emotion, and she can bethink her of but few oratorical precautions. Pauline and Elisa Bonaparte, however, are wrapt up in the business going on upon the stage; and, unwillingly diverted from her inspection of the helmet worn by Lafont in the part of Achilles (and which she declares "becomes him very ill!"), Elisa brings to the petitioner's knowledge somewhat sharply, that she will not be at her service "till the tragedy has come to its end!"

Another person, however, is in the box; and this is Bernadotte, who evidently waxes angry at what is being done. He bends down to the ear of Elisa, and says, that her friend (?) looks so ill and harassed, that, if she will give him the permission, he will drive her home in his carriage, and go himself to the First Consul about her father. Madame Bacciocchi consents

"*avec empressement*," enchanted' to escape from any trouble in the affair; and Madame Récamier is taken home by Bernadotte, who does immediately after repair to the First Consul. Whether Napoleon liked this visit as much as he would have liked the other, is, we think, problematical; but Bernadotte's was a great influence just then, and M. Bernard was saved. Perhaps Madame Récamier was no less so than M. Bernard. This we leave to the appreciation of the readers of her "*Souvenirs*."

Rather more than two years after this incident (in the spring of 1805), a proof was given of how little Madame Récamier had been in reality lost sight of at the Imperial Court. Fouché requested her to receive him at Clichy. It was not a time when any one would have refused to be civil to Fouché, and Madame Récamier replied to the demand by an invitation to breakfast for the next day. M. Récamier was in town, and the *Ministre de la Police* was alone with the beautiful Juliette. The *début* of the most dreaded of all Napoleon's emissaries was a cautious one; he was full of zeal for Madame Récamier, and besought her to moderate the tone of opposition that was the reigning one at her house. He instanced the Duchesse de Chevreuse, who had been forced, in order to purchase the tranquillity of her family, to accept a place of *Dame du palais*, and ended by these words: "The Emperor, since the day he saw you for the first time, has never forgotten, never lost sight of you; be prudent, don't annoy or irritate him."

From this moment Fouché's visits became frequent. Beginning warily, by the advice to the rich banker's wife to "ask for a post in the household," all this diplomacy ended at last in the announcement that "*Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi*" meant to "*name*" Madame Récamier to a position about the Empress Josephine's own person! Amongst other pleasant portions of the Police Minister's discourse was an Idyllic description of what the attachment of Napoleon would be, "if he ever became attached to a woman who was worthy of him!" and then there came the old Syren song of temptation, seeking to hide sin under the mask of charity. There was much made of the "incalculable good" that a "pure, high-minded" favourite could do.

Probably Madame Récamier's character was too gentle a one to admit of even the most legitimate indignation; or perhaps, indeed, the times made indignation too unsafe, unless for such natures as are attracted by danger, and find relief in the very commission of a proudly generous imprudence. Of anything of this sort we discover no trace in Madame Récamier; and to our British notions, the negotiation with the Emperor's infamous agent appears to have lasted over long. The *Ministre de la*

Police was several times received at Clichy; Caroline Bonaparte, taking the place of Elisa, who seems to have been a trifle sulky at her former failure, built no end of castles in the air at the expense of Josephine and of M. Récamier; and *la belle Juliette* occupied Caroline's box at the *Theatre Français* upon more than one occasion, when *Sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi*, from the opposite side of the house, rendered her so conspicuous by his incessant practice of staring at her, that the entire crowd of surrounding courtiers made up their minds as to what her influence was soon to be; and when all this had been continuing for a certain period, there remained nothing for it but to ask the opinion of M. Récamier himself, upon the best way of getting out of the whole affair!!

When came the announcement of the imperial nomination to a place of *Dame du Palais*, then—the alternative being between honour and disgrace—Madame Récamier, reduced at length to adopt a positive decision, refused. The refusal was ill taken by Fouché, who chose to recognise in it nothing beyond the anti-Imperialist influences exercised upon Madame Récamier by her Royalist friends. Above all, he singled out Mathieu de Montmorency for the object of his fiercest resentment. *He* it was, he exclaimed, who had “prepared, counselled, planned this *insult* to the Emperor;” and with an outburst of fury against every member of what he termed the “nobiliary caste,” of whom Napoleon, he said, was “fatally fond,” the future Duc d'Otranto retreated from Clichy, where he never returned more, and where, in our opinion, he had already come too much.

This circumstance, however, whilst it clearly marked out Madame Récamier's position in society, separating her irrevocably from the Government and official set, made her of course the necessary object of suspicion and ill will. From this time, her house was naturally enough set down as a centre of opposition, and she herself became, voluntarily or involuntarily, a species of female *chef de parti*—one of the representatives of an opinion, of a *cause*.

By nature never was a woman less fitted for such a part; but, as we have said, Madame Récamier was, throughout life, secondary and subservient; and whatever importance she obtained in the society of her time and of her country, was obtained through her friends, through what surrounded her exteriorly, not through any force that resided in herself. Madame de Staël and Mathieu de Montmorency at one period, and Châteaubriand at another, constituted the power and influence of Madame Récamier; and because she was attractive to those who opposed him, Napoleon feared, and, up to a certain point, persecuted her.

Taken together, we know of few publications that throw a

stronger light on the marvellous meannesses of which the first Napoleon was capable than do these *Souvenirs* of Madame Récamier and Villemain's *Essai sur Châteaubriand*.¹ We see in both these works to what miserably minute details of persecution the Potentate who hesitated whether he should most liken himself to Alexander or to Trajan, could descend. We find him spelling over private denunciations of the man to whom he had confided a diplomatic mission; flying into melo-dramatic rages, and threatening to "massacre on the steps of his palace" the writer who had indulged in some disagreeable allusion to him;² condescending to exercise his wit at the expense of his enemy's portrait; and chafing with vexation at the idea that, in his "capital of Paris," foreigners could show any curiosity concerning a lady whose personal charms had made her celebrated throughout Europe. These "*Souvenirs*" of Madame Récamier are the chronicle of Napoleon's littlenesses; and are useful in showing how inconceivably but naturally *narrow* was the mind that framed such formidable projects against the peace of the whole world. It is satisfactory to know to what infinitely small devices the invader of Russia could stoop; and there is a morality in the ease with which every gnat-sting could irritate this giant. The glory vanishes when we see from how little it can shield its possessor; and wrong appears shorn of what too many people thought its splendour, when we find it coupled with suspicions and fears that would best befit a police spy anxious for promotion.

"You give me a cruel certainty of fame," wrote Madame de Staël to Bonaparte in 1803. "My exile insures me a page in your history!" This was the case with many an almost obscure individual, whose name was rendered famous by a despot's apprehension. With Madame Récamier the multiplied examples of the alarm she caused the most absolute ruler of the epoch, are often really ludicrous. We have the Prince of Bavaria (afterwards King Louis) petitioning for an audience through Madame de Bondy, and suggesting that he might come to the *Abbaye aux Bois*, not to see its mistress, but under pretence of seeing only her portrait. Then there is the Prince of Wirtemberg, who contrives to become acquainted with *la belle Juliette* at a masked ball, and to take from her finger a ring, which, a few days later, he is induced to restore to its owner. To say the truth, the *bal masqué de l'opera* would appear to have been the neutral ground chosen by those who wished to gratify their curiosity without imperilling their safety, and to make the acquaintance of Madame Récamier without losing Bonaparte's good graces. We find from the *Souvenirs* before us, that another *intrigue de bal masqué*

¹ See the August No. of this *Review*, for the year 1858.

² M. Villemain's *Essai sur Châteaubriand*.

lasted through an entire winter with M. de Metternich. This was in the year 1810. The Emperor, having discovered that on one occasion three of his ministers had called upon Madame Récamier at the same moment, sharply asked one of them, "Since when the Council was held at Madame Récamier's house?" He had precisely the same dislike to the presence in her *salon* "of any members of the diplomatic corps; yet most of these, on first arriving, wished to be presented there. M. de Metternich, then First Secretary of the Austrian Embassy, was somewhat more circumspect. The relationship between his Government and the Empire was so extremely delicate, that he feared to add a personal offence to graver political complications."

In plain English, M. de Metternich was as little distinguished for his boldness or independence of spirit as are the large majority of his colleagues in diplomacy. He was extremely curious to make acquaintance with Madame Récamier, but did not venture to satisfy his curiosity openly, so had recourse to the *bal masqué de l'opera*, after causing to be brought to Madame Récamier's knowledge his reasons for not being able ostensibly to frequent her house. Now, says the biographer of *la belle Juliette*, "as M. de Metternich was very amiable, and had a great reputation, she, too, was desirous of knowing him, and used, during an entire season, to meet him at the masked balls." When the "season" was ended, however, it had seemed so very pleasant to the Austrian diplomate, that he determined to find a way of reconciling his pleasure with his interest, and persuaded Madame Récamier to consent to his paying his respects to her at hours when other visitors were not likely to meet him. "He went habitually to see her, but only in the mornings;—he met no one, and thus avoided the *susceptibilities* of the Imperial Police!"

And so with the hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz (brother of Queen Louisa of Prussia): the mysterious *causeries* of the *bal masqué* lead him, like M. de Metternich, to being secretly received "out of visiting hours" by Madame Récamier; and, indeed, upon the occasion of his first visit, he was very nearly seized by a watchful concierge, who seeing him after nightfall escape across the courtyard towards the house without giving any name, eagerly followed His Royal Highness, came up with him in the entrance-hall, and laid hands upon him as he opened the drawing-room door—prince and porter thus making simultaneously the most ludicrous *entrée* imaginable into the presence of the astonished mistress of the house.

And so with most of the "*hauts et puissants Seigneurs*," who, by their conduct to Bonaparte during his prosperity, did themselves the very worst service that has been done to legitimate Royalty in modern times: they all avowed the same desire to

be received by the reigning beauty of the day, but all evinced precisely the same intention to shirk the consequences of so doing. That Napoleon showed himself miserably little in his behaviour towards the two or three women who stood at the head of the Royalist opposition in France, there can be absolutely no doubt; but the foreign princes, and delegates of princes, who allowed him to dictate to them in what was, after all, a matter of private and personal conduct, saved him from the charge of monopolizing all meanness. It must be premised that Napoleon had seldom expressed himself more resolutely in any case; and such small sovereigns as held to his friendship may well have thought twice before becoming the habitual associates of a person whom "to visit," had said the Emperor, "was to be declared his own personal enemy."¹

This enmity was, in truth, not shown in the minuter details of social life only—it had a severely practical influence on the fortunes and credit of M. Récamier; and we think we can trace to the revengeful spirit of the unaccepted suitor of 1804, the order to the Bank of France in 1806, not to prevent the ruin of *la belle Juliette's* husband by a loan of one million of francs. A pitiful piece of spite, surely, but wondrously in keeping with the character of the personage.

On a certain Saturday in the autumn of 1806, M. Récamier had driven out from Paris to Clichy, to acquaint his child-wife with the fact that, by a combination of circumstances, he foresaw a probability of stoppage of payment by his house—a probability that, indeed, could only be averted by the agreement of the Bank of France to advance the sum of a million of francs.

Madame Récamier was at this period not quite eighteen, and upon her was immediately placed by her quinquagenarian husband all the responsibility of the situation, as far as social "appearances" went. M. Récamier feeling himself quite unable to support the burthen of his impending ruin, Madame Récamier undertook to do the honours that day to a large party of persons who had been invited to dine at her house, and whom it was thought advisable not to put off, in order to avoid giving any alarm as to the financial condition of *la maison Récamier*. As to the head of the firm, the editor of the *Souvenirs* admits that he was "more dead than alive," and quite determined only to mix in his friend's society in case the Imperial answer to the proposition of a loan should be favourable; from which we infer that, whatever the difference of manners, and perhaps morals, the difference between the character of Frenchmen then and now was not so great as might be supposed. Loans by the Bank of France, upon the terms offered by M. Récamier, were events of everyday occur-

¹ *Souvenirs*, p. 90.

rence, but not equally so the fact of the *master* descending to prevent them from private pique. Forty-eight hours from the moment when M. Récamier told his wife of his impending disasters, those disasters were public, and his bank had stopped payment. From this moment the renown of *la belle Juliette* reached its climax.

It has been the custom for all Madame Récamier's panegyrists to demand, somewhat authoritatively, the admiration of the world for her conduct at this trying juncture of her life; and our first impulse is to go with them, and admire without reserve. But, upon narrower examination, we think there are a few qualifying remarks to be made, which, without diminishing the high-mindedness shown by Madame Récamier at this crisis, perhaps make her perfect disinterestedness more doubtful. There are minds tempted equally by celebrity as by wealth, and we suspect our heroine's to have been of this temper. We do not say the tempting medium is not a far more avowable and nobler one in the former than in the latter case, but we are inclined to suppose the amount of selfishness pretty nearly equal in both. It is undeniable, that from the moment she had added what her admirers denominated the "halo of misfortune" to her other charms, Madame Récamier had achieved a distinction that nothing could henceforward impair. Now, we have already tried to show that her business in life was precisely to "achieve" distinction; and she did most laboriously and successfully "achieve" rather than have it "thrust upon" her. No sooner is Madame Récamier "ruined," than we have Madame de Staël, with her usual exaggeration, exclaiming that now she knows what the word envy means! "Certainly," writes Corinne, "you may be said to have lost something; but if I could ever envy what I so much love, I would give all I possess to be you!" And when the Duc d'Abrantes joins the Emperor in Germany, and begins telling him in detail all the "pomp and circumstance" of a failure which places Madame Récamier on a pedestal in Paris society, Napoleon sharply interrupts him with the words: "Why, they could not make a greater fuss about the widow of a marshal who should have died on the battle-field!"

The "envy" of Madame de Staël, and the indignant acknowledgment of the "effect" she produces by the Emperor!—we would fain not be thought hypercritical; but we do imagine that, for a Frenchwoman, all this may be more than equivalent for the mere power of giving fine dinners, wearing fine clothes, and driving about in fine carriages. There is here an amount of "*famosity*," to use the French word, for which the sacrifice of mere riches might be thought far from too dear a price. But now that we have shown ourselves what some may think severely

just to the individual, let us show a larger justice to the time, and say at once how far superior it proved itself to the present moment by the very fact that its applause was won by the apparent disdain of mere worldly wealth. Half a century ago, in France, fame was secured to whomever took up a conspicuous stand against tyranny, and the preference of fame to fortune was a means of achieving position and social influence. This, we say, constitutes the superiority of that over the present time; for at the present time, in France, Madame Récamier would have been forced either to obtain, by no matter what means, the "million" necessary to her husband's credit from the Bank, or to abandon all idea of achieving distinction. The dinners, the chateaux, the equipages, the material luxuries purchased by gold, are now the representatives of social influence; and were a Madame Récamier in our time to dream of commanding fame by despising these, she would be voted a fool for her pains, and would find no "Corinne" to "envy" her, nor would the "effect" made by her cause any Duc d'Abrantes to merit a rebuke from his angry master by his account of it.

After the Restoration, and under the régime of the Monarchy of July, Madame Récamier's position changes. She then represents the social traditions of past times, and becomes a species of type of bygone customs and ceremonies. As the importance of salon life grew to be less and less in France, so was the importance of Madame Récamier's individual salon increased, as being the last. Under the Restoration, Madame Récamier was eclipsed by the Duchesse de Duras and the Marquise de Montcalm, and the Duchesse de Dino (presiding over M. de Talleyrand's receptions); but under Louis Philippe's reign the *Abbaye aux Bois* took rank equally, to say the very least, with the salons of Mesdames de Boigne or de Castellane. Some will contend that it was superior to either, as being more purely social, and less dependent on the political element.

Madame Récamier had, by some strange chance, succeeded to the fair and amiable Duchesse de Duras in the good-will of M. de Châteaubriand; and he now established himself at the chimney-piece of the *Abbaye aux Bois*, furnishing the idol for the temple, the divinity without which no solid or permanent system of salon-worship can ever be organized in France. In every other respect, save only in the adoration of M. de Châteaubriand, the *Abbaye aux Bois* might be regarded as neutral ground, and this it was that chiefly gave it a right to its exclusively social supremacy. You might be a Legitimist, or an Orleanist, or a Republican even, yet be perfectly well received at Madame Récamier's, so long as you were convinced that M. de Châteaubriand was the one greatest literary genius of the age, and that

all the troubles of the French nation were the consequence of his not having had his own way in politics. The principal object of the receptions at Madame Récamier's was the fusion between literature and "society,"—a thing which formed the basis of French social intercourse under the old monarchy, and which had come to be nearly impossible, since the democratic theories of the Revolution had left no social superiorities standing. To its credit be it said, French society was the immediate result of the fusion we have mentioned; when at its zenith, it was intellectual. From Madame de Rambouillet downwards, the respect for human intelligence, the homage paid to the works of human thought, were the distinguishing traits of those who most aspired to be considered as the leaders of society in France. But then it must be remarked that the purely intellectual sphere was never transgressed; and when the entire social edifice was overthrown and built up anew, *la société*, with its purely intellectual traditions, became unpractical, and gradually grew to be a simple curiosity, an *objet de luxe*, an anachronism. From the moment that society in France was composed of a small number of antagonistic cliques, and that in the educated classes the division was made between those who did something and those who did nothing (the latter arrogating to themselves the sole right of being called *gens du monde*), from that moment salon supremacy was virtually at an end. The power of salons in France was the produce of mutual esteem; the esteem of the great writer or *savant* for the *Grand Seigneur*, and of the *Grand Seigneur* for the *savant* or the writer. Neither exists now; and while the high-born of contemporary France affect undisguised disdain for whosoever is guilty of any intellectual labour, the man of mere intelligence seems to ridicule, but in reality envies, the man of birth,—thus, by his very envy, admitting the superiority of his antagonist.

This brings us to the point from which we started; namely, to the fact of the regrets so frequently expressed by highly educated Englishmen upon the difficulty experienced in establishing salon influence in England. We take it not to be a difficulty, but an impossibility, and we are by no means disposed to deplore it. Salon influence is, we believe, incompatible with the practical duties of a hard-working, self-governing, business-like race. One broad distinction should certainly be made between the English and the French in this respect; while the French were so proud of the organization of their society, they were pre-eminently an intellectual, idealistic race. We have always been (under one form or another) an almost exclusively political race. Englishmen work too earnestly, throw themselves too vehemently into action, ever to be talkers *par excellence*. When they talk, it

is to obtain some end; whereas the very perfection of *la causerie* is to promote an elegant interchange of ideas without any object being too ardently pursued. The French consecrated a large portion of what they would perhaps call their energies into the work of talking of what other people did; we have always been more or less busy governing ourselves. A salon was the arena of a French gentleman; Parliament is, sooner or later, that of the English one. The two are incompatible. From the hour when any country becomes, or thinks it becomes parliamentary, salon life is really at an end. This is what we have to observe in the case of Madame Récamier. The institution died with her, because the elements of salon life in France had become extinct. Whether, since that period, the attempts made by the French race to substitute public for merely polite life have been altogether successful? whether they have really established anything better suited to them than the salon influence which helped to form so many intellectual superiorities under the *ancien régime*?—this might be matter for long protracted study and discussion. But such as the men of modern France are, whether for good or for evil, we believe them to be now past deriving any benefit or any pleasure from the elegances of salon life. Madame Récamier's *Souvenirs* have interest, as it seems to us, from their being the record of the last French salon, of the last of a social species of institution that endowed France with brilliant renown throughout the world, but which, at the same time, we cannot regret was never, *could* never, be established amongst ourselves.

ART. II.—*The Military Opinions of General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B.* Collected and Edited by Captain the Hon. GEORGE WROTTESELEY, Royal Engineers, A.D.C.

THE first session of the present, and the last session of the late Parliament, were alike remarkable for the unanimity which prevailed amongst their members on the important subject of national defence; nor was it surprising that the nation should have been at length aroused from its apathy, when France was seen springing to arms at the sound of the trumpet, prepared, at a moment's notice, by land and sea, to enter upon a war, the duration of which few were bold enough to make an attempt at guessing. A few angry words, spoken at a court reception, by a sovereign, whose establishments were ostensibly kept upon a peace footing, created surprise and alarm throughout Europe; but it was scarcely anticipated, at the time, that, before eight months had elapsed, the Emperor who had thus spoken would be returning in triumph to his capital, surrounded by captured banners and cannon, and by the bronzed troops who won them, in three pitched battles and three combats, from an enemy who accepted a peace at the cost of a captured province.

The uncertainty in which events thus appear to be shrouded, makes it incumbent upon England to be, at least, as ready in her means of defence as her neighbours are in offensive preparations; but when the English people began to look about them, they found, that notwithstanding the millions they had annually been spending on naval and military establishments, their house was not in order, and that it would require a large outlay in money, and a considerable amount of time, before this could be effected. Whilst giving the late Ministry full credit for their exertions, we believe this was a question upon which they must have felt there was no choice open to them; for the spirit of the country was thoroughly aroused, and no Government would have remained a week in office, which was unwilling to incur the responsibility of placing the national defences upon an efficient footing. It is, of course, very unpleasant to be compelled to attend to such matters, and it is still more so when we are called upon to pay for them; but the unkindest cut of all is, when we are told we must pay all the more, in the long run, on account of previous economy; and when it appears that our gratitude to the economists of the day had been quite thrown away, and that, after all, while we were clipping at estimates, and pruning down Chancellors of the Exchequer, we were doing so to our own ultimate loss.

We cannot say, however, that we have not had sufficient warning on the subject for several years past; and amongst the earliest of those who wrote, was the author of the various essays comprising the volume, professing to contain the "Military Opinions of General Sir John Fox Burgoyne." There is in the work so much that relates to matters which continue to occupy people's minds, that we believe, notwithstanding its disjointed nature, it is one which will be carefully studied. The views of an officer who served in Egypt, the Peninsula, America, and the Crimea, in a service which gave him peculiar advantages for studying such subjects as the defences of a country, and various points connected with the organization and administration of the army, are entitled to weight; and although the work now before us contains but a portion of the essays which have emanated from the writer, it gives evidence of a life spent in the pursuit of military knowledge, both practically and theoretically—of opportunities made the most of—and of an ardent love for his profession.

Entering the army in 1798, as a second lieutenant, in the corps of Royal Engineers, a branch of the British service at that time occupying an unimportant position, Sir John Burgoyne has served in it continuously to the present time, holding, when enabled by his rank to do so, most important positions. Director of an attack at both sieges of Badajos and at that of Ciudad Rodrigo, and commanding engineer at the sieges of Salamanca forts and of Burgos, he succeeded to the command of the Engineers at the siege of St Sebastian, upon the death of Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher; and at the close of the Peninsular war, Lieut.-Colonel Burgoyne accompanied the flower of the army on its ill-fated expedition to New Orleans, and was thus shut out from participation in the final triumphs of his great chief and master. He subsequently held important commands in his profession, and was placed at the head of the corps of Engineers in 1845, from the duties of which he was soon temporarily called away to Ireland, to assist, during the famine, in carrying on the great work of relief in that country. On the threatened rupture with Russia, he again withdrew from his duties as Inspector-General of Fortifications, and proceeded on special service to Turkey; but very shortly after his return, he was again ordered out, to join the army at Varna, from whence he accompanied it to its landing at Old Fort, and remained to share with it the privations of that terrible winter, lending his advice and counsels in that great struggle, the history of which, though much has been written thereon, is but little known.

Before closing this short notice of his military career, we may be permitted to remark, that a very erroneous idea existed, and

still exists amongst a few, regarding the nature of Sir John Burgoyne's employment in this campaign. He was supposed by many to have been sent out as the Chief Engineer of the army ; but such we believe not to have been the case. We are not aware, of course, of the precise nature of the instructions given to him ; but the more correct statement respecting his position in the army would be, that he was an adviser to the Commander-in-chief. That he was not second in command, though from his seniority he was entitled to be such, if from no other cause, was well known ; whilst his high rank, as well as his age, would have precluded him from filling the more subordinate post of Commanding Engineer.

We have, in this imperfect sketch, alluded but slightly to the civil duties upon which Sir John Burgoyne has been employed, wishing to confine ourselves as much as possible to the character in which he comes before us—as writer of the essays now for the first time collected together under his name. It will also scarcely come within our present limits to enter into any review of Sir John Burgoyne's administration of the office of Inspector-General of Fortifications. He has filled his present post under such men as Wellington, George Murray, Anglesea, Hardinge, and Raglan ; and he was highly esteemed, and his advice valued, by all of them. Of late years, however, during the changes of organization which the War Office and Horse Guards have gone through, and which do not yet appear to have been completed, Sir John Burgoyne's name has been less prominently brought before the public in military matters. We must apologize for devoting so much of our space to the author before entering upon his book ; but it is necessary to do so, in order to acknowledge the authority with which he can discuss subjects now of the deepest importance and interest.

Captain Wrottesley has arranged these essays in three distinct parts. The first part, treating of National Defences, is decidedly of the greatest interest, especially at the present moment ; the second relates to the events of the war with Russia ; and the third is made up of several essays and papers, written from time to time upon a variety of military subjects, during the greater part of Sir John Burgoyne's professional career.

The latter comprises considerably the largest portion of the work ; and though to the non-professional reader it may be the least attractive, yet, when examined by military men, it will be found stored with valuable and practical information. Of course, in a progressive age (and in military matters, we believe that we have at last drifted into progression), there is much relating to detail, which has undergone great change since the remarks were penned ; but great principles—and of

these Sir John Burgoyne seems to be a master—still remain pretty much as before, as no agent has yet been fully developed in warfare, which will make a thorough revolution in the whole principle of the art, like that caused by the introduction of gunpowder, and, in later years, by steam. We recommend to all our readers, and especially to our military ones, an equally careful perusal of the three divisions we have alluded to; for in each of them are to be found important truths brought forward in a striking manner, opening up wide fields for study; and some of them fraught with practical instruction, to which we should be glad to see effect given. The book contains evidence of the writer being at heart a thorough soldier; and of his possessing that thorough knowledge of soldiers which experience alone can impart.

The first article, is the statement prepared in 1846 upon our military condition at that period, which originated the celebrated letter from the Duke of Wellington; the publication of which, had the Duke lived to the present time, he would probably have ceased to consider in the light of an indiscretion. Sir John Burgoyne has lived to see the fruit of that letter slowly, very slowly indeed but surely, ripening by the increased interest given to subjects of National Defence, and by the greater readiness of the nation to follow out the general system which is advocated in every paper in this portion of the work,—namely, that of rendering our peace establishments more efficient in warlike organization, so as to be more easily raised to a war footing when necessary. And though we are sure he much regretted the publicity given to the Duke's letter at the time, we are equally sure, that a man of Sir John Burgoyne's clear-headedness and sagacity, must have soon foreseen, that the words of the great man who so long led our armies to victory, and who was well known for the accuracy of his statements, would not fall upon a wholly barren soil; and that, sooner or later, this nation, remarkable as it is for intelligence and sound sense, would act upon them.

We are not disposed to agree with the editor in the opinion expressed at the foot of the first page, that there is very much difference between the facts which called forth this paper, and those which now exist, at least not as regards the stability of our relations with France. And with reference to the difficulty of procuring seamen, alluded to at pp. 13, 14, it remains to be seen, whether we have yet arrived at any satisfactory mode of effectively manning our fleet. The great fact likewise remains, that there exists still the same desire on the part of the French army for constant active employment, and for the acquisition of glory; and that, by a large portion of it, England is still looked upon as the stage on which to make the most favourable

display of their prowess. The augmentation of the French navy to such an extent as to be able to cope with that of England, is, as alluded to by Sir John Burgoyne at p. 13, still a favourite project with the ruler of the French nation; and the spirit which prevails amongst French naval officers, is to strain every nerve to promote the naval superiority of France to such a degree, as to emulate that superiority which she must fairly be allowed to possess both in the numbers and organization of her army.

Sir John Burgoyne endeavours, in this article, to confine himself as much as possible to the state of our military defences; but his observations regarding naval operations, pp. 13 to 18, are well-grounded, and useful for present application, as showing the possibility of losing superiority in the Channel for a short period, and what might be the consequences of such a disaster. It should be recollected that, whatever the danger was in that respect in 1846, it is now greatly increased, first, by the augmentation of the French navy, since that year, having been out of all proportion to that of ours; and, secondly, from the great advantage which the application of steam has given to the French for cases of sudden emergency. The latter is by far the most important consideration, because it enables them to turn their previous inferiority to us into a positive superiority. Their inferiority was attributable to their naval reserves, being formed by conscription out of a non-seafaring population; whilst ours consisted, excluding coast-guard, in the seamen of our merchant navy; and so long as the question was one of seamanship, there could be but little doubt on which side the advantage lay. But with the aid of steam, for carrying out any sudden, rapid, and secret movement, the object of which might be either the invasion of this country, or the overwhelming of one of its fleets by a more powerful force, their conscripts having been exercised in the drill and practice of great guns before being marched on board ship, would, when mingled with a small portion of sailors, possess a superiority over our excellent seamen, but wholly inexperienced gunners. We do not wish it to be imagined, however, that the application of steam to naval warfare will ever enable the French to claim a *permanent* superiority at sea; on the contrary, we believe that, in case of a breaking out of hostilities between the two nations, any such advantage would be of quite a temporary nature; and there is no doubt but that, in proportion as war continued, our resources would come more and more into play, and our ancient superiority re-assert itself. This would arise from our greater resources in coal, from our superior power of manufacturing machinery, and from the wider field open to us for procuring engineers and firemen from our steam

mercantile marine and other sources. Add to this the great experience and practical knowledge possessed by our seamen, which would assist us in husbanding our steam resources, be of considerable service both during and after an action, in refitting, and we think that there is every reason to be satisfied that, in the long run in a war with France, our naval position would still be maintained.

Sir John Burgoyne brought to notice, in this paper, the exceedingly small proportion of regular troops available at the time for the defence of the country; he pointed out their want of knowledge of "the art of war," and the defective organization of some of those departments upon whose efficiency in a campaign the very existence of an army depends. He also remarked upon an extraordinary deficiency in artillery, and the absolute uselessness of our fortresses as then existing. The total want of organization of our reserves did not escape his observation, and the necessity of maintaining a sufficient quantity of the *matériel* of war attracted his attention. Respecting the amount of troops required for the defence of England alone, a subject which, in consequence of the vast drain upon our army for India, is one of increasing importance, we would urge, that although the force of bayonets, sabres, and guns now maintained is perhaps sufficient for the protection of this country in time of peace, and for keeping up our reliefs abroad, yet those numbers should be wholly composed of regular troops. If, therefore, there is no reasonable expectation of greatly reducing the force at present serving in India, steps should be taken for replacing the militia regiments now embodied, by battalions of the line, as soon as the men can be raised.

We are next led to the consideration of the opinions expressed in this and in subsequent papers, respecting the militia and volunteer forces of the country. With some of Sir John Burgoyne's remarks on these subjects we do not agree, and others are now out of date; the system which prevailed regarding our militia at the time he wrote, and which he so much deprecated, having been considerably changed. In his observations, pp. 97, 98, after examining the efficiency of the militia under various circumstances attending on their enrolment, the conclusion he forms, is that militia is worth but "one-half, or at most two-thirds of an equal force of the line." We confess ourselves to be among those who look upon this as "undervaluing the militia," and we think that the experience of the last few years may have somewhat changed the writer's estimate of this very important element of our national defence. It is possible that he may have, in a great measure, grounded his opinions upon the state of our militia during, and subsequent to, the last French

war ; and if he did so, we can understand their being extremely erroneous when applied to the militia of the present day. In the first place, the service was then compulsory, and not a favourite one at a time when our regular troops were every day acquiring distinction and renown on their well-contested battle-fields ; neither did it contain, as at present, amongst its officers many gentlemen who had had the advantage of previous service in the regular army. Lastly, its regiments were avowedly used as nurseries for those of the line, and were consequently inefficient on account of the frequent thinning of their ranks, and a want of *esprit-de-corps*, which must ever be the result of such a system. We do not question the wisdom of this arrangement at the time, or indeed whenever difficulties are experienced in recruiting with sufficient rapidity for an army carrying on a war in a foreign country ; but the militia Sir John Burgoyne deals with is that which is supposed to be called out for the immediate defence of the country against invasion—a body with which no man in his senses would dream of adopting such a course, when the efficiency of every battalion, whether of line or militia, would be a matter of paramount importance. We believe that the only cause of militia regiments, after having been a year or two embodied, remaining inferior to those of the line, arises from the feeling of uncertainty regarding their period of service, which the nature of that service must engender ; and we are confident that if one of our English, Irish, or Scotch militia regiments, now more than two years embodied, were turned over at their own request to the line, and ordered to take their place in brigade beside another line regiment in the field, there would be no difference whatever found in the fighting or general campaigning qualities of the two corps. It is to be regretted that nowhere in the volume have opinions regarding the training of disembodied militia been expressed. This subject is one requiring the most careful consideration, and we are convinced that the system at present followed is not such as to ensure the greatest amount of efficiency which might be obtained while having a due regard to economy and public convenience. It is well known that a costly headquarter staff is maintained during the disembodiment of the various regiments ; this staff should be kept in an efficient state, and there is no reason why its service might not be made available for drilling recruits of the regiments during any period of the year, both at the headquarter station, and also in the various districts and villages, so as to interfere as little as possible with their ordinary avocations. This arrangement would be attended with but little expense to the country, and would enable the period allowed for annual training to be devoted to the more advanced stages of drill. Such training

should be attended by the whole of the men belonging to each corps, and should be extended for a longer period than at present. Unless a change be made in both these respects, we fear that the money voted for the disembodied militia service will continue to bring but a small practical return to the country. We are convinced, likewise, that it would tend greatly to increase the efficiency of the militia force, if, besides the annual training, a system were adopted of embodying each regiment in rotation for such a period as would enable it to be thoroughly disciplined. This might be done once in ten years; but the arrangement should not interfere with the number of regular troops retained in this country, but simply be one for rendering the service of this, our most important reserve, really useful on an emergency.

Looking at volunteers as a force of great, but of less importance, in a military point of view, than the militia, we are not prepared wholly to agree with Sir John Burgoyne in his estimation of its value. It is, however, somewhat remarkable to compare a few of his suggestions for its organization, with the system which has lately been adopted for this purpose. But probably his most valuable recommendation is that in which he advocates (p. 106) as "the principal and most useful application of volunteer corps," their being trained to the exercise of great guns, so as to assist in manning coast batteries; and in this way we are inclined to believe that artillerymen would prove as valuable to the country in case of invasion as the rifle corps, which branch of the service is evidently the favourite one in the present volunteer movement. Still the enrolment of companies, and even smaller bodies of practised riflemen, to form a second reserve force (the militia being the first), which might be used in skirmishing and as light infantry, or for other duties requiring superior intelligence or knowledge of the country, will, if a permanent measure, be the most important addition to our defensive arrangements.

In depreciating a volunteer system, we believe that Sir John Burgoyne alludes chiefly to the plan of maintaining regiments and large bodies, such as were formed during the last French war, when "the king reviewed sixty battalions in Hyde Park" (p. 29), which, in his opinion, would be of small value when opposed to regular troops. The volunteer system now authorized is, however, wholly different. Sir John Burgoyne holds, however, too low an opinion of volunteers under any system of organization; and with the recollection of what was effected in the American war by a volunteer army, and in La Vendée by a similar description of force, against regular troops, we are at a loss to account for the observation at pp. 121, 122,

that "there is no instance on record of a populace, however superior in numbers, successfully opposing an organized army, except by a very prolonged desultory warfare." History contains frequent instances in which volunteers have been successful against regular troops, not only in prolonged warfare, but in actions and campaigns. As to one observation, we must express our total dissent; being convinced that if ever a demand were made for the services of volunteers in this country, the remark at p. 104, predicting a vast amount of absenteeism, would prove wholly incorrect. The arrangements now making are, however, in too early a stage of formation to enable us to arrive at a just conclusion as to the real value of our volunteers; but the nation must be cautious, when estimating its means of defence, not to allow the enthusiasm of the moment to give this element more consideration than it is really worth.

It is to be regretted that the editor of this volume has not attached the date to each of the essays collected in it. To that on the military condition of Great Britain he has given us this information, but in those on naval gunnery and floating defences, he gives us no assistance for judging how far the opinions they contain on certain points, were expressed before they could have been tested by trial or practical experience in the field. We imagine, however, from various observations, that these papers were written prior to 1854, from which time the adoption of steam as a propelling power for all-sized ships of war, and the general use of the rifle musket in the army, may be said to have commenced. If such be the case, it is remarkable how clearly the writer foresaw the enormous advantages which must attend upon the latter of these changes, and how, unbiassed by prejudices which existed in the minds of other officers who had seen battles won by the old musket in the hands of our soldiers, his judgment was able to find a counter-argument for every objection brought against the adoption of the rifle as an arm for all infantry. It was not long, probably, before he witnessed the fulfilment of his predictions, in the slaughter inflicted by our soldiers, with even inferior weapons of this description, at Inkermann; and it is almost superfluous to point out how his opinion is now shared by every officer in the army. By none, we believe, was it more decidedly held than by the late Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge, to whose exertions the army is principally indebted for the system of rifle instruction, now followed with incalculable advantage under the watchful supervision of his successor.

In remarking upon the more general introduction of steam into our navy, the maintenance "of a class of men-of-war where the amount of armament shall be made completely subservient

to speed," is strongly urged—ships, which "will form the flying squadrons, and like cavalry and light troops in the field, will act as the look-out, and be formidable skirmishers." We are afraid that this admirable suggestion still remains to be acted upon, and that in vessels of great speed, superior in that respect to the best ships of our mercantile navy, we are still deficient. This is a want which might easily and speedily be supplied, considering the facilities we possess for the construction of such vessels in our private dockyards. When pointing out (p. 79) the advantages which would be gained, by having a certain number of these steamers, that which would be of the most importance in case of a war with France is omitted. We are supplied, however, with a hint on this subject at pp. 16, 17, in the remarks upon the movements of the French fleet, their powers of eluding our own, of preventing a junction between our Channel and Mediterranean squadrons, and of obtaining a temporary command of the Channel; and it is to prevent such a disaster, as the latter of these contingencies might prove, that this nation should be prepared with a sufficient number of the light-armed steam cruisers, of unparalleled speed, to which we have alluded.

In his remarks on Floating Defences, after pointing out the importance of floating batteries as auxiliary means of defence for harbours, Sir John Burgoyne condemns strongly the adoption of block ships for such a purpose. The objections which he brings against them are, we believe, now acknowledged; and the most important one appears at the present moment to be, their absorption of men-of-war's men, at the very time when the services of the latter in sea-going ships would be most necessary. After considering various substitutes, he arrives at one, which has the appearance of originality, and is free from the objections brought against other such modes of defence. It is that of having vessels constructed solely as batteries, having their motive power, consisting of tug steamers, separated from them, "as a field-piece is from its limber." Any such arrangement would be an important addition to the defence of our commercial harbours, towards which large sums are now annually provided. These batteries, if strongly cased with iron plates, impervious to shot or shell, not only as a means for preservation, but for giving confidence to irregular troops, might be served by volunteer artillery; their anchorage might be fixed in the most commanding positions, whilst, to avoid interference with traffic, they might be withdrawn from their moorings till required for the exercise of the gunners, or for actual warfare. Other measures of floating defence are adverted to, but as they all might easily be overcome by an active and intelligent enemy, we forbear any further allusion to them.

The article upon Army Estimates and Military Establishments is well worth perusal, though we think a great deal more might have been made of the subject. Sir John Burgoyne gives evidence, through his writings, of a capacity to foresee events to a remarkable degree, and we are consequently not surprised to find him, in an essay written but two years ago, bemoaning the reductions of the period. He does so in no wasteful or extravagant spirit, but with the good sense of a man wishing to avoid the fatal error of being "penny wise and pound foolish;" and he is fully sensible of the importance of exercising economy in every branch of state expenditure. "It is not here," he says, at p. 129, "the desire to advocate profusion, or an indiscriminate compliance with every demand made. Let economy, and a limitation to that which is strictly necessary, be rigidly enforced; but let the expenditure be with reference to the real wants of the service, and not to a given sum, which, right or wrong, it must be made to fit." This opinion is but in keeping with the spirit of what he previously remarked at p. 50: "Nor would I advocate any species of extravagance of outlay;—first, fixing upon the necessity of a case, let the most rigid economy be observed in making the required provision; let the smallest means, and those the least costly, be provided, so that it be adequate, but do not let the matter be treated as a question of expenditure in the abstract, without reference to the vast importance of the object, which is no less than to prevent the certainty of great sacrifices in our foreign possessions and commerce, and the possible loss of our very existence as a nation."

In stating, however, that "of all items of expenditure, that for the military service is the one of all others that should not be lightly reduced," the writer is hardly consistent with the spirit of his remarks in other essays, regarding the importance attending upon the adequate support of our naval establishments, and the difficulty of procuring seamen. For our own part, we should rather see the army placed on a footing like that of the United States, and containing in its ranks no more than sufficient men to provide garrisons for our fortified places at home and abroad, than see the navy reduced by one ship below what is necessary for the maintenance of our independence and dignity as a nation; and we must wholly dissent from what appears to be, at p. 137, the expression of a dangerous doctrine, when, in stating the objects for which reserves of soldiers should be kept up at home, Sir John Burgoyne concludes, by holding out as one of those objects, their being "available for aggressive operations." We do not mean to say that, if attacked, we should maintain a wholly defensive warfare. With our *fleets*, we should hope to see a contrary course adopted; but we are earnest advocates for reserving

our *army* to defensive operations, until such time as it may be our misfortune to be drawn into offensive wars, by land as well as by sea, for political purposes; but it is not the policy of England to keep up great military establishments to prepare for such events, which must be met as they best can, with the force which circumstances may at the time enable us to provide.

In estimating the annual expenses of our military establishments with a view to their efficiency and to our own safety, the leading points for our consideration Sir John Burgoyne considers are, first, regular forces; secondly, reserves; thirdly, *matériel*; fourthly, fortifications. We should be glad to think that the money spent on these, the most important heads of expenditure, formed the whole amount of our army estimates. It is, however, well known, that large sums are swallowed up in other contingencies attendant upon military establishments; but in no other country, we believe, is this the case in so large a proportion as in our own. Let those, therefore, whose duty it is to reduce estimates, consider well how far they can bring their reductions to bear upon such matters before they trench upon the more important items of expenditure which we have enumerated, the reduction of which should be carried out by adopting an economical system of administration, and not by reducing numbers of men, amounts of stores and supplies, or extent of fortifications, below what is necessary for the safety of the country. To that more economical administration we trust the attention of the War Minister will be directed, and we have no fear that the efficiency of our army or the security of the nation will be endangered by any reforms in expenditure which he may deem it his duty to introduce. We quote Mr Sidney Herbert's own words to prove that he is fully alive to our requirements, and we rejoiced, when reading them, to perceive that there was the prospect of a more enlightened era of military administration than the country has yet had the good fortune to experience. In his speech of the 29th of July 1850, on the motion that the expenses for completing our defensive works be met by a special fund, independent of the annual vote of Parliament, Mr Sidney Herbert said, "Your army, if small, ought to be the best equipped, best armed, and best trained army in the world, and no effort on the part of the authorities ought to be omitted to produce that result; but amongst those efforts . . . there ought to be provided that apparatus for defence which mere flesh and blood cannot alone supply. It is cheaper to build fortifications than to depend upon the manœuvrings of an army in the field." He then proceeded to show in the abstract that the cost of fortifications is small as compared with that of men, and to acknowledge frankly

our deficiency in that respect, and the importance he attaches to the subject.

Admitting the great importance of the completion of those few fortified posts which it is the duty of England to maintain, we would urge, both as a measure of economy and as one which would in many ways benefit the army, that, as far as practicable, the troops should be made available for their construction. As to the economy of such a proceeding, we are quite ready to allow, that so great a saving as might at first appear probable would not be effected by the substitution of the military for the civil labourer, notwithstanding that the pay of the latter is more than double that of the former. But we are not prepared to admit, as some have urged, that there would be no saving whatever, inasmuch as the only real superiority which should exist on the part of the navy over the soldier, as a labourer, is that resulting from a more habitually exercised strength and skill. Allowance must also be made for the necessity, on the part of the soldier, for devoting a portion of his time to military duties and exercises. We grant that there must always be these differences in favour of civil labour; but with regard to the former of them, it would, by time and constant exercise, be considerably diminished; and as to the latter, we would observe that discipline, regularity of attendance, organization, absence of strikes, and ready obedience to superiors, should tell a good deal to the advantage of military labour in making up for any loss of time consequent upon drill or other military employment. What we cannot, however, admit as a plea against its use, is, that because the British soldier dislikes such work, and is proverbially idle when so employed, we should make no use of his services for such purposes. The charge of idleness is frequently brought forward by Sir J. Burgoyne, and from what we can judge, he appears, after many years of trial, to have yielded to the pressure, and, as far as soldiers of the line are concerned, thinks it is almost hopeless to expect much from them. There is a great deal urged against the expediency of making soldiers work, which is attributed to prejudice. Some commanding officers disapprove of it, because they suppose that it wears out the men's clothes; others, because they fancy it gives the men a stoop; others say it makes them irregular in quarters and unsteady on parade. The inferior officers adopt the same tone, and when necessity compels the employment of military labour they do not look after their men; and we find the whole thing looked down upon, considered to be no part of a soldier's duty, voted a bore. The disastrous results of such a system (which we shall have occasion again to allude to) may be found in the records of every siege operation which the army has ever undertaken, from

the days of Marlborough to our own; thousands of lives have been its victims, and we dare not attempt to form an estimate of the money unnecessarily lavished in consequence of it. Why then not break through the prejudice at once, and insist upon both officers and soldiers being made to labour in the defence of their country, and consider such occupation as much a part of their duty as to fight on a similar occasion?

To meet the objections which prejudice urges against such a course of action, we are brought to the consideration of the second reason for which we advocated the employment of troops upon works of defence,—viz., the improvement of the soldiers themselves. We maintain that the sanitary state of the army would be much benefited by it. Idleness has much to say to any unusual amount of unhealthiness, which has been found to exist among the men; and as an illustration of this, we believe that we are not wrong in asserting, that the corps of Engineers, whose members are in constant employment, is the most healthy body in the service. If work wears out men's clothes, we would only beg commanding officers to recollect, that working pay is given mainly for the purpose of enabling the men to supply any deficiency in this respect, and not to be spent in the ale-house,—thereby rendering them irregular in quarters. We will allow that, perhaps, some work will occasionally make them round-shouldered; but, we would ask, whether the use of the pick and shovel, rammer and barrow, will not expand the chest, strengthen the arms and legs, and develop every muscle in the body,—thus making each individual, physically, a finer man and a stouter soldier? The eye of the martinet might, perhaps, detect some difference occasionally; but in a once well-drilled, and always well-disciplined regiment, we are convinced that there need be no looseness or unsteadiness on parade, nor, indeed, anything which would, in the slightest degree, injure its fighting qualities, but rather the reverse. It may be urged, that the rifle practice might thus be injured, the excellence of which is now the *desideratum* with the infantry soldier. This would be the case, very possibly, were the men to work daily from Monday till Saturday, for twenty-one years; but when we make allowance for the period spent in acquiring a knowledge of the rifle—for the changes of regiment to stations where no work would be required—for a weekly drill-day, and for the time devoted to annual rifle practice,—we have no hesitation in giving it as our opinions that no injury would arise, from this cause, to that most important portion of a soldier's duty. Lastly, the great object would be obtained, of teaching and accustoming the soldier to the use of implements which, in time of actual warfare, are frequently of far more importance, for a season, than the

musket and bayonet. The system we advocate is, of course, carried out everywhere by our Engineer troops, and is also, to a small extent, practised by the line in those colonies where large works are prosecuted, and where civil labour and contracts are difficult to obtain. But in this country it has hitherto been neglected; though we cannot conceive why civil and military labour might not be combined, and why, in constructing fortifications, the earthworks should not be thrown up by soldiers, while those portions of the work requiring skilled labour are contracted for. It should, however, be established, before the introduction of such a system, that to work is a military duty, and that idleness or inattention is a military crime, and one to be visited by immediate punishment. We have dwelt somewhat long upon this subject, and must plead as our excuse, our conviction of its vast importance.

The extent and expense of our Staff, and of the Civil Departments of the army, are subjects of too minute detail to enter much into here. It is notorious that the former service is the most sought after of any in the army,—chiefly, we hope, because officers have a pride in holding situations of trust and responsibility, which may lead to distinction, and to fill which creditably, calls for superior acquirements. But it is also well known that, with few exceptions, staff appointments are better paid, and their duties in time of peace are far less severe, than regimental ones; and they are in some instances sought after by men anxious to avoid the irksomeness of regimental life. This should not be the case; and though we do not believe that in either of these departments, officers are too highly paid, yet it is worth consideration, how far economy of expenditure on this head might be effected, by a reduction in numbers, and an assignment to each individual of an adequate amount of work.

We turn now from the first portion of the work, to that which has reference entirely to the events of the late Russian war, and which, with the exception of the two first articles, is confined to the allied operations in the Crimea. In the first article, a critique upon a yacht voyage in the Baltic, Sir John Burgoyne seizes the opportunity to state his opinions upon what appears, from various remarks throughout the volume, to be a favourite subject with him,—the relative merits of ships and shore batteries. This question was very much discussed, when a fleet was sent to the Baltic, which half the world expected would level the fortifications of Cronstadt, and which the other half felt convinced would be sunk, should any such attempt be made. We confess to having held the latter opinion; and therefore substantially agree with the view taken of this controversy by Sir John Burgoyne. We cannot see how an officer, who

had witnessed the gallant but ineffectual attempts of the allied fleets before Sevastopol, on the 17th October 1854, and who must have carefully studied the history of the unparalleled siege of Gibraltar in 1780-1-2-3, could form any other conclusion, in comparing the merits of wooden with those of stone walls. Still, we trust that no feeling of over-confidence in the latter will ever induce our Engineers to oppose stone batteries with exposed revetments, to the action of shipping, in situations where earthen ones can by any possibility be established.

The memoranda written upon the course of defensive operations which was advocated at an early period of the war between Russia and Turkey, and before war with England had been actually declared, induces us to believe that the writer could have had no conception of the magnitude of the assistance which the allies had determined to render to their "sick" friend. Sir John Burgoyne's scheme for the defence of Constantinople, securing at the same time the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea to the allied fleets, is well conceived. It is one which almost any other nation but the Turkish, holding possession of Constantinople, would at once adopt for the permanent defence of the capital; yet the lines of Gallipoli is the only portion of the project as yet executed. We know not by whom the retention of a portion of our army to garrison them, even after the invasion of the Crimea had taken place, was advocated; but we fancy it was felt to be an over cautious proceeding at the time. It is, however, too late now to discuss to what advantage these troops might have been turned had they been sent to the Crimea at an earlier period, or how far their presence might have lessened the sufferings of the army during the subsequent winter.

The reader might perhaps expect to find a good deal, not known before, about the siege and campaign generally, on perusing the headings of the various articles comprising the remainder of this portion of the work. If such be the case, he will be disappointed, as the articles are extremely guarded, and contain little or nothing which throw any actual new light upon the operations of the siege. This probably arises in a great measure from the fact, that until the history of the siege had been published under the sanction of the British Government, Sir John Burgoyne was unable to furnish information upon various points which still remain uncleared up, without a violation of that confidence which he from his position at the time, and share in the general operations of the army, probably enjoyed with its leaders. When the work to which we have alluded is given to the public,¹ we have no doubt but that it

¹ Written previous to the publication of the Journals of Proceedings con-

will contain Sir John Burgoyne's officially expressed views respecting the general plans of operations.

From the paper entitled, "Observations on the present circumstances of the allied army before Sevastopol," we gain indeed an inkling as to his opinion upon the true point of attack. It is stated, at page 185, that "so soon as the result of the battle of Inkermann opened the field for an extension in front of the most favourable side for attack by the tower of Malakoff, . . . it became necessary, *as was maintained on the part of the British General*, to carry into execution an extension of the attacks, so as to embrace the front of the tower of Malakoff;" but from the sentence following, we are led to infer that this was not a part of the "original project." That Sir John Burgoyne was opposed to any immediate assault of the place, without previously landing the battering train, and undertaking siege operations, is clearly shown; and in the subsequent critique upon the defence of Sevastopol, he implies his disbelief that the opinion on the subject attributed to the late Sir George Cathcart was ever held by that officer. As far as can be gathered from what is before us of the views of Sir John Burgoyne upon the campaign generally, it would appear that he approved of the siege having been given to the south side; that he considered the Malakoff as the key of the place, and as the proper point of attack; that he approved of the continuance of the siege till the fall of the town, in opposition to the plan of the Emperor Napoleon, which was in favour of taking the field in such force as to make the siege an object of secondary importance, if not of wholly abandoning it; and that, when the enemy had been driven from the south side, he was in favour of the army then undertaking operations somewhat of the nature of those suggested by the Emperor. The last opinion, though not expressly stated to have been his, we are led to infer was such, from the tone adopted at the close of his critique upon the imperial project. We have not, however, sufficient materials before us for entering into any controversy upon the subject of the conduct of the siege, or the general plan of operations; which, after all that has been written and said upon the matter, we think should be allowed to rest until some fresh and authentic information has been afforded to the public. This can only now be done by publishing the official record of the siege; and if such a work be ever written, we hope it will be one in which the truth is not slurred over from a mistaken desire to conceal our own shortcomings, or lest an imaginary offence might be given to our late allies in the campaign.

nected with the Siege of Sevastopol. 4 vols. 4to. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

In his treatment of the M'Neil-Tulloch report, Sir John Burgoyne endeavours to make the best of the case for the army, by showing the disadvantages which it laboured under, by attributing much to the want of organization of its transport, and by pointing out that, after all, we were not very much worse off than our allies. This was a large and important subject to have touched upon, and we admit to our disappointment in finding that it has been lightly treated. It might fairly have been expected that Sir John Burgoyne would have drawn some comparison between the condition of the army with which he served in the Peninsula and that in the Crimea, and that he would have given some opinion as to the relative merits of the arrangements made for carrying on the winter operations in both cases. We cannot believe but that a man possessing the prudence and judgment with which Sir J. Burgoyne is evidently gifted, must have formed stronger opinions than we find anywhere expressed in this volume, upon the absence of administrative ability in officers who, from their position on the staff and in the Civil Departments of the army, were responsible for its general administration. But this deficiency is one which pervades our whole military system, and arises chiefly, we believe, from the circumstance that administrative qualities are little cultivated amongst our officers, and are by them much undervalued.

The expediency of having two wholly distinct governing departments in the army, is a question which much concerns its efficiency, and has of late been much discussed. It is obvious that, according to the constitution of this country, where financial authority rests there must also be the superior controlling power; and yet there is this peculiarity in our military affairs, that positive command is exercised by a military officer holding an appointment to which no responsibility to Parliament is attached. We should be sorry to see a divided *responsibility* in the army, but we know no feasible way of getting rid of the divided *authority* which at present exists. It is an evil, we believe, but it is one which, being necessary according to the constitution of our army, should be diminished by every possible means. This can best be done, not by amalgamating the War Office with the Horse Guards, as many have proposed, but by so working those departments, that their actions may be *en accord*, and that there may be less likelihood of jealousy or disagreement between the governing or controlling body, and that which regulates military discipline. We might hope that, under some such arrangement, the country would be less likely again to witness misfortunes such as those which were attendant upon the blunders of administration during the first winter of the Crimean campaign, or the reckless expenditure of

public money which was adopted as the only means of avoiding them during the following one. We might hope, also, that during peace, the army departments would be vastly benefited by a reduction of much needless routine and circumlocution in the performance of their duties.

The Essays collected in the third division of the volume are principally written upon subjects of military detail, and will be studied with interest by military men. To their attention we would specially commend the writer's remarks upon the various details of siege operations, and especially those headed "British soldiers in the trenches, and military labour," at pp. 286 and 298, in which the writer's views upon the indifference of our troops as soldier-workmen, even in presence of the enemy, are plainly set forth. It is well known that the late Duke of Wellington was fully aware of this evil, and issued severe condemnatory orders upon the subject. That such things should have happened is a disgrace to an army, and that such will happen again must be evident, unless some radical change in our system be effected before a British army again takes the field.

The remarks upon the importance of an efficient Engineer Department, p. 313, and the two following papers, open a wide field for inquiry as to the extent to which it would be advisable to employ this force, and maintain its strength in time of peace. In time of war there is no doubt but that its proportion to other branches of the service should be at least equal to that of Continental armies. The reverse, however, has always been the case; and it is in a great degree to this circumstance, rather than to any want of skill on the part of the Engineers or Artillery, or to any want of bravery on the part of the Infantry, that we may attribute blunders, failures, and waste of life, in the carrying on of siege operations by the British army.

The articles upon the defects of organization in our service, and upon British cavalry, pp. 413, 433, contain sound practical opinions, formed after witnessing the whole working of our military system during the Russian war. In them, while doing ample justice to the discipline and gallantry of our cavalry force, Sir John Burgoyne points out its deficiency as a body, owing to the total absence of the lighter element in its composition, and the serious defect in the service arising from a want of affection on the part of the soldier for his horse. This latter evil we agree with the writer in looking upon as a national peculiarity, and therefore more difficult to be remedied than the former one, to which we have adverted: it is not, however, less important, and both combine to prevent the British cavalry from holding the highest place in the cavalry of European armies.

We cannot close a volume which we have perused with in-

terest and much instruction, without expressing our dissent from the spirit of the article containing the writer's views upon the educational test as applied to the army. They are at variance with the received opinions of the day, which have decided in favour of the application of that test to entrance and promotion, and latterly to the obtaining of staff appointments. We may assume that Sir John Burgoyne disapproves of any examination on matters connected with *general education*; but we can hardly believe, from the tenor of the opinions expressed throughout this volume, that he would object to its application in purely professional matters as a test for promotion; but whether this be the case or not, we have no means of deciding, as he is strangely silent upon the subject. It appears that his objection to an educational test, is founded upon the idea, that a young man intended for the army would be, under ordinary circumstances, as well educated as those members of his family brought up for other professions. From this opinion we wholly disagree. A boy, who, before the introduction of the present system, was intended for the army, received a certain amount of education either at home or at a school; and as the means of his parents were at times exceedingly small, so the instruction at times was extremely insufficient. It was known besides, in all cases, by both master and pupil, that after the scarlet coat was donned nothing further would be required in the way of education, and that so long as an officer could sign his name to a report, made out for him, or was willing to be responsible for the correctness of his pay-sergeant's figures, all would go smoothly. But how great the difference in other professions! In two of them at least, the church and the bar, school was of necessity succeeded by the University; in the medical profession, education was and is progressive almost till the day that practice ceases; in the navy, scientific acquirements, as well as practical ones, were the test for promotion to the grade of commissioned officer, and no clerk would have been taken into a public office or house of business who was not an intelligent and well-educated young man. We would ask, then, any person possessing a reasonable amount of knowledge of human nature, whether, under these circumstances, it is likely that youths entering the army from sixteen to twenty, would, as a general rule, be as well instructed in the leading elements of a gentleman's education prior to the receiving of their commissions, as those who, knowing that they had a further test to go through, would, as boys, have had their elementary instruction more carefully looked after; and whether, having entered a profession requiring no further stimulus towards education, the generality of young men would be apt to pursue their studies, or

take up those with which they had formed no previous acquaintance? We are ready to admit that exceptions did occur, and that accomplished men were to be found in the army; but such cases arose principally from the voluntary cultivation of previously formed tastes.

Sir John Burgoyne's arguments against the system of competitive examination are, we think, so weak as to be of little value. He brings forward the case of promotion from the ranks as an example of its inappropriateness, demanding how, if high education in an officer be necessary, is such promotion to be justified? This observation would apply if it were intended that officers should, as a general rule, rise from the ranks, and that the exceptional cases should be, the appointment of gentlemen to commissions. But the system is precisely the contrary; and we see no reason why the educational test should interfere with isolated cases of promotion from the ranks, considering the extent to which non-commissioned officers are now educated, and how few in proportion to the number of officers in the army such cases would be. Sir John Burgoyne would prefer as an officer, a smart, active boy who could swim, play cricket, and take part in all athletic exercises, to a mere book-worm. So should we; but we are pretty sure that the former would turn out no dunce, and that if he were required to be decently educated he would not be one whit the worse in the various points enumerated. Sir John asks what use there is in an officer "possessing a minute knowledge of history, of his being able to read the classics, and having much knowledge of modern languages, although some acquaintance with the latter will be doubtless of advantage to him?" To the latter portion of the sentence we give our entire assent, but is not the educational test from which the writer dissents, the only means by which the public can secure this advantage to officers generally? As regards the former portion, we believe that there are very few persons indeed who have a minute knowledge of history, and such a knowledge certainly never need be required of military men; but that amount of acquaintance with history, geography, and modern languages (the latter needing not to be extended beyond one European tongue), which is possessed by, and is essential to every gentleman in civilized society, should, without question, be insisted upon in our army. These acquirements, if not associated with high mathematical attainments, which are perfectly unnecessary for the mass of cavalry and infantry officers, will never have the effect of excluding from the service young men of active bodily habits and energy of character, which, with general intelligence, Sir John Burgoyne holds to be the necessary qualifications of a regimental officer. As to in-

sisting upon examinations on subjects of a non-professional character being made a test for *promotion*, we believe that such a system would be injudicious. Examinations should certainly take place, but they should be restricted to professional matters alone; and as high a standard as may be thought necessary being once established, an officer should be left to extend his acquirements or not, according to the bent of his own inclination. Many, we are sure, would do so, especially when knowing that to obtain staff appointments a higher qualification is necessary than for regimental ones. Every encouragement should be afforded to any such feeling, by granting leave of absence in time of peace to young men desirous of following a University course and of obtaining a degree, and by adopting Sir John Burgoyne's suggestion of having, at principal military stations, institutions for the assistance of officers in the pursuit of their studies. Such an institution, we believe, now exists at Woolwich, and we see no reason why others might not be established at Aldershot, Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham, Dublin, and, in fact, at any large and permanent garrison at home or abroad.

We regret to close our remarks upon this work, while disagreeing so strongly with the writer's opinions upon such an important subject as military education. We are disposed to look upon his views on education as exceptional, and inconsistent in spirit with those which we find expressed on other subjects. The reader will find much repetition of subject and matter in many of the essays comprised in this volume, arising from the nature of the work, made up, as it is, of papers composed at different periods, and for different objects, but bearing upon similar subjects. The interest of the book would have been far greater, if it had contained fewer of the critical, and more of the official or semi-official writings of this distinguished officer; but we must be content to accept the editor's explanation, that many of these last are of a confidential character, which for the present precludes their publication. Enough, however, has been given, to show that Sir John Burgoyne must ever stand high in the ranks of our military men. He is one of the last, we believe, of those officers who, having held a command under the Duke of Wellington, is still employed in the public service—the colonels, generals, and staff-officers, who led the Peninsular and Waterloo armies, having passed from the sphere of active duty. A new race of military men has since sprung up—one full of zeal and of promise; but no really great man has yet illustrated its ranks—no man to whom the army can look up for example and instruction, and in whose judgment full reliance and implicit confidence might be placed. We must only trust, that whenever circumstances

again bring our army into the field, a general may be found capable of leading it to victory—one who will possess the administrative as well as the military talent of our great Duke, and who, like him, will be capable of maintaining, amongst his officers and men, an iron discipline, and who will enforce an implicit and unquestioning obedience to his will, from all under his command. From the many improvements which have lately been effected in the organization of our army, and the increased liberality of Parliament in dealing with military matters, an English general will not again, we trust, be compelled to organize his troops or departments when in the field; but from the long absence of a master mind among its chiefs, and the increasing disposition, on the part of officers of all ranks, to call in question, and discuss in a tone of depreciation, the actions of their superiors, we feel convinced that a general will have a hard task, to obtain from those below him, a cheerful obedience, in temper as well as in act. Once obtained, we are sure that by this infusion of the old spirit, with the modern improvements of military science, the British army will be found capable of maintaining the high position that it held at the close of the last French war.

- ART. III.—1. ΜΩΡΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ. *Stultitiæ Laus*. Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami declamatio, 1518. Erasmi Opera omnia IV., 380–503. (Lugduni Batavorum). Written in 1510.¹
2. *Colloquia Familiaria* Auctore Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo. 1524. Erasmi Opera Omnia I. 626–894. (Lug. Bat. Written in 1522.²
3. Erasmus Roterodamus *De Utilitate Colloquiorum* ad Lectorem. 1527. Erasmi Opera Omnia I., 901–908. (Lug Bat.).

DURING the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, a little comedy was acted in the dining-hall of Charles V., to amuse him and his guests. A man in doctor's dress first entered the hall bearing a bundle of billets of wood, crooked and straight, threw it down on the broad hearth, and, in retiring, revealed the word *Reuchlin*, written on his back. The next actor was also clad in doctor's garb, and he set about making fagots of the wood; but having laboured long to no purpose, in fitting the crooked billets to the straight, he also went away out of humour, shaking his head; and a smile went round among the princes as they read upon his back *Erasmus*. *Luther* came next with a chafing-dish of fire, set the crooked billets thereon, and blew it till it burned. A fourth actor, dressed like the Emperor himself, poked the fire with his sword, meaning thereby to put it out, but making it instead burn brighter than ever. And lastly, a fifth actor came, in pontifical robes, and, by mistake, poured oil instead of water on the flames.

The part assigned to Erasmus in this little comedy, three centuries ago, is very much the part assigned to him by historians of the struggle which it was intended to represent. It is the part which he undoubtedly seemed to play as an actor on the Protestant stage. At a certain point he seemed to turn from the Reformation in fear and disgust. It was very natural that Protestants should, therefore, conclude that, so far as regards religious reform, he was a *time-server*; and this has ever been the Protestant verdict.

Such a verdict is not, however, a logical deduction from the evidence, unless it be proved that, in turning away from the Protestant cause, he was departing also from his *own* convictions, and kicking against the pricks of his *own* conscience. It

¹ Letter from Erasmus to More, prefixed to the "Praise of Folly."

² Eras. Op. i., p. 895.

may be that he was adhering throughout to his own previously formed opinions; and that the reason why he seemed to forsake the Protestant path was, that he and the Protestant Reformers, though walking for a while in company, were really travelling different roads. How far this was the case must be learned by the comparison of his early views with his subsequent writings; and none of these are better fitted for this comparison than his satires. We have "The Praise of Folly," written before Luther was heard of; and we have "The Familiar Colloquies" written after the Pope's Bull had issued against Luther, and after the epithet of "Antichrist" had been hurled back upon his Holiness by the excommunicated heretic. And, finally, we have a defence of these Colloquies, written in the midst of the Anabaptist riots, and after Erasmus had himself entered the lists against Luther. If the tone of the one differs from the tone of the other, or the last vein of satire, by its mildness, belies the keenness of the first,—or if the same views are not found in both,—then the old theory may be true. Was it so?

1st, What were the early views of Erasmus upon religious questions, and from whence derived?

He is at Oxford in 1498. Though only just turned 30, his wasted sallow cheeks and sunken eyes, show that youth has long ago taken leave of him—that long deep studies, bad lodging, and the harass of the life of a poor student, driven about, and ill-served, as he has been, have long ago sapped out of a weakly body the most part of its physical energy and strength. The sword has proved itself, ere half worn, too sharp for the scabbard. His fame, as a Latin scholar, is in every one's mouth. He has written one or two Latin works, chiefly of a critical nature; and the learned world has read and admired them. Why, then, is he at Oxford? *Greek* is to be learned there; and Greek, Erasmus is bent upon adding to his Latin. To belong to that little knot of men north of the Alps, who know Greek, whose numbers he may count upon his fingers, is his object of ambition,—his motives, love of fame, and distinction—nothing worse certainly, and perhaps nothing better. His college companions, it chanced, are young More and Dr Colet, men who ever after count as his closest bosom friends. When three such men are thus thrown together, the strongest character of the three must leave its impress on the other two. Elsewhere we have traced that influence on More. How does it work upon Erasmus?

Erasmus is skilled enough as a logician. He knows well how to make the worse appear the better reason. He can argue on any side of any subject. No theologian—in the round of his learning he yet knows something of the theology of the schoolmen; and, consequently, is wont to draw arrows from their capa-

cious quiver whenever Colet, as he often does, engages him on theological subjects.

Colet has just come home fresh from that Italy to which Erasmus is longing to go. He was in Italy while Lorenzo de Medici was in the full blaze of his glory, as the patron of art and learning, and artists and learned men. He talked with many of these, he mingled in the crowd of their admirers, and now he has come home master, not only of the elegant Latin of Politian, but master of that art of the use of language in general, which makes some men's words, few and simple, tell more than torrents of eloquence,—an art which is not to be learned, so much as it is the *gift of men of character*. Idle words fall not from such lips as his. “You speak what you mean, and mean all you speak,” says Erasmus. “Words rise from your heart—your lips utter your thoughts without changing them; and when you write, your letters are so open and plain that I read the image of your soul in them, reflected as in clear water.”

The truth is, little as Erasmus may as yet understand it, that Colet's whole heart and soul are wrapt up in one great idea, and from thence is derived that strength of purpose in everything he does, that earnestness and force in everything he says. Whether, as we have elsewhere hinted, the fire in his own heart was kindled by personal contact with the great Savonarola, when in Florence, is not our present question. It is rather to trace the influence of Colet on Erasmus. He is wont to bring forward some passage from the Gospels or Epistles, upon which his own thoughts have long been brooding. He pares off, one by one, what he calls the cobwebs of the schoolmen, and then gives his own clear simple view of its real meaning. Erasmus is wont to take the schoolmen's side, and clever and keen are his arguments. But the question is with him a mere trial of skill. Colet's first work is to wean him from this schoolmen's habit. “Let us defend (he one day writes to Erasmus) that opinion only which is *true*, or most like the truth, . . . and when, like two flints, we are striking one another, if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it!”¹

Sometimes, when away from Oxford, Colet, in his letters, starts questions concerning passages from the writings of St Paul, of so free a nature, that Erasmus dares not reply in writing, “since,” he says, “it is dangerous to speak of them openly.”² But as the two friends become more closely knit together, their flints strike more and more often the one against the other, till spark after spark enters deep into the heart of Erasmus, and he is fast becoming the disciple of Colet.

One day they are talking, as they often do, of the schoolmen.

¹ Colet to Erasmus, Eras. Op. v. 1291-2.

² Eras. Op. v. 1292, A.

Erasmus has singled out Aquinas, the best of them, as at least worthy of praise, seeing that he had, at all events, studied the Scriptures. Colet holds his tongue, as if wishing to pass from the subject. Erasmus is not then mine even yet; perhaps he is thinking to himself. But Erasmus turns the conversation upon Aquinas again. Colet turns his searching eye upon his friend, to see whether he is speaking, as he does still, sometimes, in jest, to bring on an argument such as he delights in. Erasmus is this time in earnest. He really does think still that Aquinas was a great theologian. The fire kindles in Colet's eye. "Why do you praise such a man as Aquinas?" he says earnestly—"a man who, unless he had savoured much of the spirit of the world, would never have polluted, as he did, Christ's doctrine, by mixing up with it his profane philosophy."

Few words these, as is Colet's wont; but Erasmus opens his heart to receive them. He likes Colet's boldness, and begins to think that he must be right. Yes, he thinks over to himself, this strange, complicated web of philosophy—this splitting of hairs, and discoursing upon utterly immaterial points—whatever else it be, it cannot be that Christianity which is to save the souls, not only of the learned, but of women and children, peasants and weavers. But, if I begin to doubt what the Church divines teach, where am I to stop? And again, he goes to Colet, the when and the where we know not exactly, but this we do know is the lesson he learns—a lesson that will stick by him for the rest of his life, and be, as it were, a loadstar to him in the darkness of the troublous times that are coming. "Believe what you read in the Bible, and in what is called the Apostles' Creed," says Colet, "and don't trouble your mind any further. Let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest. And, as to the observances in general use among Christians, it is better to observe them whenever they are clearly not contrary to the Scriptures, lest you should harm others by their non-observance."¹

Erasmus begins now to enter into the great object of Colet's life. It is to bring out again the Scriptures as the foundation of theological studies—to fight down the schoolmen with the Bible,—to preach the Bible and not the schoolmen, from the pulpit—to teach the Bible and not the schoolmen at the Universities, utterly regardless of the tempest and the dust that may be raised, or whether he, D. Colet, shall survive it or not. "Erasmus, will you join me in this work?" he writes to his disciple at last, "I want a partner in my labours." Erasmus replies, bidding Colet God speed! That Colet should have put his own shoulder to the wheel, he marvels not, but he does marvel that Colet should wish such a novice as he to join hands in

¹ Opera Eras. i. 653, C.

so glorious a work. He feels that he is not ready—he must study theology deeper first—he must nerve up his mind to greater courage. "But when I shall be conscious that I have courage and strength enough, I will lend my aid to your work. Meanwhile nothing can be more grateful to me, than that we should go on, as we have begun, discussing, even by letter, the meaning of the Scriptures. Farewell, my Colet."¹

Now, what was the consequence of this Oxford intercourse with Colet, extended, as it was, by letter, till Colet's death?

1st, We find Erasmus ever after devoting the best of his life to Biblical labours, his Greek New Testament, translations, and paraphrases—works upon which the Reformation may be said to have been founded. 2d, We find Erasmus ever after taking Colet's position in theology—believing the grand doctrines of the Bible and the apostles' creed, and regarding philosophical questions as questions for divines, secondary only in importance, about which men may well differ. 3d, We find Erasmus ever after firmly adhering to the Church and her usages in general, but hard in his blows, and biting in his satire, upon every abuse or usage which seemed to him contrary to the Scriptures. And among the abuses upon which he lavished his severest satire, were the morals of the clergy and monks, the reliance of the latter on their rites and observances, auricular confession, pardons and indulgences, saint and image worship, and war, upon all which points Colet's views and his were closely alike. Colet had either taught them to Erasmus, or they had learned them together from the Bible.

We turn now to the "Praise of Folly;" in order, first, to point out the circumstances under which it was written, and then to bring home to the reader the views it expressed.

After some years of close study of Greek, and through its aid, of the New Testament and early fathers, during which his intercourse with Colet is maintained by letter, Erasmus determines to visit Italy. He cannot be satisfied without going there; and so, after another short visit to his English friends on his rough hack, with his travelling boots and baggage, behold him trudging, day after day, through the dirt of German roads, such as they were three centuries ago. Thoroughly hard, unintellectual day-work *this* for our student, in his jaded bodily condition, now close upon 40. Strange places, too, for a book-worm, those road-side inns, into which he turns his weary head at night. One room serves for all comers; and into this one room, heated like a stove, some eighty or ninety guests stow themselves, boots, baggage, dirt, and all. As their wet clothes hang

¹ Eras. Op. v. 126.

on the stove iron to dry, they wait for their supper. There are among them, footmen and horsemen, merchants, sailors, wagoners, husbandmen, children and women, sound and sick—combing their heads, wiping their brows, cleaning their boots, stinking of garlick, and making as great a confusion of tongues as there was at the building of Babel! No literary work can be done here, it is plain; and, when past midnight, Erasmus is at length shown to his bedchamber, he finds it to be rightly named—there is nothing in it but a bed,—and the great task before him is now to find, between its rough unwashed sheets, some chance hours of repose.¹

So fare Erasmus and his horse on their day by day journey into Italy, sometimes a little better and sometimes a little worse; but by virtue of perseverance in the jog-trot of the steed, and patient endurance on the part of the jolted rider, Erasmus at length finds himself in Italy, and after diverse wanderings, in Rome herself. Now we are not going to tire the reader with a description of what Rome was in those days, or with a long description of what Erasmus did there—how he was flattered, and how many honours he was promised, and how many of these promises he found to be, as it is said injuries ought to be, written in sand. We had rather see him on his old horse again, jogging on as before, back again from Italy after some years' stay there, travelling the same dirty bad roads, lodging at the same kind of inns, and meeting the same kind of people, on his way home to England. There are hearts in England that Erasmus can trust, whether he can or cannot those in Rome; and, when he reaches England, and is safely housed with his dearest of all friends—Sir Thomas More, and can write and talk to Colet as he pleases, he will forget the toils of his journey, and once more breathe freely.

But what concerns us most is this: that it was to beguile these dreary journeys, that he thought out in his head, and that it was when he was safe in More's house that he put into writing his famous satire upon the Follies of his age—a satire which had grown up within him at these roadside inns, as he met in them men of all classes and modes of life, and the keen edge of which was whetted by his recent visit to Italy and Rome—a satire which he wittily named "*The Praise of Folly*."

In this little book he fulfilled his promise to Colet:—"When I have studied a little deeper, and have got courage enough, I will come to your aid." What Colet and he had whispered in the closet at Oxford, in it he proclaimed upon the house top. And let it be remembered, it was no mere obscure pamphlet, cautiously printed, anonymously, till it should be seen how the world would take it; the wounds it made were not inflicted in

¹ See Erasmus' description of these inns in his colloquy entitled, "*The Inns*."

the dark by an unknown hand, but the barbed arrows of his satire flew openly in the daylight, straight to the mark, and their wounds were none the less keenly felt because they were known to have come from the bow of the world-famed *Erasmus*!

Folly from her rostrum deals with a variety of topics, and finds votaries everywhere. She portrays the "grammarians" or schoolmasters, as despicable tyrants, and their filthy, unswept schools as "houses of correction." She points to the follies of the lawyer, sophist, and astrologer, in turn, and has her hard hit at each. And then passing from smaller to greater and graver fools, she casts her eye upon the schoolmen:—

"Perhaps it would be safest for me to pass these by. It might be hazardous to speak of men so hot and passionate. They would, doubtless, brand me as a heretic." But, nevertheless, she undertakes the task, and points out the sort of questions in disputing about which they spend their lives—such as whether Christ, instead of taking upon Himself the form of a man, could have taken upon Him the form of a woman, a devil, a beast, an herb, or a stone, and how, in the last case, He would have preached His gospel, or been nailed to the cross,—questions of so subtle a nature, that the apostles themselves would stand in need of a new revelation were they to engage in controversy with these new divines. These men (she continues) complain that St Paul, when he said that 'faith is the substance of things hoped for,' laid down a very careless definition; and say that he described charity very inaccurately in the 13th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Again—"The apostles were personally known to the mother of Jesus, but none of them philosophically proved, as some of these men do, that she was preserved immaculate from original sin. The apostles worshipped in spirit and in truth; but it does not appear that it ever was revealed to them how the same adoration that is paid to Christ should be paid to His picture here below upon a wall. They often mention 'grace,' but never distinguish between 'gratia gratis data' and 'gratia gratificans.' They earnestly exhorted to good works, but never explained the difference between 'opus operans' and 'opus operatum.' They invite us to press after charity, but they never divide it into 'infused' and 'acquired,' or determine whether it is a 'substance' or an 'accident.'" And so in other particulars.

Writing these words at More's house, Erasmus could not help mentioning the existence of a little band, who felt as though they could shake off the very dust of their feet against this scholastic theology. Thus a little farther on Folly adds:—

"But there are some men, and among them theologians too [Colet for instance], who think it sacrilegious, and the height of impiety, for men thus, with unclean lips, to dispute so sharply and define so presumptuously of things so sacred, that they are rather to be adored than explained; and thus to defile the majesty of divine theology with their own cold words and sordid thoughts.

“ But, spite of these better men, the divines choose to follow their own fancies ; they will occupy themselves night and day in their own foolish studies, while they will scarcely spare a moment to read either the Gospels or the Epistles of Paul.”

Truly Erasmus has in good earnest joined Colet in his battle against the schoolmen. He has taken Colet's simple view of theology, and has grown bold enough to publish it. And though the “ Praise of Folly,” being a satire upon existing abuses, does not tell us fully what he wishes to see in their place ; yet there is other abundant evidence, that he not only sought to wean men's minds from the works of the schoolmen, that he also sought to lead them to the Bible. He was already preparing for his Greek New Testament, by a patient study of its contents ; and already was the truth dawning on his mind, which afterwards found vent in his defence of his Testament, viz. that the Scriptures should be translated into all languages, so that not only all Christians, but that Turks and Saracens might read them. “ I would,” said he, “ that the peasant should sing the truths of the Bible as he follows the plough ; that the weaver should tune them to the whirr of his shuttle ; that the traveller should beguile with its stories the tediousness of his journey.”¹

From the *doctrines* of the schoolmen and divines, “ Folly” turns to the *morals* of popes and clergy, their secular pursuits, and the wars which they engage in themselves, and foment among the princes :—

“ The popes of Rome (she says) govern in Christ's stead ; if they would but imitate His example, there would be no party strife, no buying of votes in the conclave, to secure an election ; and those who, by bribery, get themselves elected pope, would never resort to pistol, poison, force, and violence, to maintain their position. . . . It is singular that St Peter should have told our Saviour that he had left all to follow Him, and yet could leave as an inheritance to these popes (St Peter's patrimony they call it), fields, towns, treasures, and large dominions ! While, too, their only weapons should be those of the Spirit, to defend this patrimony, they fight with fire and sword. . . . As if Christ were perished, they defend His religion by arms. Yes, though war be so brutish, that it becomes beasts rather than men—so frantic, that even the poets feigned it to be the work of the furies—so licentious, that it puts a stop to all justice and honesty—so unjust, that it is best waged by ruffians and banditti—and so impious, that it cannot exist along with Christ ; yet, in spite of all this, these popes will go to war.” . . .

Then again, “ the popes only thrust their sickle into the harvest of *profit*, while they leave the *toil* of spiritual husbandry to the bishops. The bishops, in their turn, bestow it on the pastors ; the pastors on their curates ; they, again, commit it to the mendicant monks ; who

¹ Erasmi, Op. v. 140.

give it again to such as know how to take advantage of the flock, and to benefit out of their place.”

Passing from the clergy to those “who vulgarly call themselves ‘the Religious,’ and ‘Monks,’ though most of them are as far from religion as they swarm in numbers,” the satire rises to a severer tone—a tone, the very seriousness and solemnness of which must have made it doubly stinging to its unfortunate victims.

“Their religion consists, for the most part, in their title . . . and yet they think that they have worked so many works of supererogation, that one heaven can never be reward enough for their meritorious life; little thinking that Christ, at the last day, shall put all their works aside, and ask only whether they have fulfilled His own single precept of charity. Then will one brag that he has fed only upon fish—another that he has done nothing but sing psalms—a third will tell how many thousand fasts he has kept—another will plead, that for threescore years he has never so much as touched a piece of money, without protecting his fingers from pollution by a double cloth—another shall glory in having, for seventy-five years, lived like a sponge, fixed to one spot—another shall aver, that his voice is hoarse with incessant singing—another, that his tongue has grown stiff with long silence. But Christ, putting a stop to their never-ending self-glorification, shall answer, ‘I told you plainly in My Gospel, that My Father’s kingdom was promised, not to cowls or habits, vigils or fastings, but to the practice of charity. I cannot own such as think so much of their own deeds as if they were holier than I. Let those who prefer their own traditions to My precepts, go and occupy the empyrean heavens, or order new ones to be built for them.’

“When the monks shall hear these things, and see sailors and waggoners preferred to themselves, what grimaces, think you, will they not make?”

Thus boldly did Erasmus bid defiance to the most powerful rabble upon earth—a rabble that he well knows will take summary vengeance in one way or another.

As to *indulgences and pardons*, without saying that all pardons are wrong, he points out the evil of their abuse.

“By the purchase of pardons, a merchant, soldier, or judge, by giving up a portion of his ill-gotten gains, deems the sink of his heart purged from iniquity—a bargain struck, as it were, with his sins; and then, all arrears being paid, he enters upon a new cycle of crime.”

As to *saint-worship*, without condemning it altogether, Folly asks, “What do men pray for, and thank the saints for, but such things as minister most to their folly? One has escaped from shipwreck; another has lived through a battle; another, while the rest were fighting as bravely and as happily, fled. Another has broken jail; another, against the will of his physician, has

recovered from a fever ; but nobody thanks the saints for preserving him from Folly !”

Such was the “Praise of Folly ;” silent upon the use of these things (if such there be) but bitter as gall upon their prevalent abuse.

We turn now to the *Colloquies* to ask, first, under what circumstances they were written, and then what views they expressed. Ten years have passed since the former satire was written. Colet, having laboured manfully during his short noble life, rests from his labours. Erasmus has not yet followed him. A wanderer from city to city, to study this manuscript and that—struggling with poverty, the wolf scarcely ever driven for long together from the door—irritated by constant conflict, owing to the enemies that his bold satire has made—worn by incessant literary toil—the loss of friends, and the excitement of success—in the midst of wasting bodily maladies, he has, nevertheless, given to the world his Greek New Testament ; and the wonder is, that he is still among the living. He had worked hard in the hope that he might eke out his bodily strength to the end of his great work ; but to survive the thrill of approbation with which the best men of Europe have hailed its publication, was beyond what he looked for.

A little while ago, he was indeed brought to death’s door. But the destroyer spared him. “Who would have thought that this frail wasted body (he writes) weaker now by increasing age, after the toils of so many journeys, and the labour of so many studies, should have struggled through such an illness as I have had. You know how hard I had been working at Basle just before it. I had a kind of suspicion that this year would be fatal to me, because worse and worse maladies came so thick upon me in succession. When the disease was at its worst, I felt that I could neither grieve at the loss of life, nor tremble at the fear of death. There was hope in Christ alone ; and to Him I could only pray that He would give me just what was best for me. *Formerly, when a young man, I remember that I used to tremble at the mere name of death.*”¹

It was then from a sick, and as it was thought, a dying, bed, that Erasmus rose to grapple with times more troublous than any he had yet seen.

While Erasmus had laboured, another man had entered into his labours, and was pushing them much further than he had dared to do. While, with the rest of the world, he was wondering what manner of man this newly risen Luther could be, the world expected him to tell them boldly what he was ; and to take his side either with Luther or the Pope. For long he had

¹ Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, Eras. op.

kept silent, on the pretext that, not having read his works, he was not able to judge. Then the crisis had come. The Papal Bull and Luther's book, "De Captivitate Babylonicâ," had made all things ripe for a schism. He grieved to separate himself from such men as Hutten and the gentle Melancthon. He hated the very thought of siding with the monks, "for if the monks get the upper hand again, they will try," he said, "to entomb Jesus Christ so that He may rise no more." But yet he dared not lend his aid to a schism. "I would join," he writes, "with Luther with all my heart, if I saw he was with the Catholic church. If things come to extremities, and the Church totters on both sides, I will fix myself on the solid rock till a calm succeeds, and I can see which is the Church." Was it wonderful that, in his bodily weakness, he should refuse to join as a leader in the Protestant battle; that he should complain of being dragged into the controversy, and confess that not having the courage requisite for a martyr, he feared, that if put to the test, he should imitate St Peter? Was it strange that he should choose rather to pursue in peace, so long as bodily strength might allow, those Biblical labours that Colet and he had planned and undertaken together? Whether strange or not, he has made his choice, and to that choice adheres.

He publishes revised editions of his New Testament; and, more than this, he proceeds steadily with a work supplemental to it—a work, the first portion of which had been issued as early as 1517, while Luther was sticking up his thesis on the Wittemberg church doors—and which had been commenced many years before that, viz., a simple paraphrase or exposition of the plain sense of the text of the New Testament, undefiled by the subtleties of the schoolmen, and unbiassed even by the controversies raging around him. How honestly and faithfully this work was accomplished, is pointedly shown by the fact, that when an English Bible was ordered to be placed in every English church, at the suggestion of the Protestant Coverdale, an English translation of these paraphrases of Catholic Erasmus was ordered to be placed side by side with that Bible, as best fitted to teach its real meaning to the people. At this work, then, it is that Erasmus is labouring, while torn in pieces between the two opposing parties, and while he is refusing to side with either, to the vexation of both, it is this work that he is writing to Froben, the printer, to press forward, though to the neglect of others, being the one *best fitted for times such as these*.

Had the paraphrases been written in calmer times, we might have passed them by; but that, in the most controversial of all times, this most uncontroversial of all expositions of the Bible, should have come from the pen of Erasmus, is too sure a proof

to be slighted, how closely he followed the advice of Colet, "Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' creed. Let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest."

Nor is this mention of the paraphrases irrelevant to our review of the satire of Erasmus. It was during the intervals of his Biblical labours that the old vein of satire, traced before, found vent again, this time in the garb of a mere school book, dedicated to one of the children of Froben, the printer, and entitled, "Familiar Colloquies." And these little bursts of wit are only to be correctly judged with those greater and graver labours in the background.

What are these "Colloquies?"

"This book (said Erasmus) is not a book upon the doctrines of our faith, it treats upon the art of correct speaking."

It begins with simple instructions as to what a polite boy is to say upon this and upon that occasion, so that he may pass for a gentleman, and not for a churl. It teaches what forms of salutation are used by the vulgar, and what approved by the learned; how to greet a friend or a stranger when you meet, and how to bid them farewell at parting. It then proceeds to explain, by example, how a man may show his concern for another who is ill, or congratulate him if he be well. And, as by degrees the sentences and conversations lengthen, they grow into dialogues on various subjects supposed to be instructive to youth. As these advance, they become less and less trivial, and more and more serious, until at last, by insensible degrees, you find yourself under the full force of the severest satire, one thing after another passing under the lash in turn.

As in the "Praise of Folly," so in the "Colloquies," Erasmus takes no pains to conceal his disgust at the utter hollowness and want of principle which marks the tone of general society, or his conviction that monkery has eaten into its very core, and is to be blamed for much of its rottenness.

Take, for instance, the colloquy of the "False Knight." It reminds one of Ellesmere's essay on "The Art of Self-Advancement," in the last series of "Friends in Council." It professes to show how a man may cut a respectable figure in the world, though, in fact, he is nothing at all, and has nothing at all—not even a conscience.

"Go to a place where you are not known, and call yourself a nobleman, for the nobility have a general license to be lawless. If any traveller should chance to come that way—it may be out of Spain—ask how your cousin the Count of Nassau does, and the like. Wear a seal-ring upon your finger (you can get a brass ring gilt for a trifle). Hang a coat-of-arms up over every door you lodge at. Have counterfeit letters sent you, in which you are styled 'the Illustrious

Knight,' and so forth, and in which there are plentiful mention of castles, estates, and great affairs. Contrive to drop these letters by chance, or what is better, send your coat to the tailor's to be mended, with one in the pocket; and, when you hear of it, as you will, put on an air of exceeding vexation at your carelessness. Take care to have servants about you who shall call you 'My Lord,' and so on. Bribe some needy printer to mention you in his pamphlet as some great man, *e. g.*, a nobleman from Bohemia, and in *capital letters*. And mind you your servants must gain their pay by the use of their fingers. In the retinue of a nobleman they can do this with ease. Then, as to the money, people always give to a nobleman credit. And never be afraid of your creditors; they will never offend so great a personage, lest they should lose their money altogether. No one has his servants more in awe than a debtor his creditor. If you ever pay them anything they will take it more kindly by far than if it were a gift. When they come to you always make a show of money. If you have to borrow the money, and pay it back the same day, you must have money to show. When you are over head and heels in debt in one place, remove to another; that is the way all great princes do, and therefore you need not fear—you are in good company. . . . If things grow desperate, pick up a quarrel with some monks or priests (they always have plenty of money). Breathe nothing but destruction and ruin upon them, and when they are thoroughly terrified, offer to compound matters by the demand of 3000 pieces of gold. If you demand such a sum, they will be ashamed to offer you less than 200, at all events. When you find that you must leave the place altogether, give it out that you are called away suddenly by the emperor, and let it be known that you will shortly return at the head of an army. And, finally, you need not forget that you have a pair of heels to trust to, if you cannot depart like a lion!"

After such maxims as these (we have only given the pith of them) the colloquy winds up with reminding the reader that to play such a part with success, *one thing is absolutely needful, viz., that a man should believe that after death there will remain nothing of him but his carcase!*

Take again the colloquy called "Charon," in which Erasmus represents the old ferryman mourning his wrecked boat, while his overcrowded passengers are paddling among the frogs. Fame brings him word that he may expect a brisk trade; for the furies have shaved their crowns as smooth as an egg. *Strange animals in black, white, and grey habits*, are hovering about the ears of princes, and stirring them up to war. In France they preach that God is on the French side; in England and Spain that the war is not the king's but God's! Add to this, that a new fire of strife has grown up of late in the *variety of opinions* that men have. At these news Charon determines to invest the halfpence, which for the last 3000 years he has been scraping together, all in a new boat. But, alas! he says, if any should start a peace,

my gains will be taken away at once! Never mind that. They who preach peace, preach to the deaf. Alas, too, all the Elysian woods having been felled for burning heretics' ghosts, where is his wood to come from? Then who is to row over these multitudes? The ghosts shall row themselves, says Charon, if they have a mind to get over. What if they have never learned to row? Charon has no respect of persons. He will make kings row, and cardinals row, as well as the poorest peasant. Every one with him takes his turn. Meanwhile the banks of the river are already crowded with ghosts. Charon goes after a boat, and the messenger hastens on to hell with the good news!

Passing from the general to the particular, in another colloquy Erasmus represents a soldier coming home with empty pockets, but heavy laden with sin. He tells of the crimes committed under the sanction of the law of arms. His friend tells him that his only excuse is, that he is mad, with the most of mankind. The soldier retorts that he has heard a parson say from the pulpit that war is lawful. "Yes," says the other, "pulpits are no doubt oracles of truth; but though war be lawful for a *prince*, it does not follow that it is lawful for *you*." The soldier then urges that every man must live by his trade. "Ha," replies the other, "an honourable trade this!—to burn houses, rob churches, ravish nuns, plunder the poor, and murder the innocent." "What of that?" replies the soldier: "if I had robbed Christ Himself, and cut off His head afterwards, the priests have pardons to cover it, and commissions large enough to compound for it." "But what," says the other, "*if your composition is not ratified in heaven?*" "What a troublesome fellow you are, to put such scruples in my head. My conscience was quiet enough before; pray, let it alone." "Nay, you should be glad to meet a friend who gives good advice." "I can't tell how good it is," says the soldier, "but I am sure that it is not very pleasant;" and so they part.

"I wrote this colloquy," says Erasmus (in 1526), "that young men may learn to hate the villanies of the soldier's life. And in what I say about pardons in these colloquies (and they are often mentioned), I do not condemn all pardons, but those vain triflers, who put their trust in them without the least thought of amending their lives. Surely it is well to admonish young men in this matter. But you will say, that by this means the commissioners may lose their gains! If you are an honest man, hear me: If they be good men, they will rejoice that the simple are thus warned; but if they be such as prefer gain to godliness, then—Fare-them-well!"

Next we adduce a colloquy satirizing *Confession and Saint Worship*

In the "Shipwreck," the effect of the terrors of a raging sea,

and the prospect of a watery grave, on the various passengers, is depicted with all Erasmus' power and skill in word-painting. You feel yourself in the midst of it all as you read it: shrouds and masts shattered and gone; bales of merchandise turned overboard; sailors singing lustily their "Salve Regina," in hopes that the Virgin Mary (though she never took a voyage in her life) may hear them, and save them from the all-devouring sea. An Englishman promises mountains of gold to "Our Lady at Walsingham;" another, a pilgrimage to St James de Compostella, barefoot and bareheaded, and begging his way; another, at the top of his voice, vows a wax taper as big as himself to St Christopher (but whispers that if once on shore, he shall not have even a tallow candle). How affliction makes men religious! One man only there is on board who makes no vows, and bargains with no saint. "Heaven is a large place," he says; "and if I should recommend myself even to St Peter, who, as he stands at the door, would perhaps hear soonest, before he can come to God Almighty and tell Him my condition, I may be lost. I will go to God the Father Himself; no saint hears sooner than He does." There is a mother there, with her little child clasped to her bosom, calmer than any one else. She neither bawls, nor weeps, nor makes vows; but hugging her little boy, she prays softly and in silence. The ship dashes now and again against the ground. She must soon fall to pieces. Here is an old priest, and there a Dominican monk; and see how fast every one in turn is making hasty confession! There is one only who, seeing the bustle, confesses himself privately to God—the man who had prayed to God. Then comes a cry of land. But the ship is falling to pieces. A rush begins for oars, planks, and poles. The boats are overcrowded, and sink. Only seven out of seventy-eight passengers get safely to shore; and among them are found, not those who promised mountains of gold to the Virgin, or wax candles to the saints,—not those who bawled their loudest "Salve Regina,"—not those who confessed most devoutly to the priest and the monk;—but the calm, pious woman and her child, and the man who prayed and confessed himself only to God, these are the first to be landed in safety!

Holding these colloquies to be conclusive evidence that Erasmus, while still adhering to the Church and her usages in general, as he has ever done, is bold as ever in his satire upon such abuses or usages as are in his view contrary to the Bible, we now turn to the question, how far he maintained in this work the general position in theology, which, as we have said, he had inherited from Colet, and adopted as his own.

Has the great Protestant Revolution materially changed his views? Does he, still hating the schoolmen, still look upon the

Bible as the fountain-head of the Christian faith? Does he still point to the Apostles' Creed as the line within which the interpretation of that Bible should be unanimous throughout the Christian Church? Is he still willing to admit that, beyond that line, men may well differ in their interpretations, and need not be too anxious to agree? Now that difference of opinion has become more prominent than ever, does he depart from his liberal views; or does he seek to disarm the difference of opinion of its bitterness by calling men to rally round their points of agreement, rather than fight about unessential points of difference?

There is a colloquy called the "Child's Piety," in which one schoolboy tells another about his religion. In answer to numerous questions he is made to say, "I kneel down by my bedside at night, say over the things learned during the day at school, and ask Christ's forgiveness for my faults." . . . "During divine service, when I feel myself polluted with the stain of any sin, I do not withdraw myself from the altar, but in my mind, standing as it were afar off, as though not daring to lift up my eyes to God the Father, whom I have offended, I strike upon my breast, and cry out with the publican, 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner.'" . . . "I give thanks to Jesus Christ for His unspeakable love in condescending to redeem mankind by His death, and I pray that He will not suffer that His most holy blood should have been shed in vain for me." . . . "I confess daily; but I confess to Him who alone truly remits sin." "To whom?" "To Christ." "And do you think that enough?" "It would be enough for me, if it were enough for the rulers of the Church and received custom. Whether Christ appointed confession as now used in the Church, I leave to be disputed by divines. To confess to Christ is certainly the *principal confession*, and nobody confesses to Him but he that is angry with his sin. If I have committed any sin, I lay it open and bewail it to Him, and implore His mercy; nor do I give over till I feel the love of sin purged from the bottom of my heart; and the peace of mind that follows, I take as a proof of the sin being pardoned. I confess to a priest before I go to communion, but even then only in few words." As to his future life, he rather inclines to divinity, "though the bitter contentions among divines displease me." Finally, to the objection that many are afraid of divinity, because they see no principle but what is called in question, he answers, "I believe firmly what I read in the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed, and I don't trouble my head any further. I leave the rest to be disputed and defined by the clergy, if they please. Whatever is commonly observed among Christians, if it is not repugnant to the Scriptures, I also observe, lest I should harm other people. . . . When I was a boy, and very

young, I happened to live in the house of that honestest of men, *John Colet*; . . . and he instructed me, when I was young, in these precepts.”¹

Finally, there is another colloquy, in which a Catholic is made to examine a Protestant closely concerning his belief in the *Apostles' Creed*. And having elicited from the Lutheran a full and orthodox answer to every question upon every point in turn, the Catholic at length confesses: “When I was in Rome I did not find all so sound in the faith! Well, then, since you agree with us in so many and weighty points, how comes it that there is this war between you and the orthodox?” And, in his defence of the Colloquies, before quoted, Erasmus says (in 1526): “I set forth in this colloquy the sum of the Catholic faith, and that, too, somewhat more clearly than it is taught by some divines of great fame. I bring in the person of a Lutheran, so that by showing that we do agree in the chief articles of orthodox religion, a reconciliation may be made more easy between them and us. . . . Let us try (he continues) candidly to interpret other men’s words, and not esteem our own as oracles; for where there is hatred in judging, judgment is blind. May that Spirit, which is the pacifier of all, who uses His instruments in various ways, make us agree and consent in sound doctrine and holy manners, that we may all come to the fellowship of the true Jerusalem, that knows no discords!”

Clearly and explicitly must these Colloquies be admitted to uphold those general views which we have endeavoured to bring out in these pages, as the views that Colet and Erasmus had accepted before the name of Luther was known outside convent walls.

But it may be said, as it has been said a hundred times, “Why, then, did Erasmus attack Luther?” It is no part of our purpose to deny that Erasmus had faults, or to free his character from every charge of inconsistency. Theory is one thing, and practice another. A man may be sectarian in his very denunciation of all sectarianism, if he denounce it in a sectarian spirit. And that that spirit is to be found embittering the words of Erasmus when in controversy with Luther, far be it from us to deny. Few men of that day were free from it. But it is worth our while to remember, that the charge Erasmus made against Luther, in his controversy on the Freedom of the Will, was not only a charge of error in his view of the question itself, but also the very charge which he and Luther had both made against the schoolmen—“*Why encumber Christianity with your philosophies?*”—That the position taken by Erasmus upon that

¹ Erasmi, Op. i. 653.

question was, that it *was* one of *philosophy*,—a question which had vexed Pagans before Christ was born, and which was in its nature inexplicable. He thought, therefore, that it was best not too anxiously even to *try* to fathom its unfathomable abyss.¹

Leaving, then, the faults and weakness of Erasmus, in matters of action and practice, untold and undefended, we have, in conclusion, to ask only whether any alteration in his general views can be traced in his last works and words.

Would that we could throw anything of tragic interest or brightness round his last years. There is something so grand in a great man's life, ending just in its meridian glory—whether the end comes, as in More's case, upon the scaffold, or the pestilence steps in rudely, as in Colet's case, and spares him the trial of faith, and perhaps the pains of martyrdom—that it is painful to dwell instead upon the long dragging out of life through years of sickness—the pale messenger so long in view, but so long in coming, as if the process of dying were as tedious as man's life is short.

Thus it has been usual to hush up the last days of Erasmus. But we want to know, when we hear of his being crippled by disease, and brought nigh to death's gate, whether he still holds at seventy, and dying, the views learned from Colet at thirty, published in the "Praise of Folly" at forty, and confirmed by his Biblical works and Colloquies between fifty and sixty.

Let us then look at Erasmus, on the verge of seventy, wrapped up in his blankets, writhing with pain, daily dragging his wasted body, as it were, piecemeal to the grave—and mark that he is writing, in his sixty-seventh year, a simple exposition of the *Apostles' Creed*, and a treatise "*Concerning the Unity of the Church in Love*."

It is well to mark, too, how he bears up under the news of the execution of his darling friend, Sir Thomas More—that execution, of which a severe critic has acknowledged that it was the world's wonder, as well for the circumstances under which it was perpetrated, as for the supernatural calmness with which it was borne—a calamity which was to Erasmus like the severing of his joints and marrow, but which was borne by him patiently, under the full and avowed assurance, that very soon he should meet again that friend, "whose bosom was," he said, "altogether whiter than snow."²

Nor did his sorrow stop that work which his maladies could not. His grief found vent in the preface of a treatise, which he named "*Ecclesiastes*," or "the Method of Preaching." The great want of the Church he thinks to be pure and Christian pastors, who should scatter the seed of the Gospel. He asks,

¹ Erasmi, Op. Epistolæ 764 D.

² See preface to "*Ecclesiastes*."

Whence the coldness of men's hearts? Whence so much paganism, under the Christian name? And he answers these questions by saying, "When I was in Italy, I found a people willing to be taught; but I did not find the pastors to teach them."

Thus dropping the negative tone of satire, his mind grapples with positive and practical questions, during the months of suffering and sorrow which usher in his seventieth year, and the pale messenger with it.

He has urged with his dying voice the purity of *pastors* to feed the flock. Thirty years ago he declared his opinion in the "Praise of Folly," that the priests and clergy alone did not make up that Church which is the spouse of Christ. Why should he not add the testimony of his dying voice to the purity which the Gospel demands equally of each individual Christian and member of that Church? He takes up, therefore, his pen once again. "Some think," he says, "that Christ is only to be found in the cloister. I think He is to be found, universal as the sun, lighting the world. He is to be found in the palaces of princes, and in the soldier's camp. He is to be found in the trireme of the sailor, and in *every pious heart*. . . . Know then, oh Christian! thy true dignity, not acquired by thy merit, but given thee from heaven. I am speaking to thee, whether thou art a man or a woman, young or old, rich or poor, noble or ignoble, a king, a peasant, or a weaver; and I tell thee, whoever thou art, if thou art born again in Christ, thou art a king! thou art a priest! thou art a saint! thou art the temple of the living God! Dost thou gaze in wonder at a temple of marble shining with gems and gold? Thou art a temple more precious than this! Dost thou regard as sacred the temple that bishops have consecrated? Thou art more sacred still! Thou art not anointed only with sacerdotal oil; thou art anointed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb." . . . "Each in his own temple," Erasmus goes on to say, "we must sacrifice our evil passions and our own wills—offer up our lives and hearts—if we would at last be translated into the heavenly temple, there to reign with Christ, to whom be glory and thanksgiving for ever!"

This is the last sentence of the last work of Erasmus. It bears date January 1536. On the 15th of July, after uttering many sentences, which, says his friend, Beatus Rhenanus, plainly showed that he put all his trust in Christ, with the words "*Lieber Gott*" upon his lips, he died at midnight.

Thus the last days of Erasmus set a seal to the consistency with which he held the main tenor of his religious views unchanged to the end.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Silence of Scripture.* A Lecture by the Rev. J. C. MILLER, D.D. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1858.
2. *Essays on Certain Peculiarities of the Writings of St Paul.* By R. WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London, 1858.

IN the Silence of Scripture, lies a Negative Internal Evidence and Teaching. It is a buried evidence and teaching, not like the body of Moses, where no man might find it to this day; but like the seed-corn, to be found and to be fruitful in its season. Silence is not always Sir Oracle. It may only be a cover for ignorance, a silence of necessity; proceeding from an unthinking mind, or unfeeling heart,—that nothing, out of which nothing comes. To be an Evidence, it must be of design, and not of necessity; not only so, but of wise, far-seeing design, into the ways and workings of human nature; of a foresight and sagacity far beyond the human, which no writer would have thought on, nor reader looked for,—nay, where all readers, beforehand, would have looked for speech, unreserved and outspoken—a Silence not accountable, therefore, on any natural or human principles; which expresses the presence of Him who sees the end from the beginning.

The Silence—especially that of the New Testament—has been oftener felt than acknowledged, and exerted an unconscious influence, where no one ventured an audible interpretation. It is chiefly in our own day that this voice without any sound has begun to be openly noted as a character of Holy Scripture, and admitted, not only as an Evidence of the Divine, but as designed, in its season, for reproof, correction, and instruction, in common with the positive and articulate voice of Scripture.

The piety of Boyle, the cotemporary of Newton and Hook, had discerned the wisdom hid in Scripture Silence, and expressed it with equal truth and beauty, “Scripture teaches us, like the sun-dial, not only by its light, but by its shadow.” Hall of Leicester has a discourse on the glory of God in concealing a matter, in which he dwells on the concealment in the mysteries of Scripture—a concealment that pertains to the nature of the subject, and of the human mind—which might have been looked for, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as properly an Evidence of the Divine presence in the formation of Scripture. The first, so far as we know, that brings it out distinctively, as an Evidence, is Dr Whately. To him belongs the honour of having broken ground, and put his plough into this new soil. The omissions of Creeds and Catechisms, and Forms of Devotion, in the New Testament, appear to him as the most remarkable in-

stances of this Divine Silence. Mr Charles Hare, among his popular sermons, has a felicitous discourse, entitled, "Wheat is better than Bread, or Principles better than Rules," than which there could not be a finer single illustration of the whole subject. Canon Miller, in his recent Lecture to the Young Men's London Institute, has anew called attention to the subject, and shown us how large a field of evidence and instruction it presents. He has done good service. He had, perhaps, done better service still, if, instead of scattering himself over the whole field, he had, like Whately and Hare, selected the instances of this silence that had most impressed his own mind, weighed them fully, and assigned their value. That this field of Scripture evidence and instruction should, hitherto, have been so little explored, may seem a presumption against its being a gold-field; but Silence, in its nature, is unobtrusive, and its meaning, not unsought, was to be found. It was natural that the positive and articulate lessons of Scripture should be first found, that in their light the shadow on the dial might be seen and read. Then, history must also reflect its light on the past, to aid in the right reading of the shadow. This Silence was a seed of Time, to open itself by degrees, and scatter its fruit in its season.

In the discussion of this evidence we think some instances should be omitted that have been too hastily included, such as the silence of the Scriptures as to the secrets of creation, a plurality of worlds, and like matters of natural interest, but not to the purpose of a revelation of the will of God; such also as the silence of Scripture as to the secrets of our future state, because the revelation of such matters, it is natural to think, was impossible to our present faculties, as well as, for many good reasons, undesirable in our present lot. For a different reason we would exclude the secrets of unfulfilled prophecy, which by turns excite and baffle curiosity, because, had they not done so, such prophecies might have fulfilled themselves. For the present, we limit our inquiry to the silence of the New Testament as the completed revelation of God to man, and to some instances of this silence which stand in the forefront of the New Testament, and on matters on which, according to all human anticipations, we should have looked for speech, copious and unreserved.

The first that presents itself to every thoughtful reader is, The silence as to the Nativity of our Lord. Some years ago, when the late Duke of Wellington was rising into distinction in the Spanish peninsula, a Scottish gentleman in East Lothian, feeling the national enthusiasm which his military achievements awakened, wrote to the mother of Wellington to inquire the day of his birth, and received a prompt and courteous reply. The

desire to celebrate the birth-day of our British hero was natural. The wish to have the exact day was equally so ; and not less the prompt reply of the pleased mother. Next to our desire to have the personal likeness, is our wish to know the very year, month, and birth-day of those we love to honour, that we may set them, with a mark, in our calendar of time. Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander the Great*, gives both birth-year and birth-day. The biographer of Mahomet records the year and month. Ever, the more eminent the subject, the more careful are all writers of lives to gratify this desire, to search out and settle the birth-year and birth-day.

It is true, Moses, in the Old Testament, does not give us either the birth-day or birth-year of great men. But he is careful to record the date of great *events*, as of the Exodus.¹ He is not only careful to give the year, but the month : “This day came ye out in the month Abib !”² Nay, the very day of the month, “the *fourteenth* !” No doubt there was an object in this. This month was henceforth to be “the beginning of months ;” and the *day* “for a memorial, a feast to the Lord throughout all generations: it is the Lord’s Passover.” This statement of year, month, and day, is repeated once and again, to preclude all possibility of mistake.³ But while Moses gives the birth-day of great events and not of great men, in the Gospel history both are omitted. One event—the Nativity of our Lord included—was to the Christian Church what the Exodus was to the Jewish ; yet the time is unrecorded, or given with such indefinite marks as to leave it a matter of difficult determination to this day.

Incidentally, we learn that Christ’s birth occurred in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and about the time of a general taxing, or registration with a view to taxation.⁴ This is all the direct information given by those whose writings declare their consciousness that they are telling the world of *His* birth who is come to change times and seasons, and introduce a new era, more important far than that of the Olympiads, or Rome’s foundation, or the Jewish Exodus. This omission, be it observed, is that of writers who had before them the example of Moses to the contrary, so far as great events are concerned, who were accustomed to reverence the festivals founded thereon, and to observe even the Feast of Purim and the Feast of the Dedication, in memory of their deliverance from Haman and the restoration of their temple.⁵

¹ Exodus xii. 40, 41. ² Exodus xiii. 4. ³ Leviticus xxiii. 5. ⁴ Luke ii. 1.

⁵ It is remarkable that the festival-loving spirit only developed these two Feasts in addition to those of direct Divine appointment—as if the Jewish Church were less under this festival-loving spirit—or was satisfied with the Divine development given to it.

With such historical precedents and recollections, it seems difficult to conceive, on any natural principles, how four separate writers of the life of Christ should, if left to their own impulses, have omitted both the birth-year, month, and day of an event which, in their view, was to change the religion of the world.

But is it so that we cannot make out from the New Testament the time of the Nativity? Those whose attention has not been specially called to it will be surprised how little has been or can be made out of the most ingenious and elaborate sifting of the hints in the four Gospels. Luke gives us the chief notes of the time.¹

In Luke are the chief data for determining the birth-year. They are given by that Evangelist who tells us that he had "perfect knowledge of all things from the very first." Yet they are evidently given without any design of informing us as to the very year; and when examined, yield no such precise information. We are left quite uncertain whether he reckons the *fifteenth* year of the reign of Tiberius from the beginning of his joint reign with Augustus, *two years before the death of the latter*, or from the commencement of his sole reign. According to the one, our Lord's birth was 749 U.C.; according to the other, 747 years after the building of Rome,—making a difference of two years. Then the phrase, "began to be about thirty years of age," admits of considerable latitude of interpretation, and does not forbid the supposition that our Lord was thirty-one or even thirty-two years of age,—making another difference of one or more years, according as we interpret the phrase.

The present era of Christians, says Father Newman in his "Church of the Fathers," arose in 550, from one Dionysius Exiguus, who was its framer.² Bengel says—"The Dionysian era is now in use, who published his Chronological System in 532. He is now considered to have placed the birth of Christ *four* years too late; so that we should add four years to the present era to obtain the right birth-year."³ Alford, in his Notes on Luke iii. 1, concluding his examination, says—"It

¹ Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.—And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, which was the son of Heli.—LUKE iii. 1-3, 23.

² Newman's Ch. of the Fathers. Ed. 1842. P. 313.

³ Gnomon, v. 1. P. 52. Pref. Clarks' Ed.

may be doubted whether in all these reckonings more accuracy has not been sought than the Gospel narrative warrants any expectation of finding."

The difficulty of determining the month and day of the Nativity is still greater. "It has been placed," says Dr Adam Clarke, "in every month of the year." The two ablest writers of modern times that have investigated the chronology of the life of Christ—Dr Burton and Mr Cresswell—have come to opposite conclusions, the one contending for the spring, and the other for the autumn. Pope Julius first decided the matter for the Latin Church, and placed it in the Roman calendar on the 25th December, when the sun begins to return to the northern tropics, and therefore, in Europe, the natural emblem of returning light and life. But if Pope Julius decided on this latter ground, it was a narrow one,—as narrow as that on which the Latin Church, in the rubrics of her missal, has too hastily enacted that the bread of the sacrament must be always *wheat*, and the wine always of the *grape*, not knowing that whilst the Gospel was for all the world, wheat and the vine belong only to certain zones; or that the spring and summer of one-half the globe are the autumn and winter of the other half.

How, then, shall we account for this silence? Is it sufficient to say the Evangelists were illiterate men, not accustomed to give heed to dates, because not appreciating their interest or importance; or that the Gospels are not so much regular histories or biographies as memorabilia, notes of the more remarkable sayings and doings of Christ, and the failure hitherto of all attempts at a chronological harmony is the proof that the Evangelists aimed at no more? Is this answer sufficient? It is certain this silence is not that of ignorance or indifference. Two of the Evangelists give the genealogy of our Lord, taken, we may presume, from public registers; side by side with which, in all probability, they might have found the very year, month, and day. Even if not permitted to assume this, all, and more, they might have had from the lips of Mary, who lived with John in her age. What question so natural in them to put, or in Mary to answer, or in the Evangelists to record!

It is true the Gospels are not regular histories or biographies, in which facts are marshalled with the attention to chronology of modern historians; yet they are quite as much regular histories as the Books of Moses, which give the times of all great events. Each Gospel begins with the birth of our Lord, or the opening of His ministry, and goes on to His death and resurrection. Each particular between may not be given in its order, yet that order is preserved wherever it was of consequence; and of all things it would naturally appear of consequence, when giving

His genealogy, to give with it perfect notes of the year, month, and day.¹

But were the Evangelists *illiterate*? We have been accustomed to acquiesce in the application of this epithet, and to glory in it, without considering its different meaning in reference either to their times or our own. They were undoubtedly well versed in the Jewish Scriptures, containing the history, poetry, and moral wisdom of their country. They had drunk deeper than most of their age, priest or rabbi, of the spirit, if not also of the letter, of those wonderful classics—Moses and the Prophets. To be versant in them implied, though fishermen, the knowledge of the Hebrew, then a dead language, or of the Greek of the Septuagint translation, implying therefore the knowledge of one, if not two languages, besides Aramaic, the spoken language of Palestine. Can we call that man *illiterate* that speaks one language, and has acquired one or two besides, and that not for purposes of trade only or chiefly, but to gain access to its literary treasures? Their knowledge of Greek, in which the Gospels have come down to us, however acquired, is a fact implying that they were “lettered” even in the modern sense, and implying a culture that may well rescue them from the imputation of being unable to appreciate the interest attaching to the record of the birth year and day of Christ. The truth is, the Evangelists, in relation to their times and country, were *illiterate* only in the sense of being unskilled in that Rabbinical learning in vogue in Jerusalem—an ignorance blessed to them, to us, to all ages—which enabled them to read and interpret, as Rabbies could not do, Moses and the Prophets; and made them the most pure and perfect medium of transmitting the teachings of a greater than Moses. We have talked of the Evangelists being illiterate, because by trade fishermen, and because Pharisees and Rabbies said so; but no man can calmly consider these facts, or read those discourses which John has recorded, without feeling that men who could appreciate those sayings of Christ which have exercised, and still exercise, some of the highest minds of our race in exploring their depths of thought, could not be intellectually unequal, or indifferent to, the record of the nativity of Him whom they make known as the Light and Life of the world. The name fishermen expresses their social, but not their intellectual position. To what class of fishermen on our British shores shall we compare a John or a Peter? Fishermen that knew, when they wrote the Gospels, two living and one dead language, and wrote in Greek; fisher-

¹ See John's account of the testimonies of the Baptist recorded in chronological order, John i. 19-27; also Mark's account of the Crucifixion, Mark xv. 25.

men familiar with the sacred classics of their country from their earliest years; fishermen that frequented every Sabbath-day the synagogue of their native village,¹ and were accustomed in the schools of Moses and the Prophets to take not a mere passive, but an active part as speakers and questioners. The apostles of our Lord were probably some of the best specimens of the Jewish common people, quickened into intellectual and moral life above the common people of every other ancient nation, by the Sabbath and the synagogue; the foremost men in the synagogues of Capernaum and Bethsaida; inquirers into the meaning of types and ceremonies, and of ancient prophecy; and waiters for the coming of Him whom they saw foreshadowed in all Jewish things, answering and asking questions about all such matters, and not unaccustomed to speak their minds. Just because they were more awake and alive to all these things, these fishermen attached themselves first to the Baptist when he announced the Messiah. At least three, out of the twelve apostles, were disciples of the Forerunner, and followed John until shown by him—The Christ. Illiterate, therefore, they were not, save in the eyes of Jewish rabbies, whose light was as darkness, and whose literature was only perverted knowledge. Illiterate the Evangelists were in no sense that incapacitated or disinclined them to attach to the events they record, and especially to the greatest of all, the notes of Time. This answer, therefore, is not to the purpose, and when examined only heightens this silence. To what, then, shall we ascribe it, but to that Divine prescience that, presiding over the formation of the four Gospels, restrained the writers from giving what was of no use to their great object, or of which an ill use might one day be made? The religions of the heathen were all ritualism, the observance of times and seasons, in which the intellect, heart, and conscience had little part. Even Judaism, with its great central truth of the Unity of Jehovah, and its prophetic hopes, was an adaptation to this stage and state of society. Moses records the times and seasons

¹ Of these, Jerusalem in the time of Josephus had 480, a number that appears to us almost fabulous. Every village had one or more, however insignificant, a proof of the immense popularity of this institution. But more than this, there was liberty of speech, without respect of persons,—a liberty evidently in common use, of which the apostles, as well as our Saviour, constantly availed themselves—a liberty which must have quickened and cultivated the popular mind, and induced a habit of self-restraint, without which no such custom could have been long endured. In our times when *social* questions are so much investigated, it were worth while to inquire how much *socially* the common people of Judea must have been above all other people, when they could use aright such privileges, or could acquire them or retain them? Doubtless that superior intelligence which elevated the Jews of the Middle Ages to be the bankers and financiers of Europe, as well as of the East, was due to the clerk-like education the synagogue made the use and wont of that people long before any Europeans save the priesthood had any knowledge of letters.

of the great events on which were to be founded the three great and three minor festivals of the Jewish Church. But the Gospel came to diminish the ritualism of religion to the lowest measure consistent with our present condition, and to rouse man to a worship of God "in spirit and truth." Was there not some need, then, that all helps towards the observance of Christian times and seasons should be buried, like the body of Moses, where no man might find them to this day? If, as men, the Evangelists felt an interest in knowing the day of the Nativity, and put the question to Mary, yet, as Evangelists, they acted a higher part, and did a greater thing in exercising a discreet reserve. They conceal what every other man, learned or unlearned, fisherman or rabbi, would have thought it foolish to conceal. What shall we say? The foolishness of God is wiser than men. This silence heightens the Divine in the New Testament. It is a silence that *now* speaks, and is more eloquent than any words. "No speech nor language; its voice is not heard, yet its line is gone through all the earth, its words to the end of the world," speaking in behalf of the simple and spiritual in worship, of a religion of the conscience and heart, and rebuking the religion of times and seasons. It was a seed of time, to spring up, in its season, for reproof, correction, and instruction, to recall Christians from their wanderings, and check tendencies to fall backwards. The ecclesiastical developments of Christendom are the historical interpreters of the Divine meaning of this silence. Foremost amongst the festivals of the Church is Christmas, or the Nativity. Though not one of the earliest,¹ yet none could be more natural, and none has so universally established itself in the Syriac, Greek, and Latin Churches, surviving the Reformation, and establishing itself amongst the fixed festivals of most of our Protestant churches. Still this silence informs us that this Festival is no part of our common Christianity. It is no part of that which is required of us by Christ, seeing He has withheld all natural helps towards it, and we can neither tell day, month, nor year. It is true, men have decided this for themselves. This silence did not stop them; yet many a thoughtful heart must have felt these omissions of Scripture as a discouragement. Certainly no one ever took them for an encouragement, as they would have taken any

¹ The death of Christ was celebrated everywhere on an appointed day, when as yet His birth-day was celebrated nowhere. Easter preceded all others. Chrysostom represents Christmas as only coming into observance some years before 386. Augustine represents the Feasts of Christ's Passion, as Easter, also of His Ascension, and of the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, as celebrated in his time over the whole Church, but that of Christmas as only then being established.—*Aug. Ep. ad Januar.*, and *Ep. ad Gal.*, lib. 214. See also *Neander's Ch. Hist.*, v. 13, 406–416. Clarks' Ed.

positive information; and now that we can look back on the ecclesiastical developments of eighteen centuries, and read this silence in the light of history, we cannot but feel that such developments pertain neither to the being, nor are essential to the well-being of the Christian, or to the Church of Christ.

Do we, then, condemn the observance of all times and seasons? We neither condemn nor approve. The New Testament does neither. It says nothing for them, helps nothing towards them, withholds what we should have thought most desirable. There is surely no encouragement here, if there be no discouragement. If we observe them, neither are we the better than others that do not. If we observe them not, neither are we the worse. Let all things be done for edification, and let brotherly love continue. Let no one censure the traditional customs of any man or church where they affect not the great things of our faith and hopes. It can harm no one in Europe to believe, and to act on the belief, that

“It was the winter wild,
When the heaven-born child,
All meanly wrapt, in the rude manger lay.”

Yet it is well to be able to pluck the thorn of dogmatism out of all such matters, in times like ours, when the Gospel is overspreading the wilds of Australia and New Zealand, and the islands of the Pacific; and to remember that the Saviour of the world was born for all climes, and that those who loved Him most and knew Him best have left us ignorant of His birth year, month, and day; and if men will differ on such matters, they ought to differ without any breach of love. Nay more, does not this silence say that the disciples of Christ are to indulge this festival-loving spirit within narrow limits, and that this is not *the best* way of developing the religion of Jesus? If we may not say rudely of such outward developments—They are naught! because so, in our limited experience, we may yet say confidently, that had such periodical festivals touched nearly, either the rise or progress of pure and undefiled religion, or tended to that higher spiritual life in the individual Christian, which our Lord came to impart, the New Testament would not have been so reserved on such matters. Judging, beforehand, after the manner of men, who would not have liked this reserve had been broken respecting the time at least of the Nativity? Yet, looking back on the past history of the Church, who is not ready now to confess that if speech on such matters would have been silver, silence has been gold?

Where there is silence as to the nativity of Christ, we might have anticipated a like silence as to that of all other New Testament characters. As to the birth or death day of Mary, the

mother of our Lord, the silence is complete. The Evangelists and Apostles have forborne all mention of their own; even of the dates of their call to the apostolic office. They tell these with singular brevity and simplicity, yet without any notes of time. The conversion of St Paul is recorded once and again along with interesting details, but no hint to enable the Gentile churches to place it in the calendar. Luke relates the death of Stephen, the first martyr; also of James, the first that suffered amongst apostolic men, but without any notes of time.¹

Some difficulty may still linger in the minds of our readers as to these views, from the thought of how little, in the past, this silence has prevented the evil it foresaw, and which, we think, it was designed to stay. If of design, has it not failed in its design, and been understood too late? Is it not a forethought, that looks very like our afterthought? The concealment of the body of Moses was successful in preventing the worship of the man Moses. His body was never found, and no Jew ever pretended to have done so, or exhibited any relic of the Lawgiver. But this New Testament concealment, if a finger on the lip, was not only not felt as a silence of reproof, but as a provocation to supply its omissions, fill up its blanks, and multiply inventions.

It is hard to say what amount of prohibition, positive or negative, will prevent men from doing what they have a strong tendency to do. The tendency, which by its force, carried ancient nations back to a religion of times and seasons, after the first fervours of spiritual Christianity were spent, may help us to feel the strength of these tendencies. The return to them, amidst the intelligence of our own day, should give us some experience of a tendency in human nature, which no New Testament silence could stay. Yet what it could not prevent it might retard, and make the wheels of folly drag more heavily. Who can tell how much, in the past, it has thus hindered, even

¹ Let this be contrasted with the ecclesiastical developments of Christendom. Finding no answers in the New Testament, men have made answer to themselves in the following festivals of the Mediæval Latin Church, which still keep their place in the Calendar of the Roman Missal:—

In honour of Christ,	.	.	.	.	7 Festivals.
In honour of Mary,	.	.	.	.	17 „
In honour of sundry Scripture incidents,	.	.	.	.	6 „
In honour of Church incidents,	11 „
Miscellaneous,	4 „
In honour of Apostles and Evangelists,	14 „

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59

To which more recent times have added sundry others, making in all the extraordinary number of 74. To these are to be added Saints' days, leaving no day without a festival or saint to honour or be honoured in it, going near to turn all the working days of the year into church festivals, or saints' days, as if "*orare est laborare*," a saying as wide of the mark as Carlyle's modern variation, "*laborare est orare*," instead of the Scripture wisdom which directs us "*orare et laborare*."

when not felt as a prohibition? If, instead of silence, the Evangelists had furnished all manner of particulars, would not these have been received as a positive encouragement to such developments, as indicative of the festival use to be made of them? A propensity so strong, that no scriptural stinting or starving of it has kept it long under, would have shown itself earlier and stronger, and rendered the work of reformation more difficult. Unheeded, this silence may have been, or observed only by the few, who durst hardly utter their thought; but are the eighteen centuries of the Christian era, already past, the whole of the Christian age? Has folly yet exhausted its inventions? Is not the Gospel for all times, as well as for all climes? Is there no danger, when the Gospel spreads to festival-loving India—to China—to Japan—that the same tendencies may reappear in their strength, when this silence shall again speak, enforced by the history of the past, when the future churches of the East shall read the Divine finger on the lip, this shadow on the dial?

The sum of our argument is this: The silence of the New Testament as to times and seasons, birth days and death days, is not a solitary fact, not on one or two, or a few occasions only, but at sundry times and diverse manners,—a class of negative facts, involving in like obscurity the nativity of our Lord, of His mother, and of all the apostles and martyrs of early Christianity, involving the chronology of all the great events of the Gospel history. There is but *one* exception, and that is as to the day of the week on which our Lord rose from the dead, out of which was to arise the only Christian festival that all churches, from the beginning of the Gospel, have with one consent observed with more or less reverence, as The Day of the Resurrection of Our Lord.

Our second instance is—The Silence as to the Infancy and Youth of our Lord. Who has not wished to know more of the early years of our Lord, of His infancy in Egypt, His youth at Nazareth, the cottage-home and the workshop hard by! Such an infancy and youth, told simply and naturally, after the manner of the Evangelists, we persuade ourselves, would have been only less instructive than that which they have given us of His manhood and public ministry. Yet, we have not one incident of the infancy, and but *one* of His youth. On the great fact that He was an infant of days, and passed through all life's early stages, no shadow of doubt is permitted to rest; but all further curiosity is disappointed, and if men will put questions, they must make answer to themselves. Yet it cannot be said that they could not have given us all manner of life-like details as to the family life of our Lord. Mary, in her age, lived under the roof of one of the Evangelists, and might, nay must, have heard all that a mother had laid up in her heart; yet it is not John,

but Luke, who gives us the *one* incident. John carries us over the entire family life of Christ, preferring to tell of His pre-existence as the Eternal Word, by whom all things were made; and comprehending His birth, infancy, and youth, the first thirty years, in the single sentence, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

Is this the manner of men? Never had there been such a morning, in which the child opened into the youth, and the youth into the man, a pure and perfect whole; so like us in all outward conditions, so unlike us in that inner and higher life, which, with God, is Life in its highest sense. How could the four Evangelists write four different narratives, and be silent as to those thirty years? Did they form no part of our Saviour's work as our great Substitute or great Example? Had they no bearing on our salvation, except as introductory to the crowning events of His life? Was all pertaining to our salvation enclosed in the three last years of His life? Why, then, this veil so closely drawn over the opening life, and our attention fixed only on its closing years and scenes?

Time alone has interpreted this silence, and our own times are still interpreting it. What, for ages, has been, what is now, the favourite image and object of devotion in the greater part of Christendom? Is it not the infant Jesus? In churches, closets, couches, throughout Roman Catholic Europe, may be seen the pictures of that infancy, respecting which the disciple that Jesus loved is silent. It is true, in spite of this silence, men put questions and made answer to themselves, until the worship of the Child prevailed over the worship of the God-Man. If, instead of the *one* incident of Luke and this silence of all the rest, John had told all he could have gathered from the lips of Mary, how much earlier might this worship have shown itself—how much more strongly taken root in the conscience as well as imaginations of christians! How many legends and superstitions, still more puerile than those of mediæval Christianity, might have been added to the narrative of John, and fastened themselves on the churches, sheltered under the idea of honouring the Infancy! It is true this silence did not turn men from their purpose; yet, in withholding all Scripture helps and stimulants, who shall tell how many thoughtful minds, in the past, have been withheld? Christians, in general, were not, but individual Christians doubtless were, as they read the New Testament, and found nothing recorded but the wonderful fact, and felt the tendencies of their heart and of their times rebuked.

But is not our Saviour to be adored as the Divine Child? Did not the wise men from the East fall down and worship the Child in the manger of Bethlehem? Did not the shepherds

come at the call of the angels to see the Child ; and a Simeon and Anna take the Infant in their arms, blessing God they had seen the day ? Yes, and we wonder at a faith so simple-hearted, so independent of all the surroundings of that Infant Saviour. Yet all wise men are not so simple-minded, nor all shepherds worthy of an angelic message ; nor all aged persons Simeons and Annas. To the great majority of men, such a sight proved too severe a trial of faith ; and to most Christians, in all ages, full details of that infancy and youth—such details as Mary's recollections could have supplied—would have led to many superstitions, filled the imagination with the merely human, and overlaid the spiritual and Divine. A mote, if only near enough to the eye, may hide the sun. The humble conditions of our Saviour's earthly lot hid from the Jews, nay, often from the Twelve, that greatest of all miracles,—Christ Himself. Would not minute details of His infancy and youth have brought the human so near, as to overshadow instead of revealing the Christ ? Visiting, some years ago, an exhibition of statuary, amongst the thousand models and statues, our attention was drawn to one of our Saviour. The artist had chosen the age of which Luke gives his one anecdote. He had been perplexed in framing an ideal where Scripture had been so reserved, and his perplexity had solved itself in the figure of a boy treading on a celestial globe,—emblematic of his Divine nature, as Ruler of the universe ; but with a lap full of toys, to express the boy. He had done his best to unite his ideal of the God-like with the child-like, and had failed, because the Divine in that infancy and youth was not manifested through the attribute of power, but of meekness, truth, and righteousness ! He was not known as the Son of God with power, until His baptism and public ministry. See Matthew iii. 17. The Apostle Paul applies the phrase, “with power,” emphatically to His Resurrection. Yet the artist gave us an ideal, just such as we should have had from the four Evangelists, had they written from their own inspiration, of that infancy and youth.

It would have been well had men only broken this silence in statues and paintings of the Infancy. In answer to their own questions, they forged “Gospels of the Infancy.” The titles of some of the chapters of one of these Gospels are sufficient to show how men have broken this silence. Of chapter III., the contents are—

“The wise men visit Christ. Mary gives them one of Christ's swaddling-cloths. The wise men make a fire and worship the swaddling-cloth, and put it into the fire, where it remains unconsumed.”

Ch. VI.—“A leprous girl is cured by the water in which He was washed, and becomes a servant to Joseph and Mary.”

Ch. IX.—“Two sick children are cured by water wherein Christ was washed.”

Ch. XI.—“Bartholomew is restored by being laid on Christ's bed.”

Ch. XIII.—“Jesus and other boys, playing together, make clay figures of birds and beasts. Jesus causes them to walk, and also makes clay birds, which he causes to fly, and eat, and drink. The children's parents hearing of it are alarmed, and take Jesus for a sorcerer.”

Ch. XVII.—“Jesus plays with boys at hide and seek. They are transformed into kids. He fetches water for his mother, breaks the pitcher, and miraculously gathers the water in his mantle, and brings it home.”

Ch. XX.—“Sent to school to Zaccheus to learn his letters; he teaches Zaccheus. Sent to another schoolmaster; he refuses to learn his letters, and the schoolmaster going to whip him, his hand withers, and he dies.”

Ch. XXI.—“Disputes miraculously with the Doctors of Law, Astronomy, Physics, and Metaphysics, and is worshipped as a philosopher,” etc. etc.

Had any of the four Evangelists given us such tales, Christianity would have shared the fate of these legends of Mediæval Europe. Why have we none such from the fishermen that accompanied with Christ, and ministered to Mary's age? They not only give us no early miracles, but expressly forbid all thought of such, by telling us that the miracle of Cana was “the beginning of miracles.” The author of the Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy, understood so little, The Christ of the Evangelists, that, in one of his tales, he makes our Lord, as a boy, full of petty contrivances of revenge on the slightest provocation. To have given us some idea of that infancy and youth, was to show Him acting and speaking as the Holy Child, as the thoughtful, gentle, and loving youth, doing and suffering his dutiful part in every natural, childlike, and youthlike way. But this was far above, out of the sight of the writer of this forgery. The Divinity of power was the only Divinity he understood; and to add miracle to miracle, for childish wonder, was alone within his reach; and with such inventions, all the apocryphal historie of apostles and saints abound, making the boundary-line between the inspired and apocryphal Gospels no finely-shaded line, but as sharp and well-defined as ever boundary line stood out against the sky.¹

How unlike to all these is Luke's *one* anecdote of Christ's youth! There we see our Lord growing in wisdom as in stature,

¹ Some years ago, W. Hone published what he called “The Apocryphal New Testament, containing a collection of spurious gospels and epistles, in order to discredit the canonical. The slightest perusal of Hone's Apoc. New. Test. will be sufficient to any intelligent person. The contrast between the “Paradise Lost” of Milton and “Hudibras,” is not greater than between the Gospel of

but still only as a learner, asking as well as answering questions. Nothing is unnatural. He appears as a youth, and acts only as one more thoughtful than other youths. He returns, after that incident, with his parents to Nazareth, and is "subject to them." For eighteen years more he dwells with them, and in the obscurity of a cottage home grows up to manhood, finding in the humblest lot an opportunity for fulfilling "all righteousness," until the time of His "showing unto Israel." In this silence we see a most kindly adaptation to our human weakness. As much of that infancy and youth is told as we could bear. We may think we could have borne more, or profited by more; but the people of Nazareth, who got more, were offended, and so might we. Are we not, at times, half afraid to speak of our Lord as "The son of the carpenter," and "The carpenter." This may be our littleness, our pride, our sin, yet so it is. We cannot always bear, even in thought, the glory of His humiliation, though He bore the reality for thirty long years. The glory of His last sufferings we can more easily realise, and say even with the sufferer, as they approach, "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." But more difficult by far is it to realise the glory of thirty years' sojourn in a cottage and workshop, with its every-day drudgeries and common-place humiliations. Enough for us, enough for our consolation and instruction, is the great, broad, wonderful fact, as it stands revealed in all its simplicity and generality, enough to sustain our hopes of forgiveness for all our infant youthful perversities, enough to teach us to be "subject" in our youth, learn obedience, and to do our duty, as He did, in the humblest of lots. More would only have filled our imaginations to the exclusion of the fully developed character and work of Him who, as the perfect Man, is designed to be to us—"the image of God."

This instance suggests another akin to it, yet one which has always appeared to us still more impressive—the *New Testament Silence as to the Personal appearance of Christ*. We love to possess the bodily not less than the moral features of our greatest, wisest, and best beloved. The Evangelists might have given the one as well as the other,—a portrait to which painters and sculptors might have given a life-like reality. How easy for them that knew Him so well to have shown us that face and form, as He looked, spoke, and lived amongst men. What memorials they have left us of His majestic wisdom, His calm self-possession, His patience, His loving, self-sacrificing heart! Why not satisfy

John and the "Gospel of the Infancy," or "The Gospel of Mary." See also "Jones on the Canon" for ample specimens of the same thing. So great was the avidity for tales of the Infancy and Youth, that forty Gospels have been enumerated, composed with a view to gratify this kind of curiosity.

our curiosity as to his figure, complexion, eyes, features, voice, and manner? The art of the painter has derived from His life her noblest subjects. Hardly an incident of His life but has been made the subject of what is termed "sacred art;" yet the Evangelists give no aid towards reproducing Him on the canvas or on the marble; nor is this reserve broken within the canon of the New Testament. Strange, we must go to the Old Testament to find anything that approaches to a notice of His personal appearance. The prophet Isaiah speaks of Him as in visage more marred than any man, having no form nor comeliness, and no beauty that we should desire Him.¹ These are not encouraging notices to those that seek after the bodily presence of Christ. On this very account some will not have them to be understood literally, but only as prophetic of the disappointed expectations of the Jews. But in whatever way we understand them, it is certain no one can find in them anything to satisfy the desire of the early and Mediæval Church, in common with the heathen world, to represent the god-like under the perfection of physical beauty and majesty, or to encourage the Christian to use such helps to his devotion.

This silence is contrary to the universal practice of the Greek and Roman world. Take up the ancient memoirs of Socrates. Many are said to have been written by his disciples. Two have come down, those of Xenophon and Plato, themselves gifted men. Plato, the most refined of the Greek sages, the spiritual man, along with the sayings and doings and conversations of Socrates, gives all manner of particulars as to his personal appearance, his bald head, his flat nose, his thick lips, and prominent eyes, his round and robust figure, his homely dress, and bare feet,—just such peculiarities of the outward man as set him before us, as he paced the streets and highways of Attica twenty-four centuries ago, conversed in the market-place of Athens with all comers, and discoursed under its porticoes with his youthful disciples.

Take up a modern biography—such a one as Boswell's *Life of Dr Johnson*—what is it we most prize in that work, and why do we style Boswell the prince of biographers, but because he gives us the *whole* man, as Johnson looked, and lived, and moved about, as he eat, and drank, and talked amongst his contemporaries, down to the involuntary twitchings of the muscles of his face, and the scar which early disease had left? On all such matters the four Evangelists are silent. They give us four apparently independent narratives, unsurpassed in interest, yet deriving no part of their interest from such details. They give us parables, discourses, sayings of far-reaching thought, and un-

¹ Isaiah lii. 14, and Isaiah liii. 2.

earthly purity and grandeur. They show us the Christ as He lived and suffered in action, and place before us a mind and heart wise above the wisdom, and loving beyond the love of the children of men; but without one word of the outward man of Him who spoke and lived as never man did. They loved and revered Him as no man was ever loved and revered. Why did they not express this as other men do? They lived and wrote only to make Him known and loved. Why did they not take the way all other writers take of transmitting a beloved memory? They could have told us all these things, and they tell us nothing. They could have given us a narrative personal as Boswell's, minute as the description of Solomon's temple, to form a groundwork for all poets, sculptors, and painters in all time to come, yet herein their four narratives are a total blank.¹

Is it possible that the Evangelists did not indulge, in the retirement of their own thoughts, in such recollections? Could it be that "The Crucified" did not rise before their imaginations, as they had seen Him sitting at meat, or hanging on the cross, or ascending to heaven? To suppose they did not, were to divest them of their humanity. They must often, in imagination, have lived over every scene of that wonderful past, taxing memory and imagination to the utmost, until their absent seemed their present Lord. That nothing of all this should appear in their written narratives, is unaccountable. They wrote in Greek; but the Greeks were accustomed to see their gods, heroes, and every object of adoration, represented in the beautiful or majestic forms of Greek art. They wrote in the language of a people, whose artistic power prolonged the days of paganism, who were more apt than any other people to mistake beauty for truth—a mistake which afterwards paganised Christianity, and which ever returns in certain minds with every revival of the fine arts. Yet to this mistake the Evangelists are never tempted.

It is true, this silence is after the manner of the Old Testament, which says nothing of the bodily presence of its worthies—nothing of the person of an Abraham, Moses, or David; but this only gives us a succession of thirty instead of fifteen writers, extending over 2800 years, all observing the same reticence on subjects of common interest to all their readers. If we cannot account for the silence of the fifteen, how shall we account for that of the thirty, living at different times and places? There is also a great difference as to the persons respecting whom the Old and New Testaments are silent. Reserve as to the personal appearance of an Abraham or Moses was much less difficult; and

¹ So far as we can recall, there is but one allusion to our Lord's manner in the four Gospels, in John xvii. 1: "These words spake Jesus, and *lifted up His eyes to heaven.*"

therefore, by so much, less wonderful than silence as to the personal presence of the God-man. The writers of the Old Testament might very justly be afraid to dwell too much on the persons of its worthies, lest they should tempt to man-worship. But no such fears could keep back the recollections of a John respecting the person of the Messiah. His fears were only lest men should not honour Him enough. Every reason for the reserve of the one seems a reason for the unreserve of the other. How difficult for Matthew to be wholly silent as to the personal appearance of Him who called him from the receipt of custom, and for whom he made the great feast in his house! How much more difficult, when we know that Matthew wrote his narrative when he believed that his Master was exalted to the right hand of Divine Majesty! How difficult for the affectionate John to tell of the time when he first saw our Lord on the banks of the Jordan, and heard the Baptist point to Him, as "the Lamb of God," when he followed, and "abode with Him that night!" Six times, in the course of six chapters of his Gospel, John tells us that he is the disciple Jesus loved, and on whose bosom he leant at meat; yet still no word of that loved Presence, which he was privileged to be so near. Two of his disciples meet Him, after His resurrection, on His way to Emmaus. He talks with them by the way, and their hearts burn within them. He is recognized, and vanishes out of their sight. An indelible image of that meeting must have fixed itself in their hearts; yet there is no transcript of it, no relic preserved; no, neither then, nor when recording their last look of Him, when they gazed into heaven, as He receded from their sight, and blessed them.

Is this silence, also, to be explained by saying that the four Gospels are not histories, nor biographies in the modern sense, but notes and fragmentary recollections, the work of illiterate men, unaccustomed to, and unconscious of, the interest that would belong to such details? Why, the more we suppose them simple and unlearned, the more singular their silence. The narrative of such should have been minute and personal as those of women and children. If, on other matters, brief and fragmentary, here they should have abounded in just such fond and personal details. The difficulty requiring to be explained is, that being what they were, by birth and upbringing, they should have recorded just what they have done, neither more nor less,—given all of Him that is morally and spiritually great, and no more respecting his humanity than was needed to assure us that in all respects He was "one of us."

There remains the supposition that the New Testament writers had a strong peculiarity of mind and character, an idiosyncrasy so remarkable, that such matters, of interest to all

others, had none for them. This hypothesis, allowable in the case of an individual, cannot be admitted of a succession. Unlikely in one writer, it becomes infinitely so in a succession, where the temptation to speak gathered strength with every increase of Christian converts, of curious inquirers, and with every decrease of surviving witnesses of the life of Christ—most of all when John wrote, the last survivor of the Twelve.

If these suppositions exhaust the attempts to account for this silence on any human principles, we are shut up to the acceptance of the account which these writers themselves give, that in this, as in other matters, they were moved thereto by the Holy Spirit. This silence is of God—a Divine silence; another internal evidence of that Presence which suggested or controlled what they should and should not record for the instruction of all ages,—an evidence the more impressive, that it has remained long unnoticed, or been observed only by the few, biding its time, its season, and its service. It is told of an Egyptian architect employed by one of the Pharaohs to erect a lighthouse on the Nile, that being ordered to inscribe on it the name of the monarch in whose reign and under whose patronage it was reared, he inscribed the name of his patron on the plaster, which time soon effaced, but his own on the stone beneath, which time disclosed as fast as the other disappeared. Who that saw the architect's name brought to light, could doubt that he had hidden it for a time, only that it might reappear another day? and who, as he observes this silence, can doubt that it is of Divine forethought and intent, that Scripture might teach us, like the sundial, not only by its light but by its shadow?

What, then, does it teach? Two tendencies man has shown in all ages: The one to make a god of every new and striking object and appearance in nature,—or Polytheism; the other, to lose all thoughts of a personal God in creation,—or Pantheism. Both, in the view of Scripture, are idolatry,—the one being idolatry in the particulars and details of creation, and the other in the sum. Against the first, the Jewish nation was, and still is, God's standing witness. Against the second, the New Testament has revealed a personal God in Jesus Christ. "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us." This is the ladder let down from heaven, by which the human spirit ascends nearest to God. In Christ, as Son of Man, the ineffable brightness of the Godhead is shaded and softened by being humanised, that we may draw near to the Most Holy, not only without terror, but with filial confidence and love. How expressive are the New Testament names of our Lord! "The knowledge of God;" "The image of God;" The express image;" "The brightness of His glory;" "The glory of God in the face of Jesus

Christ;" "The fulness of the Godhead bodily."¹ Plutarch tells of an inscription on an Egyptian temple: "I am He that was, and is, and shall be; and who is he that shall draw aside my veil?" Christ has drawn aside the veil, and shown us the Father. "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father." Yet, in showing us all of the Father that human eyes and hearts can now receive, it was needful to guard the image.² When the Jewish Church got the Shekinah, though nothing more definite than a bright cloud, it was yet retired within the veil which only the High Priest could draw aside. In giving us that highest image, was there no need of retiring as well as of revealing it, lest his humanity should overshadow instead of revealing the Divine? Is not this silence the veiling of the Christian Shekinah? We have seen how little of this image we are permitted to see in the infancy and youth of the Messiah. Almost thirty years are passed in silence. In three only of his thirty-three years, is He openly seen and known, and seen best, it has been said, in the glory of His receding Majesty. "It is expedient that I go away;" not only that the Holy Spirit might come in His spiritual power, but in order that our Lord's bodily presence might not hinder the higher objects of His Divine mission.³ The image of Christ was to be perpetuated for worship, not on the canvass or marble, but on the human heart, through the written Word; not fixed and unchangeable, but a thing of life, to grow with the growth of each Christian, who, as he partook of the Divine nature, through grace, should see more of Christ, and through Him enjoy more and more of the beatitude of the pure in heart,—“for they shall see God.” The rise of a Christianity of the senses and imagination so soon after the first witnesses were in their graves,—its revival from time to time to our day,—show us historically the meaning of this veiling of the Christian Shekinah.

In heathen countries, the gods were carried about in rings, amulets, and miniatures, that they might kiss and worship them, and they disdainfully asked the Christians to show them their gods. A religion without a visible God, altar, and sacrifice, with nothing but the memory of His sayings, sufferings, and doings to read and muse on, they did not understand; and to

¹ Ephes. iii. 19; 2 Cor. iv. 4-6; Heb. i. 3; Col. ii. 9.

² Christ, after His resurrection, refuses bodily worship from Mary. "Touch Me not," when she was about to throw herself at His feet,—John xx. 17; also in Luke xi. 27, 28, when He pronounces more blessed those that hear and obey, than those that see the Word made flesh; yea, more blessed than the mother that bore Him: a strange thought to the worshippers of Mary.

³ Alford, in his note on John iv. 24, says well, "That the Word became one flesh with us, that we might become one in spirit with Him." This would have been defeated by too full details of His humanity, or by making any other use of that humanity, than to raise and refine our spiritual ideal of God.

the worship of Christ by a visible image and sacrifice, Heathenism at length dragged down Christians. Yet, as if awed by this silence of the New Testament, no writer, for many centuries, attempted even to invent a description of Christ's person. Clemens, Barnabas, and Ignatius—called, from their nearness to apostolic times, "The Apostolic Fathers"—say nothing of the bodily presence of our Lord.¹ Either the Church was still too spiritual to desire it, or its leaders were too honest to invent what the first followers of Christ had withheld. So late as the fifth century, Augustine says "that the real features of the Virgin, as of our Lord, were unknown."²

When the Fathers break this silence, it is only, says Milman, to dispute and differ from each other,—one party taking literally the words of Isaiah, "Without form and comeliness;" another as confident that the Divinity shone through His Humanity, and endowing Him with a celestial grace and corporeal beauty, bearing about a celestial halo on His head.³ Still no Church historian of the first four centuries ventures a description of His personal appearance, leaving it to Nicephorus, a mere compiler of history, and that so late as the fourteenth century, to give us a personal portrait, the only one which the learned Calmet, anxious for the credit of his Church, knows of, to justify its many consecrated and miracle-working paintings of our Lord. As Christians departed from the spirit of the New Testament, they grew impatient of this silence, and made answer to themselves, pleased with the Christ of their own imagination, or of the favourite image of their day or their locality. It is said of a distinguished sculptor of our times, Thorswalden, that a friend one day seeing him dejected, and inquiring the cause, was answered, "My genius is decaying!" "What do you mean?" said his friend. "Here," said the sculptor, "is my statue of Christ. It is the first of my works with which I ever felt satisfied. Until now my idea has always been beyond what I could execute. It is no longer so. I shall never have a great idea again." When the churches became satisfied with their portraits and statues of Christ, the genius of Christianity had declined. How unlike the ever-expanding ideal of the inspired writers!

We feel that we have only broken ground in a large field, in which may lie untold treasures. At another time we may renew the search for "the treasure hid in the field." But no one man

¹ See Milman's *Early Latin Christianity*, vol. iii. 516.

² Aug. *De Trinitate*, ch. 8.

³ See Milman's *Early Christianity* for details respecting this controversy. It is instructive to observe that Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and all the earlier Fathers, take the literal view of Isaiah. Origen, Jerome, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, and all the later Fathers, farthest removed from apostolic feelings and traditions, took the view that at length prevailed and was realised in mediæval art.

nor age can read out this Silence. It has somewhat to say for the benefit of all men and all ages. As an argument of the Divine in the formation of the New Testament, it is ever calling up before us the idea of amazing circumspection. Not that of man, who sees only a little way on all sides of him, but of Him whose circle is eternity, and whose eye surveys at once the infinitely great and little, who says nothing and does nothing without a full knowledge, not only of the thing said or done in itself, but of all its relations to all time and all being, of all surroundings and all their issues. As an instruction, this finger on the lip has been ill understood at the right time, because men seldom take warning beforehand against evils on which their hearts are strongly set. There is hardly an instance of this silence that may not still prove offensive to some one or other of the many phases of the religious character in our day, to the zealous observer of religious festivals, to the lover of church legends, to the devoted ritualist, the frequenter of holy places, the too ardent admirer of logical systems, the eager stickler for ecclesiastical order, etc., etc.,—all that seek in Scripture that for which man was sufficient in himself, or which it was not to the purpose of a spiritual revelation to impart. To avoid all offence, it would be necessary to hold back not one or two instances of this silence, but one and all, and be wholly silent as to the silence of Scripture. It is told of Raphael, that, intent on teaching a lesson to his critics, he adopted by turns their successive suggestions as to one of his paintings, inserting them in water colours over his own in oil. When they had exhausted their critical spirit, and he had complied with each suggestion in turn, he called them together to see the effect of the whole, when, with one accord, they besought him to restore the original. A full search for, and discovery of, all “this treasure hid in the field of Scripture,” would, we fear, be only, in its practical application, a succession of offences. Yet some compensation there would be in the readiness of each party and each individual to understand the finger on the lip designed for his neighbour; and the offended feelings might change into the reverential, on perceiving that Scripture, in its silence, is no respecter of persons or sects, but everywhere shows, in its silence, a wonderful length, breadth, and depth of insight into man and his ways. One thing all may feel from the silence of the New Testament, that God has given to Christians and Churches a larger charter of freedom than in our local and ecclesiastical differences we imagined—a charter meet for that Gospel Church which, like the common sun, air, and water, is designed to exist in all regions, and is adapted to the people of all languages, customs, and climates under heaven,—for the Kosmos.

ART. V.—*Secret History of the Austrian Government, and of its Systematic Persecutions of Protestants.* By ALFRED MICHIELS. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859. Pp. 421.

M. MIGNET, in one of his historical essays, has traced, step by step, the progress of the French monarchy during the time of the kings of the third race. At the commencement of that era, the monarchy, properly so called, did not extend beyond the duchy of France, and was flanked on every side by duchies and counties equal in extent and in power to that monarchy to which they owed a feudal subjection little more than nominal. One by one these rival powers are either conquered or more peacefully absorbed, and at the close of the middle ages, France, though still with limits considerably short of her present ones, has taken her place as one of the great monarchies of Europe. In existing France, the marks of former territorial division are, indeed, far from wholly lost. The Alsatian still retains his German speech, largely, too, his Lutheran faith, and deems himself as distinct from the Frenchman as the native of Canada does from the American. The Breton still, in dialect, in the names of people and of places, and in character and feeling, keeps up the remembrance of his Celtic descent, and his once independent position. In the local colourings which afford so rich a harvest to the writers of fiction, whether in prose or poetry, no district of France affords a wider scope than Bretagne; and of this, such gifted sons of hers as Châteaubriand, Souvestre, and Brizieux, have taken full advantage.

But if in France the traveller or the student is reminded of the provincialities that have melted into the present centralized empire, it is only in a peaceful form that these surviving influences of the past are presented. It is different in the rival empire of Austria. It is, and on a larger scale than France, a conglomeration of once separated states. But while in France, the provinces, if ever convulsed by civil war, have been so from general religious or political causes, in the case of Austria it has been from local grievances and injuries, despotically inflicted and gallantly resented, that danger to the integrity of the empire has arisen. In our own day, we have seen in the Hungarian provinces the spirit of insurrection so powerful and so sustained, as to necessitate for its suppression the armed intervention of the Czar. The difference we have thus adverted to, has made France a power of more continuously transcendent influence in Europe than Austria, though the latter be greater in extent, and not inferior in population.

The work of M. Michiels is not a general history of Austria.

It does not seek to supersede the work of Coxe, still, heavy though it be, the standard authority in this country on that subject. It is not even a complete narrative of the period which it embraces, from the accession of the Styrian branch of the Hapsburg family in 1619. It does not present to us the full history of the government, or the complete delineation of the people. While professedly dealing only with the Transalpine dominions of Austria, to some of these, such as the Tyrol, there is no allusion whatever made. It is a narrative, skilfully and on the whole accurately given, of the proceedings of the Austrian court since the accession of Ferdinand II., against civil liberty and the Protestant faith. The author makes no professions of impartiality. He writes with the natural bitterness of a political exile. He might have taken for his motto the expressions of Joseph de Maistre in one of his recently published letters, "I keep all my hatred for Austria. That house is a great enemy of the human race. I detest it cordially." A calmer style would, however, have been more in keeping with the proper dignity of history, and would have commended the volume to more general acceptance. It is not strength, but weakness of style; not taste, but tastelessness of expression, to accumulate in the compass of half a page such phrases as—"Ferdinand II., the Tiberius of Christianity, the crowned inquisitor, the implacable devotee." M. Michiels, in his preface, censures the style of Baron Hormayer as "capricious, wild, and tortuous." Truth compels us to say that we have seldom met with a book so annoying by the affectation and strangeness of its style as that of M. Michiels. Thus we have "bestiality" used in the sense of brutality. We read of a "country being inflicted with a curse," "disgusted of fighting," "the gloom of the scholastica," "expose the maxims of the society" (meaning *expound*), "provinces swamped by soldiers." The weapon which, in historical writing as well as in ordinary conversation, is usually called a sword, is with M. Michiels a "glaive." His figures are numerous, and often might be better spared. Thus we read—"stolid as the countenance of a statue," as if any statue worth the looking at were not the very opposite of "stolid" in expression. M. Michiels is fond of calling the Jesuits "the Spanish order;" but, not to speak of minor fraternities, were not the Dominicans quite as Spanish in their origin as the followers of Loyola? Worse by far than any merely literary faults are his contrast of "the terrible God of Moses," with the God of the Gospel, and his sneer at "the improper interlude of Boaz and Ruth." One passage of the book, it is stated (p. 266), has been omitted, as "too realistic for English readers." We regret that the eminent publishers did not strike out such irreverent phraseology as we have quoted, and subject

the whole volume to the revision, so far as the style is concerned, of some thoroughly competent person. But with all its faults, the work of M. Michiels is eminently interesting. If it is more fragmentary than it need have been; if repetitions not unfrequently occur; if episodes, such as the account of the personal habits of Wallenstein and Kaunitz, are somewhat too prolonged; if that proportion, which is so principal an element in all good histories, and is so very important when, as in the present instance, the events of centuries are given in a single volume, is by no means carefully preserved,—the work of an exile is not to be subjected to the same rigorous criticism as the production of a literary man enjoying all the ease and advantages of fatherland. For the general reader the book is intended, and it is adapted to be at once informing and interesting to that class.

Ranke has dwelt upon the Romanist reaction after the Reformation, as powerfully influencing the literature and art of Italy in the latter part of the sixteenth century. But its influence is still more evident in the literature of Spain. The representatives of that nation at the Council of Trent were so perseveringly in favour of episcopal residence, and other mere disciplinary reforms, or rather returns to earlier usage, that the Curialist party were accustomed to say they were more troublesome than the heretics. But nowhere was there less disposition to depart from Romanist doctrine. A few enlightened persons embraced more or less fully reformed views, and became victims of the Inquisition. The nation remained not only Popish, but intensely so. An *auto-da-fe* was as great an enjoyment to the mob as a bull-fight. The golden period of Spanish literature commences in the middle of the sixteenth century. Not only do we find in the theological literature of that period, especially the mystical section of it, how thoroughly a revised Romanism was the expression of popular sentiment, as is manifest in the works of Luis de Leon and Luis de Granada, Juan de Avila, Juan de la Cruz, and St Theresa; but the whole of Spanish literature, in its gravest and in its lightest sections, during the century of its chief distinction, from Cervantes to Calderon, from Mendoza to De Solis, is thoroughly pervaded by the evidence of a triumphant, and not merely governmental or sacerdotal, but national Romanism. Of distinctive Catholicism there is far more in Cervantes than there is of distinctive Protestantism in Shakspeare. The latest pages of the last work of the greatest of Spanish authors, written only a week or two before his death, wind up the story with a pilgrimage of faith to Rome. Even in that peculiar production of Spanish humour, the *Picaresco* novel, we find the national religion powerfully prominent. There, as in other sections of Spanish literature,

the heretic is uniformly represented as the worst of beings, and devotion to the Pope and the Church as an influence for good, from which none but the vilest ever succeeded in freeing themselves.

Such was the form which the Romanist reaction assumed in a country where the sway of the Holy See could scarcely be said to have ever been seriously disputed. But matters were quite different in Germany. Most of the north of that country had been torn from Rome, and her hold on the south seemed by no means firm. The Spanish branch of the Austrian house ruled, in its southern dominions, over a people who looked with abhorrence on the few Protestant victims whom the Inquisition martyred. The suppression of Protestantism there made no drain on the royal treasury, involved no anxious negotiation, required not the enlistment of a single additional soldier. For invaded civil rights, blood had freely flowed in Spain, and was freely to flow again. Arragon and Castile had risen against Charles V., Catalonia stood up boldly against Philip IV.; but Protestantism led no forces into the field. The few peaceful votaries fell unresisting victims to

“The bigot monarch and the butcher priest.”

At Vienna, if the sway of Rome was to be maintained, a far more difficult game had to be played than at Madrid. The policy of the Austrian Government was characterised by three different principles in succession—regaining by concession, toleration, and suppression. The first was that adopted by Ferdinand I. In conjunction with the Duke of Bavaria, he urged upon the Council of Trent the importance of granting the laity the use of the cup, and of allowing the clergy to marry. After all efforts to influence the Council had failed, and that body had separated without even properly discussing such reforms, Ferdinand did not despair. One of his latest acts, as we learn from Father Paul,¹ was to write to Pius IV. urging the exceeding desirableness of these concessions. But even imperial desires were in vain. So far from the Roman Curia meaning to go beyond the Fathers of Trent, it was only occupied in endeavouring to render as nugatory as possible the disciplinary reforms which these Fathers had sanctioned.

Many have supposed that Ferdinand's son and successor, Maximilian II., was, at least in the earlier part of his reign, at heart a Protestant. At all events, despairing of the attainment of such concessions as might restore German religious unity, he proved himself the sincere, if not always the sufficiently energetic, friend of toleration. But to set a sufficiently influential

¹ *Storia del Concil. Trident. VIII. 88.* The recent Florentine edition of this valuable work, well edited, sufficiently annotated, and moderately priced, has brought within the reach of every Italian student a book previously scarce.

example in this respect to Germany, and to ensure the future peace of his dominions, there was needed both a firmer will and a longer reign. Many must have sighed to think how different in both respects he was from his cousin Philip II. With his death in 1576, the difficulties of Protestantism in the Austrian dominions began.

His successor, Rudolph II., was a prince not unlike our James III. of Scotland. Fond of the arts and sciences, he was averse to the needful cares of state. Like his Scottish prototype, his long reign closed in weakness, difficulty, and disaster. Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia were abandoned to his brother Matthias. But injurious as were these divisions to the power and prestige of Austria, they procured an interval of respite to the Protestants. The work of suppression of the Reformation had begun in other parts of Germany. The first to inaugurate this policy of persecution was Duke William V. of Bavaria. He was completely under the influence of the Jesuits, who, having effected establishments at Ingoldstadt, Vienna, and Cologne, pursued from those three centres their chosen task of winning back Germany to the Pope. The Duke obliged all who would not renounce the Protestant faith to leave his dominions; and Munich, sorely weakened in population, grievously damaged in trade by the expulsion of her most industrious citizens, was complimented by the Jesuits with the title of the German Rome. William himself received from them the title of a second Theodosius, thus forestalling the flattery which, for similar wickedness on a large scale, was given by Bossuet to Louis XIV. The example of Bavaria was eagerly followed by the Prince-Bishops of Northern and Southern Germany.

William of Bavaria was maternal uncle to Ferdinand, ruler of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Brought up under his uncle's guardianship, and under Jesuit tuition, that prince became thoroughly devoted to Rome. In his hereditary states he resolved to suppress Protestantism, after the model which, in his guardian's dominions, he had seen only too successful. In 1596 he was the only person who, at Grätz, communicated at Easter in the Romish form. Next year he went in pilgrimage, first to Loretto, and thence to Rome; and having derived all the inspiration of devoteism which the sight of Mary's house and Peter's chair was likely to impart, he returned home, determined to prove himself worthy of the benediction which Clement VIII. had bestowed upon him.

With Ferdinand, as we remarked above, the work of M. Michiels opens. It is a somewhat grave omission, that he represents the Counter-Reformation as if it had been a mere work of force. The governmental and the military parts of the scheme

are dwelt upon to the exclusion of others. The edicts of princes, the movements of troops, were, however, only one side of the plan of Rome. The means by which the cause of the Reformation had been promoted were, as far as the principles of Rome allowed, turned against the Reformation. Preaching and education had been mighty instruments with both the Lutherans and the Calvinists; against either branch of Protestantism, education and preaching were assiduously employed. In rivalry to Luther, the Jesuit Peter Canisius wrote his *Larger and Smaller Catechisms*, and these ever after formed the favourite manuals in Romish schools. Canisius found able successors, especially among the Jesuits. The pages of M. Michiels would have been more informing, his picture of the Counter-Reformation would have been more complete, had he given an account of the labours of such indefatigable emissaries of Rome as George Scherer and Wenceslas Pillar.

We pass over the suppression of the Reformation (by means similar to those already mentioned as having been employed in Bavaria) in the hereditary states of Ferdinand. Attempts of a similar kind, though with less system and with intervals of quiet, had been made by Rudolph. During the brief reign of Matthias (1612–1619), the Protestants of the Austrian states were greatly alarmed by the prospect of the succession of Ferdinand to his childless cousin. Bohemia offered her crown to the Elector Palatine Frederick V. (whom M. Michiels calls Count Palatine). This distinction he owed to his father having been the head of the Evangelical Union, and to his connection, by marriage, with the English crown, more than to any merits of his own. A more unfortunate choice could not have been made. Bohemia needed for her ruler a far-seeing statesman and an experienced general. She chose a prince, weak, vain, and unwarlike as his father-in-law James I. We can hardly even pay him the left-handed compliment which Colletta pays to Joseph Bonaparte, that, though a bad new king, he might have made a good old one. The single battle of the White Mountain placed Bohemia at the feet of Ferdinand. The country of Zisca and the Procops was found incapable of striking another blow for independence. In the language of Pelzel, "The records of history scarcely furnish an example of such a change as Bohemia underwent during the reign of Ferdinand II. Till this fatal period the Bohemians were daring, undaunted, enterprising, ambitious of fame; now they have lost their courage, their national pride, their enterprising spirit. Their courage lay buried on the White Mountain."

M. Michiels thus describes the executions of the most distinguished insurgents:—

"Several squadrons of Hulars occupied the square and the entrances of the adjoining streets, while a triple row of chasseurs and arquebusiers surrounded the scaffold. Strong platoons, accompanied by artillery, held the centre of the main streets, and patrols of cuirassiers marched about the city during the entire ceremony. At five o'clock A.M., the hoarse sound of the gun was again heard. The victims embraced, and took leave of each other. The first to appear was Count Schlick. The Elector of Saxony, with whom he had taken refuge, had surrendered him to the Emperor. He was a man of fifty-three years of age, of majestic figure. As the sun in all its splendour had now risen above the houses, the martyr lifted his hand to Heaven: 'Sun of righteousness,' he exclaimed, 'O Jesus! deign to lead me to eternal light beyond the shadows of death.' Then he walked across the scaffold several times with a calm and dignified air. At length he knelt down before the fatal block, and received the death-blow, after which the executioner cut off his right hand. A piece of scarlet cloth had been stretched out beneath the block, and, as soon as the executioner had finished his task, some masked men wrapped up the Count's remains in it, and bore them away. The next to appear on the blood-stained stage was Wenceslaus of Budowa, a scholar renowned throughout Europe. He had been imperial ambassador to Constantinople. He was seventy-four years of age when led before the judge and condemned. Pardon was offered him, but he smiled contemptuously. 'You have thirsted for my blood so many years,' he replied, 'that I would not prevent you from satisfying your thirst; I would rather die than see my country die.' . . . Whenever one of the martyrs strove to address the people, a roll of the drums or a peal of the trumpets drowned his voice. The executioner tore out the tongues of some of the victims prior to striking the [fatal] blow; among these, the most famous of all the culprits, John of Jassen, whom anatomists regard as one of the founders of their science. All Europe respected this friend of Kepler and Tycho Brahe, who was chosen as physician by the Emperors Rudolph and Matthias. After the death of all the victims, his body was carried beneath the gibbet (scaffold), cut into four parts, and the bleeding limbs were exposed on posts."—Pp. 21–26.

The measure thus dealt out by the Government to the chiefs of the insurrection was copied by the Romish renegade nobles on their domains. When life was not taken, shocking indignities were used to compel their vassals to abjure. The villagers, their wives and children, were driven to mass by letting loose bull-dogs on them, or cutting them with huntsmen's whips. Many of the apostate lords, such as Mittrowsky, William Klenau, Slawata, and Martinitz, imprisoned and tortured their vassals, thrashing them with sticks or the flat of their sabres, in order to make them kneel before the Holy Sacrament. They forced their mouths open with the butt of their fusils, or with iron wedges, in order to thrust in the host, and make them communicate in only one

element. The Protestant ministers who did not fly, were the victims of the soldiery. Some men entered the house of the curate of Bistritz, an old man of seventy, whom illness confined to his bed; they plundered the house, and then shot him as he lay. Paul Moller was killed by a bullet while in the pulpit, and Capito was poniarded and cut open in his house. Some of the ecclesiastics died a slower and more fearful death: the mercenaries piled up their books and MSS., suspended them over the mass, and then fired it. With others, they first cut off the right hand, then the head; some, like Matthias Ulisky, were cut into four pieces. John Buffler was fastened to a tree, and served for a target.—Pp. 38, 39.

The sufferings of the Bohemian Protestants are thus summed up by Dr Pescheck, the author of "*The Counter-Reformation in Bohemia*:"—"Taking away of churches, exile of the ministers, forcing upon the people ignorant priests, intrusive visits of Jesuits, removal and burning of Bibles and books of edification, forcible abstraction of children to bring them up in the convents as Catholics, forbidding of Protestant marriages, interment elsewhere than in the churchyards, fines for non-attendance at mass, imprisonment in dark dungeons and choke-full cellars, for long periods, and with irons that wounded the parts to which they were applied, cudgellings and floggings, applying of lighted candles to different parts of the body, tying of women so that they could not reach their infants while nursing!" Hardly one of the cruelties inflicted on the French Protestants sixty years afterwards, could boast even the poor merit of originality.

The best of the Bohemian people were expatriated, the industry of the country paralysed, its language proscribed as rebel and heretical. But Bohemia gained (though M. Michiels has omitted to inform his readers)—what more than made up for such small things as impaired trade and diminished population—a new saint! History and legend are hopelessly at variance about the life and death of St John Nepomuk. According to the former, after being previously tortured, he was thrown from the Moldon bridge of Prague into the water, by order of the Emperor Wenceslaus, in 1393. He remained obscure till the Jesuit reconquest of Bohemia. It then occurred to some ingenious Jesuit that the name of St John Nepomuk might be played off with effect against that of Huss. Any remaining figures of the latter were (as they had good precedents at Rome for doing) changed by an alteration of designation into figures of Nepomuk, which was the more easily done, as ungrateful contemporaries had omitted to preserve his likeness! No previous miracles are recorded, but as Nepomuk had now again got his head above water, he vigorously set to work. Revered as the patron-saint of Romanized

Bohemia (though not canonized till 1729), wonders of all kinds became rife. No other saint had so many images or altars. Legend told how, having become the confessor of Joanna, wife of Wenceslaus, he perseveringly refused to betray the sacerdotal secrets thus gained, and, prophetically conscious of the future, predicted the evils which his native land was to entail upon itself by hearkening, first to Huss, and then to Luther! Wenceslaus put him to death for the reason above given, and the Jesuits celebrated his memory as a glorious confessor for—confession! The saint appears now to be on the best of terms with the element by which he lost his life; for whenever the Bohemian Romanist is suffering from drought, his crops and his cattle are relieved by an application to his country's patron!

The suppression of the Reformation in the duchy of Austria was not effected without a sanguinary, and for a short time, successful resistance. M. Michiels thus describes the overthrow of the insurgents:—

“Maximilian (of Bavaria) determined on putting an end to these defeats, and sent against the peasants Count Pappenheim, a general of extraordinary boldness, energy, and rapidity. This skilful captain employed the most refined tactics to baffle the vigilance of the peasants. By night marches and long *detours*, he joined the Austrians at Ling, and attacked the Dissenters at Efferding, on the 9th November 1626. The peasants displayed heroic bravery. Singing psalms, invoking the Lord, and uttering terrific cries, they rushed on the horsemen, dragged them from their steeds, and struck them with clubs, spears, and maces. Ambushed in ravines, clumps of trees, and hedgerows, behind walls and houses, other mountaineers kept up a rolling fire, which decimated the papal battalions. These gave way several times, and Pappenheim had to make extraordinary efforts to continue the fight. He was wounded, as were nearly all his generals. But at last destiny declared itself for the bad cause, and the defenders of free inquiry were overthrown. On November 13th the imperial army recaptured Gmünden; on the 19th and 20th it gained two more victories. A few days later Pappenheim surrounded the rustics, forced their entrenchments, and massacred the men who had been driven to extremities by a pitiless tyranny. The province was soon in military occupation.”—Pp. 48, 49.

M. Michiels does not occupy many pages with the events of the Thirty Years' War. That deadly conflict began during that shameful parenthesis between Elizabeth and Cromwell, when England's foreign policy was either a nullity or a blunder. The place which, earlier or later, England would have taken as protector of the Protestant cause, was occupied by Sweden. The chief interest of the struggle centres in the two years and a half which intervened (June 1630—Nov. 1632) between the arrival of Gustavus on the scene and his death. If the Swedish

monarch was not quite so spotless a character as old Fuller has described him in the Holy State, where he is the model of the "good general"—if he was more indisputably and eminently a hero than a saint—at least his services to the Protestant cause can hardly be over-estimated. In antagonism to him the headlong courage of Pappenheim, the veteran skill of Tilly, the military genius of Wallenstein met only with defeat and disaster. He turned back the tide of Austrian victory. He constrained the German Lutherans and Calvinists into union. A Romanist historian affirms that it was disgraceful to the German Protestants to have implored the aid of Gustavus. Their opponents had at least set them the example of calling in foreign help. When from her Belgic and Italian provinces Spain poured in troops to reinforce Ferdinand and Maximilian, it was only natural in the oppressed Protestants to send for succour across the Baltic. But (and, in fairness, M. Michiels should have adverted to this) had German Protestantism been true to itself, her need of Sweden would not have been so great. It was the miserable dissensions between the Lutherans and Calvinists that produced the disasters of the early period of the war. The House of Saxony was true to only one part of the character of her founder Maurice. His selfishness was copied, his sagacity was lost sight of. The coldness and delays of Brandenburg were as notorious as the selfishness and seeming treachery of Saxony. Had these two chief Protestant powers done their duty from the first as well as some of the smaller potentates did, Germany might have arranged in a campaign or two her matters for herself. The Swiss, unaided, had expelled the House of Hapsburg from their soil. William the Silent, with the seven provinces at his back, had successfully defied the power of Spain. Maurice of Saxony had arrested the career of the Emperor Charles. With greater resources than any of these, the German Protestants were untrue to their position. The Evangelical Union only embraced a portion of their ranks, and it was dissolved soon after the fatal battle of the White Mountain. Its antagonist, the Catholic League, achieved far more for Popery than it did for Protestantism.

Nearly a third of M. Michiels' book, and we think the best portion of it, is devoted to the treatment of Hungary in the seventeenth century by Austria. This part of Austrian history is comparatively little known, and M. Michiels has given an interesting and informing record of it. Into Hungary the Reformed doctrine early penetrated. Luther dedicated part of his version of the Bible to Mary, queen of Louis, the last Jagellon. In spite of bloody edicts, Protestantism made constant, and in many places, rapid progress. Hundreds of Hungarian students re-

ceived instruction at Wittemberg. The most distinguished advocate of the new doctrines was Matthias Levoy, called the Hungarian Luther. At the accession of Rudolph II., says Michiels, "In those provinces belonging to Germany, nine hundred parishes were Lutheran, a still greater number Calvinist; sixteen governors, nearly all dignitaries of the kingdom, had abjured the old dogmas. The moment could be almost predicted when Hungary would be Protestant."

The chief workers in the Counter-Reformation were the Jesuits. They entered Hungary in 1561; but during the reigns of Maximilian and Rudolph their success was by no means great. Yet their indefatigable activity awakened general apprehension; and at the Diet which raised Matthias to the Hungarian throne, the question of their expulsion was seriously mooted. Their continuance was in a great measure owing to the effect of a pamphlet, published by one of their body, Peter Pazmann. This man was in youth a pervert from Calvinism, and had, in consideration of his varied and ready gifts, been most carefully trained for proselytizing work by the Society. To no one man did Rome, in connection with Hungary, owe so much. That his name does not occur in the work before us, is, we presume, owing to M. Michiels hurrying over the events of the reigns of Matthias and Ferdinand in Hungary. To facilitate the return of the Hungarian Protestants to Rome, he wrote in that language his "Guide to Heaven," "which," says the Romanist Schrödl, "did more injury to their cause than a hundred thousand Spanish troops could have done." Plausible, eloquent, liberal in money matters, he succeeded in accomplishing many perversions. Count Mailath, the historian of the Magyars, thus characterizes him:—"The man who refuses to Pazmann the title of great, has either no sympathy with greatness, or is sunk in party spirit. When he entered public life the Catholic clergy were few in number, poor, downcast in spirit; when he died, the Magyar hierarchy was rich, bold, influential, highly educated. Before his time the Protestant theologians were more learned than the Catholic; with him begins the learning of the Magyar Catholic theologians, and no confession produced a man who could measure himself with Pazmann. He found Hungary Protestant, and left it Catholic." In this there is a good measure of partisan exaggeration, but of the greatness of Pazmann's services to Rome there can be no question. He died a Cardinal, and Primate of Hungary, in 1637, the same year as Ferdinand II. Ten chapters of his work are devoted by M. Michiels to the reign of Leopold I.

"The Jesuits," says he, "had in him a prince according to their heart; every morning he heard three masses, one after the other,

during which he remained on his knees, and did not raise his eyes once. On festival days the triple ceremony was accompanied by music. Leopold insisted upon all the ambassadors being present ; and it was at times enough to make them resign office, so fatiguing did the task become : thus, during Lent, they were bound to be present at eighty offices. When priests or monks approached the Emperor, he humbly doffed his hat and gave them his hand to kiss. On his white and little gnome-like head weighed a vast peruke. He was very weak in the legs, and seemed to be always tottering. His stature below the middle height, the awkwardness of his gestures, and the stiffness of his manner, did not produce a favourable impression. With his ill-shapen mouth, he had the temerity to play the flute, which made him ridiculous. A black but very thin beard imperfectly covered his prodigious chin. The priests had taught him everything, save the art of governing ; and hence a notice was several times found affixed to the palace gate, containing the words : Leopold, be an Emperor and not a musician ; an Emperor and not a Jesuit. This prince, though so well up in religion (!), was not war-like. During a reign of half a century, in which he had to support five great wars and subdue three dangerous insurrections, he never once showed himself in the field of battle. A small number of reviews, held on solemn occasions, were sufficient to satisfy his martial tastes. During the siege of Vienna by the infidels, the timid Emperor escaped as rapidly and as far as he could. The Jesuits, however, to reward their pupil for his obedience, surnamed him Leopold the Great."—Pp. 105–8.

He had no proper sense of national, though none ever insisted more on personal dignity. "The Islamites strongly abused his concessions and humility. When Count Leslie, sent as envoy to Constantinople after the signature of peace (in 1664), proceeded to take leave of his Highness, being a very aged man, he could not bow so low as Mussulman etiquette demanded : an usher thrust his head to the ground with such violence that he received three wounds in the forehead. The Imperial Court did not complain—asked no satisfaction for this outrage."

The subjugation of Hungary, which his grandfather had, during the Thirty Years' War, been unable to effect, was considered by Leopold as reserved for himself.

"As soon as the alliance with Turkey was concluded, Prince Lobkowitz assembled the magnates, in Leopold's name, at a Diet held at Presburg. He asked them for subsidies, intended for the fresh imperial troops to be stationed in the country, for building new forts along the frontiers, and recommended them not to annoy, according to their usual fashion, the pashas residing near their districts. The Estates replied by violent recriminations : the Hungarian charter forbade the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom. In addition, the Golden Bull of King Andrew II., which ever since the year 1222 all Hungarian monarchs had sanctioned on their corona-

tion, granted the Magyars the right of taking up arms whenever their franchises and privileges were violated. The Diet demanded the removal of the imperial troops, who annoyed and plundered the population."—P. 113.

The Austrian Court refused to satisfy the wishes of the Hungarians. For the double purpose of crushing the Hungarian liberties and oppressing the Hungarian Protestants, the Government of Vienna found two apt and unscrupulous instruments, Prince Eusebius of Lobkowitz, and Szeleptsenyi, the new Primate. The Magyar nobles held a secret meeting at Neusohl, and resolved to revolt from Austria, and obtain Turkish aid by recognising the suzerainty of the Sultan, Mahomet IV. An Austrian spy contrived to be present at the interview, which their envoy had with the Grand Vizier, and revealed the plot to his employers. Amused with promises made by Lobkowitz to gain time, the Hungarian leaders, unsupported by Turkey, were speedily crushed after the Austrian troops, poured in from the western provinces, had time to arrive. What resistance there was proved useless through its isolated character. The chief of the Magyar nobility were made to pay the penalty of their plan of revolt with their lives. We quote one example.

"Tattenbach did not perish at Grätz until December 1, 1671. Thirmon had been irritated in every conceivable way, and led to the verge of the abyss. In order first to compromise and then to accuse him, the service had been employed of a miserable wretch called Thurn, a devoted Catholic, or utter debauchee, overburdened with debts and harassed by want; one of those men who have a conscience 'wide as hell.' An ex-chaplain of Tattenbach's, Michael Fevie, at that time priest of Crayburg, served as his accomplice in the ignoble work. The two scoundrels suggested dubious proceedings to the Count, induced him to utter imprudent language, and then denounced him. To render the mystification complete, Thurn was at the outset imprisoned with his lord, and they were examined together. But the agent was speedily released, while the scaffold was erected for the credulous gentleman. The unhappy man sent off an express to Vienna, imploring the mercy of being shot; but Leopold refused this last and gloomy favour. The executioner gave him three strokes before his punishment ended. The monarch deducted a sum of money from the confiscated property of the victims, with which he purchased three thousand masses for the repose of their souls. The sons and legitimate heirs of the decapitated magnates were reduced to misery; and to set the seal on their misfortunes, they were ordered to wear a red silken cord round their necks, imitating the mark made by the axe. Many wives and daughters of the first families languished in Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt, either in common dungeons, or in the *oubliettes* of the convents."—Pp. 127-9.

On the 6th of June 1671, Leopold issued an edict, in which he annulled the national charter, proclaimed military occupation of the country, placed the Magyar nobles on a level with tradesmen and peasants in liability to taxation, and laid heavy imposts on all articles of consumption. The Primate and other Hungarian prelates in vain remonstrated against a decree by which they themselves were involved in pecuniary loss. But while to this part of the imperial procedure they took exception, they gave themselves diligently to the enterprise of persecuting the Protestants into submission to their Church. All who could escaped into the Turkish territories, where they found toleration. We cannot wonder that, as in the contemporary persecutions of the Scottish Presbyterians, armed resistance was at times made. On one such occasion, Barsonzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, one of the most pitiless of the persecutors, was saved by the intervention of a Protestant minister from experiencing the fate of Sharp.

After a number of instances of local oppression, all the Protestant ministers, schoolmasters, and precentors were summoned to appear at Presburg on the 5th of May 1675. Four hundred appeared. The tribunal was presided over by the Primate. Ecclesiastical and civil offences were blended in the articles of accusation. On condition of abandoning the exercise of their offices, and virtually acting as Government spies, the liberty of remaining in their native land was offered to them; if they refused this, a fortnight's time was allowed them to remove their families and effects to other lands. But, in either case, the signature of a document implying their guilt as rebels was indispensable. A fourth of their number yielded in the one or the other form. Sentence of death was pronounced in the case of those who refused. None were actually executed; but not a few died in consequence of the hardships they were exposed to, first in imprisonment in the six Hungarian fortresses, and afterwards when condemned to the galleys. In February 1676 only twenty-eight martyrs remained at Naples. They were found by De Payter, the admiral of Holland, then the first Protestant power, through the incompetent foreign policy of the restored Stuarts. He claimed them; and as his appearance in the Mediterranean was to aid Spain in naval contest with France, his demand could not be refused.

Though Lobkowitz proved himself the willing tool of imperial oppression, he bore no favour to the Jesuits. Grasping as well as active as ever, the Society of Jesus practised upon the weak yieldingness of the Emperor to obtain large grants of land and money. "The minister, on several occasions, opposed this inopportune liberality, and tore up several acts of donation, especially

that which granted the Spanish order the county of Glatz, in Silesia, and gave them, as guarantee for a sum promised them, the town of Grätz, in Styria. When the insatiable apostles (!) came to ask the head of the Cabinet for the official deed, he showed them the letters I.N.R.I. placed above a crucifix, and interpreted them thus : *Jam nihil reportabunt Jesuitæ*. He had carried his malice to such an extent as to draw up his will, which he showed everybody. This jesting document commenced in a humble, contrite, and lamenting tone ; then left the reverend fathers, as a sign of repentance and affection, eighty-two thousand—here the bottom of the page was reached, and it was necessary to turn it over ; the top of the next page explained the prince's legacy—eighty-two thousand nails to build a new house !”—P. 153. Before long, dexterously availing themselves of the dislike borne to Lobkowitz by the new empress, the Jesuits procured his downfall and confinement to his castle of Raudwitz in Bohemia, where he died two years afterwards. Assisted by Michael Apoffy, Prince of Transylvania, the Hungarian exiles re-entered their native land. They defeated Spankau, the Austrian commander-in-chief. If their plan of military operations had been more sustained and skilful, they might have driven the imperial troops out of Hungary. Their successes were not always used with moderation ; on one occasion, having seized two and twenty Romish priests, they cut off their ears and noses, and then finished them with their sabres. The Marquis de Bethune, French ambassador at Warsaw, was interested in their favour, and, “in an underhand manner,” as Voltaire says, “Louis XIV. gave them his support.” In the end of 1677, Emeric Tekeli appeared among the patriots, bringing them a succour of two thousand men.

“This new champion was a man in every way distinguished. His lofty figure, his handsome face, his talents, activity, and kindness, attracted attention, and prepossessed in his favour. To these natural gifts—to courage and coolness—he added a precocious experience. Having grown up in misfortune and resentment, he had gone through the harsh apprenticeship of a military life. He knew, and spoke with equal facility, Hungarian, Latin, German, and Turkish. Of the immense property his family had possessed in Northern Hungary and Transylvania, the latter portion had escaped the Emperor's clutches, and assured him the influence of an immense fortune. His rapidity of conception, his spirit of organization, and a firmness of character indispensable in action, destined him to exercise on all sides an irresistible ascendancy. He was only twenty-one years of age when the retirement of Teleky, owing to his disputes with the French captains, decided the exiles on appointing him their general-in-chief. A proclamation summoned to arms every individual capable of wielding a

sword or bearing a musket, while the scattered bands, fighting without discipline, received orders to join him. In a very short time twenty thousand men assembled, and other squadrons continually joined the Army of Independence. The troops he commanded had a numerical superiority over the Imperialist legions, and the young chieftain traversed in triumph all the north of Hungary and the chain of the Carpathians."—Pp. 165, 166.

After various efforts to reduce Hungary had failed, Leopold concluded an armistice; but, distrustful of his sincerity, the Magyars would not agree to the proposed terms of peace. The war, on being resumed, was more fiercely contested than ever; and matters appeared brought to a crisis, when, in 1682, a league was formed with the Turks, and the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, brought the full force of the Ottoman Empire to bear against Austria. The united force amounted to three hundred thousand men.

A century before, the House of Austria had furnished the commander who beat back the Turkish naval power at Lepanto. It appeared as if that great disaster was about to be more than avenged. The forces, which had of late barely kept the field against the Magyar insurgents, were utterly unable to cope with their Mussulman allies. Leopold could only muster thirty-three thousand men, whose command was entrusted to Charles of Lorraine. M. Michiels calls this distinguished general a Frenchman,—a somewhat singular designation for a prince, whose family had, forty years before, been expelled from their dominions by the French arms. He made a most skilful retreat before the overwhelming force of the invaders, and diligently repaired the crumbling fortifications of Vienna.

Two monarchs stand out from the mass of crowned heads of the seventeenth century, as men possessing the highest claims to the title of great—Gustavus Adolphus and John Sobieski. The former had saved Germany from Austria; the latter was now to rescue Germany both from the Ottoman and the Frenchman. Sobieski had gained the thorny and anxious crown of Poland through a burst of popular enthusiasm. Neither then nor at any subsequent time did he owe anything to Leopold. Had imperial intrigue succeeded, he must have remained merely the most illustrious of Polish warriors, the most distinguished of Polish subjects. But now the Emperor felt his deep and dire need of him. "He had recourse," says Salvandy, "to the great expedient of his House, the hand of an archduchess, offering this alliance to the young prince of Poland, to whom was also to be guaranteed the succession to his father." On the other hand, the united cabinets of Paris, Berlin, and Copenhagen offered him Silesia; Louis XIV. added Hungary for himself and his

sons.¹ The temptation was great; Poland would thus have become a powerful empire. The difficulty of decision was enhanced by the Sultan sending to the Polish monarch a letter, in which he disclaimed all intention of hostility to Poland.

Sobieski relied little on the friendship of Leopold, but he considered the empire a far less dangerous neighbour than the Turk, and he threw all his energies into the scale of the former. Of the campaign which destroyed the Turkish host, and rescued the beleaguered capital, M. Michiels has given, in his thirteenth chapter, a succinct but animated account. Of his treatment by Leopold, Sobieski had as much cause to complain as, a quarter of a century afterwards, Peterborough and Stanhope had to be dissatisfied with their usage by his son, the Archduke Charles. Even the panegyrists of Austria would scarcely have the hardihood to affirm, that with that House gratitude has been a prominent virtue!

During the siege of Vienna, Tekeli had invested, but fruitlessly, the castle of Presburg. After the overthrow of his allies, he was obliged to take refuge within the Turkish territory. Now, in turn, the Austrian and Polish army laid siege to Gran, the strongest fortification in Hungary. It only held out four days. Mass was immediately celebrated in the cathedral of St Stephen, which, for nearly a century and a half, had been converted into a mosque. Sobieski endeavoured to mediate between the Emperor and the Hungarians, but without effect.

“During the negotiations, the army of Lithuania arrived like a stream of barbarians. As it had not set out early enough to take part in the campaign, it substituted pillage and destruction for the services it did not render. Hungary was sacked with as much cruelty as if infidels inhabited the provinces. Irritated by their violence and depredation, Tekeli attacked the Poles, and did not grant them a moment’s rest. Peasants or soldiers fired on them from every house, out of every thicket. Sobieski was broken-hearted. Urged by his wife to return, threatened with utter desertion by his troops, exposed to the revenge of the Hungarians, and disgusted by the ingratitude of the Emperor, he at length marched homeward, where he arrived at the end of December.”—Pp. 194, 195.

Tekeli had set his mind upon being sovereign of Hungary. But neither Leopold nor Sobieski would sanction this arrangement, though gilded over by a tribute to Vienna. Irritated by the disposition of some of his noble supporters to come to terms

¹ It is worthy of notice, that in the same number of the official Parisian *Gazette* which congratulated the Hungarians on *the religious* liberty which they now enjoyed, appeared a proclamation, that if any of the “converts” lately made in Poitou presumed to re-enter the Protestant temples, they would be sent to the galleys!—*Salvandy, Hist. de Sobieski*, ii. 128.

with Austria, he seized, condemned, and executed the most obnoxious. The cause of Hungarian Independence was soon seen to be hopeless; and what hope was there, with Leopold on the one hand, and Mahomet IV. on the other? Sobieski would not ally himself with the Magyars, and the succour of France was feeble, interested, and precarious. When a truce of twenty years was concluded in August 1684 between France and the Empire, the Hungarians must have felt that their last hope of foreign aid was shattered.

It is a trite quotation—

“Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.”

But Hungary had always confessed, by seeking aid from without, that she felt herself too weak to contend against the Imperialists alone. The court of Vienna contributed to render Tekeli suspected by the Turks. He was seized by them in October 1686, and carried to Adrianople in chains. Deprived of their leader, the insurgents generally laid down their arms. When a new Grand Vizier found out the mistake that had been committed, and set Tekeli at liberty, his name had lost its influence, and the war, which he still carried on, shrunk into a mere series of guerilla combats. We pass over the narrative, too similar to passages already quoted, given by M. Michiels of the cruelties which attended the final suppression of this revolt of Hungary. We could have wished that, instead of the following chapter of twenty-five pages, in which the author gives us his views of the policy of the Jesuits, he had favoured his readers with some account of the insurrection under Rakoczy, which, taking advantage of the pressure upon Austria through the war of the Spanish succession, procured the treaty of Zathunia in 1711, by which the former Magyar liberties were restored.

The arrangement of M. Michiels is somewhat confused at times. Thus, after entering on the reign of Maria Theresa in his eighteenth chapter, and continuing that subject in the three following ones, he reverts in the twenty-second to the persecution of the Protestants of Salzburg, which occurred in the time of her father Charles VI. The Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Leopold Antony, Count of Firmian, too weak himself to deal with those of his subjects who, calling themselves Evangelicals or Apostolicals, had latterly assumed the name of Lutherans, and were virtually Protestants, had applied for aid to Austria and Bavaria. Troops were accordingly sent into the dissident districts, and remained there until the work of suppression was accomplished. All who held fast to their opinions were, by a decree which appeared in October 1731, obliged to go into exile. M. Michiels states the number of exiles to have been 30,000. Gieseler makes it 22,000. Guericke gives it as much above

20,000. The Romanist Gries reduces it to less than 20,000. Persecuted thus for conscience sake, the exiled Salzburger were kindly received by the German Protestant Powers.

“The Elector of Hanover received them eagerly. The King of Denmark ordered collections on their behalf in all the churches. On the 2d of February 1732, the King of Prussia published letters patent, in which he offered them an asylum; and the court of Berlin even engaged the Catholics to exert all their influence to secure the exiles a kind reception. A large number, consequently, established themselves in this hospitable country. Frederick William also sent two commissioners to Salzburg, officially ordered to collect all monies owing to the exiles; but, in return for this, the Archbishop ordered the payment of the debts they owed to be enforced. All Reformed Germany followed the example furnished by the sovereigns. Although the Free Cities were no longer in that powerful and flourishing condition to which the commerce of the East had once raised them, they behaved most generously towards the immigrants: several found employment there, and many were assisted by philanthropical institutions. In many parishes the authorities went to meet the exiles, while the bells rang a peel; the burgomaster held [made?] a speech to them, and the inhabitants, collected in crowds outside the walls, sang the famous Lutheran canticle,—

“‘A tower of strength is our Lord. No one is abandoned by the Saviour. Help us, Master, according to Thy promise.’ At Ansbach, when the travellers reached the Townhall Square, four hundred and thirty catechisms of the Augsburg Confession were distributed among them, and George Förster, an old man of eighty-seven, thanked the town in the name of the exiles. The citizens then contended for the honour and satisfaction of lodging them. . . . The vast trade in toys, of which Nuremberg is now the centre, was transferred thither at this period, for they had hitherto been manufactured on the banks of the Königsee. The gold, silver, iron, and copper mines were abandoned; rain, ice, and snow invaded the galleries. The soil soon became a desert; fields, hitherto cultivated, became sterile moors, and the lowlands were converted into pestilential marshes.”—Pp. 311–313.

A number of our readers must remember that the same archdiocese of Salzburg, which since 1816 has belonged to Austria, lost in 1835 some hundreds of inhabitants from the Zillenthal, for their indomitable adherence to Protestantism. Then, as a century before, Prussia proved their actively sympathising friend. In the beginning of his seventeenth chapter M. Michiels makes the strange remark—“It is not generally known to what an extent French ideas penetrated into Germany in the eighteenth century.” It would have been singular, indeed, if the influence

of France, felt from Spain to Sweden, from England to Russia, had found the German people alone impervious and unassailable. Germany, with as yet no national literature of her own, coming more slowly than any other civilized nation to her full intellectual growth, was quite in a condition to be swayed, and indeed too unduly swayed, by the mental products of France. There is not a single historian of Germany, civil or ecclesiastical, Romanist or Protestant, absolutist, constitutional, or ultra-liberal—there is not a single historian of Europe during the period we are now engaged with, but has adverted to the fact which M. Michiels seems to think he has only now dragged to light. Let one quotation serve instead of a hundred. “The princes of Germany,” says Cantu in his *Storia di Cento Anni*, “Had it as their ambition to imitate the court of Louis XIV. They were educated by Frenchmen, they showed themselves ready to copy that country in everything. The busts of Voltaire and Rousseau appeared in the cabinets of ecclesiastical electors and canons of sixteen quarters.” The influence of France beyond the Rhine was never thoroughly broken till the memorable national rising of 1813. To prove the need of French civilizing influence, M. Michiels devotes a whole chapter to examples of “the brutality, demoralization, and savage habits of the Austrians in the eighteenth century.” We quote a few sentences:—

“The bandits displayed great audacity. It was found necessary to cut down the woods along the high roads in various portions of the country, empty suspicious hostelries, and put in them trustworthy men. Military posts were established on high places, whence the country could be surveyed for some distance, and patrols went out regularly during every hour of the night. The provosts made their rounds once a month, rigorously watched the frontier defiles, and kept up a band of highly paid scouts; prompt and sure result was obtained by bribing some traitor in the gang, or introducing into it a false brother. . . . The most cruel manners and savage habits prevailed in these unclean and unhealthy towns. Duels, assassinations in open day, and armed contests, frequently stained the public road with blood. An Austrian general stopped an ambassador’s carriage, and wished to make him get out and fight; and the diplomatist was only saved from the disagreeable situation by the arrival of the watch, and the cleverness and resolution of the commanding officer. The duellists rendered celebrated, by their furious combats, a place in Vienna now called the *Josephstadt*. They fought on foot and horseback, with swords and pistols; the fighters came from long distances; and it was the custom at that day for the seconds to take an active part in the quarrel. Passers-by and curious spectators frequently followed their example, so that the duels were transformed into skirmishes. Among the tradespeople, those who displayed the most turbulence were the butchers, the masons, the stone-cutters,

and the fishermen. They often began fighting in the streets; and if the civic guard and watch (two different troops) ran up, the brave workmen held their ground against them, and real combats terrified the peaceable citizens. The turbulence of the students did not at all yield to the warlike vehemence of the guilds, and they had frequent disputes with the police. Indefatigable hectors (!) as they were, they were not at all afraid of any numerical superiority; and the chroniclers mention one of their leaders, a young man of twenty-five, who alone fought against twenty-four men of the watch, wounded several of them, and dispersed the rest. The passion for the chase was so impetuous among the nobles, that they treated poachers with the utmost barbarity; and the ecclesiastical princes themselves furnished them with an example."—Pp. 330–333.

There is in this chapter, however, an evident wish to make out a case against Austria. The coarseness of the last century was not an endemic in Austria, it was an epidemic all over Europe. Assuredly England had small reason to look down with contempt on her imperial contemporary. We would not put M. Michiels through any very lengthy and alarming course of historical reading to enlighten him as to the state of eighteenth century England. Esmond and the Lectures on the Humorists, Horace Walpole's Letters, the Histories of Lord Stanhope and Mr Massey, may serve to show him what this country was during three-fourths of that century. As to France, the "Memoires" of courtiers and philosophers show how imperfect was her civilization, how corrupted were the views alike of those who sought to preserve all, and of those who wished to overturn all.

The chapter we have been just considering is wound up with ascribing all the then existing evils of Austria to the Jesuits. The name of that order is justly hateful. But it is inaccurate to accuse its members of having universally sunk into intellectual debility in its latest days. Not to speak of other names, the last distinguished author of the old school in Spain, Father Isla, the author of "Fray Grundio," was a Jesuit. It was as a Jesuit the ecclesiastical life was begun by Sailer, afterwards Bishop of Augsburg, the German Fenelon, to whom, more than to any other single individual, what earnest religion has been found among the German Romanists of this century is to be ascribed, and of whom Protestants of both confessions uniformly speak in the highest terms.¹ The last century witnessed an unprecedentedly large number of female occupants of thrones. But among them all there is none so estimable as the Empress Maria Theresa. She had no great education. She was not exempt from prudery. She bore a part, though the least guilty and the

¹ Few religious biographies are better worth reading than that of Sailer, by Bodemann (a Protestant of evangelical views). The writer knows how to narrate, to select, and to—stop.

most reluctant part, in the first partition of Poland. She was slower than might have been wished in adopting internal reforms. But she was not, like Elizabeth and Catherine of Russia, ruled by male favourites. She was not, like Anne of England, the slave of female favourites. She was not, like Maria of Portugal, the tool of successive confessors. A devout Romanist, and of exemplary life, she entrusted the affairs of her dominions not to intrusive priests, but to competent statesmen. Modern Ultramontanes, unable to deny her virtues, yet detract from her memory by saying that she was the mother, not only of Joseph, but of Josephism.

The loyal enthusiasm of the Hungarians for their youthful sovereign at the Diet of Presburg in 1741, is told by M. Michiels, as it has been told by so many authors, since Voltaire first gave it European celebrity, in his "*Siecle de Louis XV.*" We need not go over the history of her early losses, and how Austria emerged from the War of the Succession, with the loss of Silesia to Russia. We need not dwell upon the treaty of 1756, by which Austria broke with England, and combined with France to effect the ruin of Frederick the Great, or on the Seven Years' War which followed. On the internal state of Austria during the forty years' reign of the empress-queen, we may dwell longer. M. Michiels thus describes her Prime Minister, Wenceslaus Anthony, Prince von Kaunitz :—

" He was tall, well built, muscular, and thin ; the whiteness of his complexion, his light hair, and blue eyes, deep and calm, attested his Slavonic origin, while his eagle glance revealed the superior man. His inflexible will never abandoned a design, and no cause was powerful enough to draw his mind away from it. Frivolity in politics or in business gave him great disgust : he analysed and studied questions deeply, regarding them from every side. His whole life was spent in reflecting and working ; hence he took the greatest care to preserve that evenness of temper necessary for the free exercise of his thoughts. One of the causes that strengthened the prince's position, and augmented his ascendancy, was his incorruptible probity. To him is owing the re-establishment of Austrian finance, which the Jesuits had suffered to fall into the most frightful state of disorder. Through the solidity of his reason, the suppleness of his mind, and his continual labour, he managed to make himself so indispensable, that he exercised almost sovereign authority up to the death of Maria Theresa, and then till that of Joseph II., and did not quit his post even when years had obscured his intellect. There was an eccentric side to this grave picture. The open air inspired him with the greatest horror, and even his carriages were hermetically closed. During the fine season, when a suffocating heat prevailed, and not a breath of air stirred the foliage, he would sit at times for some moments in an easy chair in the garden of the Chancery, or cross it at

full speed, to proceed to the imperial palace ; but in either case, he carefully held a handkerchief to his mouth. As soon as people saw him, they would exclaim, ' Here he is ! here he is ! ' and the servants hastened to shut all the windows."—Pp. 369–374.

" The only grave fault committed by the skilful politician, was his having given his consent to, and facilitated the first division of Poland, although it is true that Frederick II. spared nothing to seduce him. Further-sighted than her minister, Maria Theresa instinctively blamed this iniquitous measure, and apprehended the vicinity of Russia.¹ The minister eventually recognised his error, and formed a plan for the restoration of Poland, the throne of which country he wished to render hereditary, under a prince of the house of Saxony. But it was too late ; neither Prussia nor Russia consented to give up her prey."—Pp. 380, 381.

M. Michiels gives full-length portraits of the eminent men associated with Von Kaunitz in the improvement of Austria in the reign of Maria Theresa, and her successor, Joseph II. Some inaccuracies occur in this part of his volume. Thus he states, that long before the appearance of Beccaria's work, torture was abolished in Austria, through the influence of Sonnenfels. But the book of Beccaria, "*Dei delitti e delle pene*," appeared in 1764, and Maria Theresa did not decree the abolition of torture till twelve years afterwards.

These individuals are particularly mentioned as Austrian reformers by M. Michiels, Gerhard von Swieten, Joseph von Riegger, and Joseph von Sonnenfels. The first was a Dutch physician, obliged to quit his professorship at Leyden on account of his Romanist creed. His influence was chiefly felt in the remodelling of the University of Vienna on more modern principles, and in the improvement of education throughout the empire.

Several pages are devoted by M. Michiels to an account of the life, principles, and writings of [Paul] Joseph von Riegger. He says:—" His name, but little known in Germany, is perfectly strange in France." It is true that Riegger has not met with the general reputation, in after times, which his merits demanded. His very name does not occur in the Church Histories of Gieseler and Guericke, of Hase and Kurtz. His views were those of that secondary period of Jansenism, when disciplinary more than doctrinal matters were discussed ; when a position was taken up rather anti-Curialist than pro-Augustinean. M. Michiels would have thrown more light on this period of his narrative, if he had taken into account the Italian Jansenists,—whether Milanese or Tuscan. Liberal ecclesiastical views characterised the most distinguished authors in these parts of Italy. The best known of these was the erudite canonist Tamburini, raised to the chair of theology at Pavia by

¹ In an autograph letter to Catherine II., the Austrian Empress signed herself " your most affectionate sister, but, please God, never your neighbour."

Maria Theresa. He died so recently as 1827, at the age of ninety. Italy had not listened to opinions so liberal since the death of Father Paul. Italian Jansenism culminated in the Synod of Pistoia, under the bishop of that diocese, Scipio Ricci,—the reforming views and decrees of which were guided by Tamburini. Leopold (afterwards Emperor), Grand Duke of Tuscany, fully sanctioned these Church reforms; and sought, in the provincial council of Florence, to carry them out in his dominions. But the majority of the Tuscan prelates were found anti-reforming. The speedy succession of the French Revolution drew off the attention of the Government from Church affairs. But the Pistoian Synod, held without Rome, nay, in spite of Rome, had excited the deepest consternation in the Curia. Not more alarm was raised by the Harper's Ferry rising in America, than took place at the Court of Pius VI., in consequence of this effort of ecclesiastical independence in an immediately neighbouring state. It seemed as if heresy had taken up her place almost in the very sight of the Vatican,—almost on the very threshold of Peter's Chair. The alarm, however, in this case, as in the recent Transatlantic example, proved exaggerated. The Tuscan Government soon had more pressing matters to think of; and the Tuscan people were too ignorant and bigoted, to approve of proceedings which had, as their object, to draw them away from saint veneration and image worship, to the study of the Bible in their own language. Except in the little Church of Utrecht, Jansenism—great in men, holy in memories, affecting in associations, frequent in sufferings—has never had a permanent being. Elsewhere, in the Romish communion, it has flitted from place to place; it has reappeared from time to time; it has called forth repressing edicts; it has drawn down papal anathemas; but it has never succeeded in permanently impressing even a single diocese. Witness, confessor, martyr,—even on a limited scale it is never victor. Its principles, imperfect as we deem them, are too pure to admit of its employing the paltry arts, the coarse machinery, the unscrupulous devices, which the Jesuit and the Curialist feel warranted by their lax system to employ. We return to M. Michiels' account of Riegger:—

“At the age of sixteen he obtained his doctor's diploma; and before he reached his majority, he was already doctor *utriusque juris*. When a few years over twenty, he occupied, at the University of Innsbrück, a desk of recent formation, where he taught the law of nature and of nations, the history of political legislation in Germany, and the history of the Germanic Emperors and Empire. The hate the Jesuits bore him, and their incessant manœuvres against him, did not prevent him being appointed eight times Dean of the Faculty

of Law ; thrice *Rector magnificus* ; and being chosen thrice as deputy from the University to the Court. The principal Juristic establishments, at home and abroad, consulted him on the most difficult and entangled problems of civil and criminal law. In 1749, when the noble academy called "Academie Savoyenne," and originally established for the instruction of young nobles intended to fill the offices of state, was reformed, Maria Theresa gave the professorship of canonical law to Riegger ; and afterwards that of political law,—instruction in which the religious struggles gave extreme importance and an immediate interest. In 1751 he joined the Commission of Censorship, presided over by Von Swieten. It is a fortunate epoch when men of the future are appointed to watch the press, and routine alone is placed in the Index ! In 1756 (other authorities say 1753), Riegger at length held a professorship in Vienna ; and simultaneously, he was nominated to the Chancellerie of Bohemia, and [appointed] Reporter-general on ecclesiastical affairs. Soon after, his *Institutions of Clerical Jurisprudence* served everywhere as the basis of instruction ; while equal favour was shown to his collection of civil decrees on religious affairs, his dissertations on ecclesiastical councils and chastisements, on the origin and true foundation of canon law, on the Teutonic order, etc. These immense works, which would suffice to glorify several writers, did not merely produce a theoretical effect, or remain confined to the region of speculation, for each of them occasioned an edict from Maria Theresa. Never, perhaps, has an author produced a more prompt and decided effect by his writings, than did Joseph Riegger. When on his dying bed, a prelate [said to have been Migazzi, Archbishop of Vienna] glided into his room, and addressed an insidious exhortation to him,—‘At the moment of making the fearful passage, do you not experience any doubts or uneasiness with reference to your opinions ? If it be so, you can retract them, without fearing the opinions of men, which no longer possess any importance for you.’ A slightly ironical smile played round the noble old man’s lips, as he replied, ‘I have just reconciled myself with the Eternal. The truth appears to us on the threshold of the tomb. Of all my doctrines I have not a syllable to retract.’ ”

The writings of Riegger were placed in the Roman Index, and he himself was threatened with excommunication. He is generally considered the founder of the Church Law of Austria, which prevailed up to the recent Concordat. An able representative of his views was left by him in his son, Joseph Anthony, professor first at Vienna, and afterwards at Prague ; a writer nearly as voluminous as his father, and of more varied, general accomplishments. Next to Riegger, the most able defender of liberal ecclesiastical views was Francis Stephen Von Rauterstrauch, whom M. Michiels barely names. He was a Bohemian by birth.

In his "Institutes of Ecclesiastical Law," he vigorously defended the opinion that the Primacy was only incidentally

connected with the See of Rome; and, therefore, could be transferred by the Church to any other bishopric. Keenly desirous of reuniting the Protestants to his Church, he advocated disciplinary reforms; and, above all, the depriving the Pope of all temporal power. His writings still possess sufficient influence to be the subject of attempted refutation in high Romanist systems of theology.

From M. Michiels' pages on Sonnenfels, we have only room to extract the following anecdote:—"A malicious censor had expunged whole pages in an important tract Sonnenfels had written. Indignant at this conduct, the author resolved to brave everything in order to save his work from mutilation. He reached the palace at the time when the Empress was absorbed in her favourite amusement of cards, but he did not hesitate to send in his name. The slightest circumstance that surprised Maria Theresa, or disturbed her in her pleasures or business, caused her extreme annoyance, even at an advanced age. She, therefore, left the card-table with some irritation, and came into the ante-chamber, holding her cards in one hand, and with the other pushing back her cap and hair, which fell over her face. 'Well, what is the matter?' she asked. 'Are you being annoyed again? What do they want with you? Have you written anything against me? If so, I pardon you from my heart, for a good patriot must frequently be out of temper; but I know your good sentiments. Or have you attacked religion? In that case, you are a fool. I cannot believe you have made an assault upon morality, for you are not an unclean animal. But if you have criticised my ministers,—oh, then, my dear Sonnenfels, you will be obliged to bite your nails; I cannot be of any use to you. I believe I have told you so often enough.' And the noble woman hurried back to finish her game."—Pp. 351-2.

The story that Maria Theresa was influenced to sign the edict for the expulsion of the Jesuits from her dominions, by Von Kaunitz giving her proof that her confessions to her Jesuit director had been sent to the General of the Order at Rome, has been taken by M. Michiels from the "Anemoaer" of Baron Von Hormayr. It had, many years before the appearance of the Baron's book, been given to the public in a somewhat different form by Golani. But it does not rest upon good authority, and has not been accepted as true by the best modern historians. Though Maria Theresa broke down in many ways the papalized system of her predecessors, she never granted religious toleration either to the Protestants of her dominions, or to the members of the Greek Church. But the year after Joseph II., by his mother's death, came to the possession of full imperial authority, he (1781) removed the most galling of the previous restrictions. It was then seen to what a large extent, particularly in Hungary, the Protestant faith, in one or other of the confessions, had been cherished in secret.

"The Protestants, hitherto persecuted, had the right to profess their religion publicly, and the monarch himself built them churches. The Jews were declared admissible to all offices, and the Catholics were separated, as far as possible, from the Court of Rome, by giving the force of law to the principles of Fabronius. The bishops received authority to grant those dispensations hitherto obtained from the Apostolic See. The Emperor closed seven hundred monasteries, and employed their revenues for the benefit of the secular clergy; imposed charitable works on the nuns; and forbade all traffic in indulgences, amulets, and prayers. The number of ecclesiastics was reduced during his reign to thirty-six thousand. Lastly, he erased from the breviary the orisons addressed to Gregory VII., which had kept up the memory of Henry's humiliation for so many centuries.

"The pope wrote letter upon letter to the emperor, but his remonstrances produced no effect. Pius VI., therefore, formed the resolution of going to Vienna, and holding a personal conference with the revolutionary disciple of France. The behaviour of Henry IV. and the scene at Canosa were about to have their counterpart: in the eleventh century the temporal power had bowed the knee before the insolence of clerical authority, but now the church appeared before the throne of the emperor, submitted a request to him, and implored his kind offices.

"Joseph II., like Gregory VII., showed himself inexorable. The pope was received with marks of deference and the politeness of modern times, but obtained no concessions. The work of the philosophic monarch remained upright; neither the French invasions, the Congress of Vienna, nor the thirty-three years that followed, could shake it."—Pp. 390–1.

Rechberger, we may remark, the most famous church lawyer in the time of Francis I. of Austria, wrote entirely in the spirit of the Josephine. Till the Concordat, his Manual was the textbook in most of the universities and seminaries within the Austrian Empire.

We have seen that Austria followed in the wake of Bavaria in the persecution of the Protestants, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bavaria copied the example of Austria at the close of the eighteenth century, in introducing a more liberal ecclesiastical policy. The far smaller extent of the Bavarian dominions ensured the more full carrying out of the principles predominant in the Court of Munich. The elector Maximilian Joseph, during his whole reign, acted quite in the spirit of Joseph II. In the time of his successor, Charles Theodore, who was entirely under the influence of the ex-Jesuits, the old papal principles again obtained the ascendancy. Of this a shameful instance was given in the case of Andrew Zaupfer, an employé

of the Government at Munich. He had published an ode, in which the cruelties of the Inquisition were severely handled. Not only did the more zealous clergy preach against him and his poem by name, but they induced the elector to order the confiscation of every copy of the offensive publication, and to enjoin its author to make a public recantation of the liberal sentiments it contained. But under Maximilian Joseph II., liberal principles again prevailed. This prince suppressed more than four hundred religious houses. He removed the previous restriction on the press. Protestants obtained full toleration. Professors and teachers belonging to the Reformed confessions were brought from other parts of Germany to advance the interests of academical and general instruction. Processions and pilgrimages were discountenanced. In Bavaria, as in the Tyrol, there had lingered on in a number of places the mediæval miracle plays. Amongst the uninstructed Romish population, these dramas, rude and coarse as they were, were exceedingly popular. To the rustic audiences that crowded from many miles round to witness these travesties of Scripture, or impersonations of legend, the best executed adaptations from the French stage, or the finest productions of the recent German drama, would have seemed frigid and without interest. They would rather have seen their traditional representations of the Fall and the Flood, the Bethlehem Manger and the Calvary Cross, than been spectators while a tragedy of Lessing, or Schiller, or Goethe, was acted by the foremost actors that the Fatherland could produce or import. The Bavarian Government put these down, with the exception of the Mystery of the Passion at Ober-Ammergau, which, as a mark of special favour from Maximilian, and after great exertions on the part of the district to preserve it, was still allowed to be celebrated. It is still kept up, and attracts enormous crowds.

But perhaps the most memorable instance of the influence of Josephism in Germany, was furnished by the proceedings of the ecclesiastical princes. Fifty years before the appearance of John Ronge, the word German Catholic Church was used, but in a sense far different from his. During the electorate of Charles Theodore of Bavaria, a papal nuncio was sent to Munich. The interference with episcopal rights which, under orders from Rome, he practised, occasioned much irritation. In August 1786, the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, and the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, agreed to the Punctation of Ems. The leader in this movement was Maximilian, elector of Cologne, brother of Joseph II. The Punctation founded a German Catholic Church, which, indeed, recognised the primacy of Rome as a matter of honour and rank, but denied it as a matter of jurisdiction. Each bishop was to rule his diocese by the power

transmitted to him by the Head of the Church. All subjection of the religious orders to their foreign generals or superiors was forbidden. Cloister vows might be dispensed with, or released from, by the bishops. Nuncios were to exercise no power, and merely to be looked upon as envoys from the pope. Two circumstances, however, combined to prevent the Congress of Ems from having permanent results,—the jealousy of the inferior clergy, who had not been consulted, and who professed to dread the substitution of a near and permanent for a remote and occasional yoke; and the outbreak of the French Revolution. The chief lasting result of the meeting was the establishment, by the Elector of Cologne, of the University of Bonn, where the principles were those of liberal Romanism, and the professors enjoyed his liberal patronage and his powerful protection against detractors. Bonn retained this liberal spirit till the condemnation at Rome of the views of Professor Hermes in 1831.

Before leaving the subject, it may be remarked that a history of Josephism—compact, informing, spirited—is still a desideratum. It would require years of patient, honest, continuous study. No ordinary amount of reading—Latin, German, Italian, ecclesiastical, historical, political—would be needed. The subject is thus safe from being invaded by any writer of the “get up” school. It is not likely to be produced in this country. The students of German in England have generally turned their attention to subjects more æsthetically attractive, or more Protestantly orthodox. But from France or from Germany, from liberal Romanist or unsectarian Protestant, perhaps such a book may be expected. As yet, the subject, wide as it is, and not merely curious, but interesting, as all competent judges must admit it to be, has received only fragmentary and superficial treatment, whether from civil or ecclesiastical authors.

M. Michiels takes his leave of Joseph in the following words : —“Before his decease, the crowned Messiah (!) saw his best projects fail, one after the other, and experienced the bitter pang of himself revoking his most salutary decrees.” It is a fault of this author’s style to be over fond of antithesis, and he thus often appears to contradict himself. The words just quoted may appear irreconcilable with those given a paragraph or two back, about the permanency of Joseph’s innovations. But in the one place M. Michiels is speaking of the ecclesiastical, and in the other of the civil reforms of the philosophical Emperor. The Church system continued, the State policy was altered. The reason was, that the Government increased its power largely by the former, and only the people would have profited by the latter. On too many occasions, indeed, Joseph, in his *de haut en bas* style of alteration, managed to give deadly offence

to the people. We give an instance, from the wittiest of periodical writers :—

“ There existed in Hungary an iron crown, about the size and value of a horse-shoe, with which all the first kings of that country had been crowned. The immense importance of this rusty relic to the male, female, lay, ecclesiastical, civil, and military old women of Hungary, may easily be imagined ; and this political toy the philosophical Emperor—a great despiser of prejudices and associations—transported to Vienna. To avert a civil war, and at the earnest intercession of his best and wisest friends, the royal carbonate of iron was restored to the afflicted Hungarians, who submitted, after this, with the usual cheerfulness to the usual abuses of power.”

Leopold II. only reigned two years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis II. The reign of this Emperor (1792-1835) is, with one exception, the longest in the whole Hapsburg line. Born at Florence, he was, when a boy, sent to Vienna, to be brought up under the eye of his uncle. The indolent and *poco-curante* lad could not understand the fuss and fidget of the crowned philosopher, who, on the other hand, had a hard task in scolding and drilling into anything like habits of attention to affairs the future Emperor. Throughout his long reign, Francis was never other than popular in his capital. The Viennese were enthusiastic for their good Frazl !

At the very commencement of his reign, Austria had to meet the shock of the giant energies of the French Republic. Her capacity of meeting the onset was not, however, diminished by any disaffection within her own dominions. Far different in this respect was 1792 from 1859. The Lombardy of the former period expressed no discontent with the Austrian Government, and in no way hailed the advent of the republican troops. As many have let this slip from their remembrance, we quote the testimony of a most competent and most reluctant authority, Edgar Quinet : “ The French of our days have difficulty in figuring to themselves that the French Revolution encountered only antipathy and hatred among the masses of the Italian population. They generally believe that the soldiers of the Republic, in descending the Alps and driving before them the Austrian armies, were received as deliverers by the immense majority of the people. It is the contrary that is true. For some time Milan belongs to itself, the Austrians flying, and the French delaying to arrive ; during that interval there is seen no desire of an unknown liberty. One must be blind not to see that the hopes of the peasants and towns-people of Italy were in the victories of Austria.” (Les Révolutions d'Italie.) The apologists of Austria can, however, derive no triumph from these

facts. In so far as the sentiment was enlightened, it was the effect of the reforms of Maria Theresa and her son.

With Francis the long list of the German Emperors closed. As the end of the last century witnessed the extinction of the ancient Venetian State, the commencement of the present century saw dissolved that Empire which had once been in power the first, and still was admitted to be in rank the foremost of the European powers. Half a century before, Voltaire had pronounced it an utter misnomer, for, said he, it is neither Holy nor Roman, nor an Empire. Austria, up to 1806 only an arch-duchy, now gives its name to a new empire. In the wars with Napoleon, two great services were rendered by Austria to the cause of European independence. The noble resistance of the Tyrolese in 1809 to the united French and Bavarian arms was a tower of strength to patriots everywhere, to down-trodden Prussia, and to struggling Spain. To overpowering numbers they had indeed to succumb. Like Wallace, their leader was put to death as a rebel. But Europe acknowledged that Hofer had as true a claim to its gratitude as Palafox. The Tyrolese innkeeper has bequeathed to posterity an imperishable name.

In the same eventful year another service of yet greater amount was rendered by Austria to the cause of European freedom. In that warrior age the younger sons of reigning houses vied with one another in seeking military laurels. But while the Duke of York only tarnished his country's reputation by his incompetence; while Prince Louis of Prussia only hastened his country's temporary ruin by his boastful rashness; the Arch-duke Charles proved himself a general of the foremost rank. He met Napoleon at Asperne; and whether we take extent of loss or retreat from a position as the tests of a defeat, it must be owned that the French Emperor suffered defeat. The Roman poet has said of the successful stand of Marcellus at Nola—

*"Ille dies primus docuit, quod credere nemo,
Auderet Superis, Martis certamine sisti
Posse ducem Lybiae."*

We cannot, indeed, equal Marcellus as a commander with Scipio, but he was a greater benefactor to Rome. The first check to Hannibal was more important than the final overthrow. Zama was but the probable consequence of Nola. And so it may be truly said, that though the battle of Asperne was barren of immediate results, it was of immense benefit to an oppressed Continent, by showing that Napoleon could be driven back. Asperne was not like Leipsic, a battle gained by numbers. The contending armies were nearly equally balanced in force; and it was gained over Napoleon in the full maturity of his genius, as well as the entire command of his material re-

sources. After his Russian campaign, the French Emperor never was the same man, either in his *physique* or his intellect. In Asperne, we repeat, lay in germ the overthrow of the military despotism of France.¹

French writers are unanimous in execrating the policy of Austria in the campaign of 1813. First an ally of France, then taking up the interim scheme of an Armed Mediation, and next procuring the Armistice, of which every advantage rested with the Allies; preparing them to encounter, without being dispirited, the check at Dresden, and animating them for the overthrow of France at Leipsic. Both at Dresden and Leipsic, Austria contributed her share of antagonism to Napoleon. That the conduct of Austria was most embarrassing to France there can be no doubt; that it was high-minded and open, not even a partisan will affirm. But it is plain, that in the existing temper of the German people, neither coalition with France, nor even neutrality, was in Austria's power. No dynastic connection could possibly then have withstood the storm of popular hatred to France. With all safety, then, and with a higher reputation in coming time, the Court of Vienna might have declared against Napoleon whenever the disasters of the Russian war became known. Yet from their standpoint the strong hostility of French writers to the then conduct of Austria is perfectly intelligible. It was the accession of that power to the cause of the Allies that made possible, with a hope of success, the invasion of France in 1814. With an agony of grief and shame was that successful invasion then witnessed and endured. Nor can we expect that after the lapse even of nearly half a century, such feelings should be extinct, or even much weakened. Yet no dishonour to France was involved in yielding then, or in the following year. Had a Continent in coalition assailed England, and had the Channel been as easily crossed as the Rhine, as easily passed as the Pyrenees, London must have undergone the fate of Paris. Reason, however, urges in vain the truth when feeling has possession of the ground.

The pen of Pellico, the voice of Kossuth, have aroused general

¹ How fine are the words put by a French poet into the mouth of the dying Lannea, mortally wounded at Asperne:—

“Retournez en arriere,
Une fois eoutez, une bouche sincere,
Vous n'aimez rien que vous; et de vos eperons,
Toujours vous harcelez le flanc des nations.
Croignez qu'en se cabrant l'indocile cavale,
Ne vous fosse vider la selle imperiale.
Le monde, croyez-moi, n'est pas ce qu'il parait,
Quand on dit: Il vous aime, on vous trompe; il vous hait.
Aux peuples harassés leur esclavage pese:
Ils lèchent votre main pour vous rendre à leur aise.”

dislike to Austria among free nations. Few comparatively will consider other than as a Rugby crotchet the expression of Dr Arnold, in one of his letters, that he had a liking for the Austrian Government and people. But as few will subscribe to the conclusion, which, from his whole historical narrative, M. Michiels ventures to draw, "Sooner or later France must make an end of Austria." That were indeed to make the remedy far worse than the disease. His preface is dated from Paris, though his title-page bears the imprint of London, and perhaps the above quoted words are merely a piece of unmeaning flattery to Napoleon. But, if the expression has an earnest meaning, if M. Michiels means by it to take full advantage of the perhaps excusable recklessness of exiles, who, involved in political suffering, are exempt from political responsibility, he must be reminded that the interests of England, the interests of Europe, demand that France be not permitted to make dynastic or national capital at Austria's expense. Austria, indeed, has been only too much an obstruction to Europe, but she has long ceased to be a danger. In regard to England, she has often been an ally, she has never been our rival, she (destitute as she is of a navy) can never be our invader. Assuredly, England will never permit, nor will Prussia or Germany allow, that Hungary or Bohemia should become kingdoms for Plon-Plon or Achille Murat, or that a Niel or M' Mahon dynasty should be founded in the East of Europe.

We are no alarmists. A careful comparison of the events of the last thirty years with those of the existing time will satisfy any impartial person that England has less ground of complaint against Louis Napoleon than she had against Charles X. and Louis Philippe in the latter days of the Monarchy of the Restoration, and the Monarchy of July. But no wise man can deny that a renewal of the alliance between the former Napoleon and the former Alexander is possible between the present emperors of those names, and no politician can doubt that such a treaty at England's expense, and perhaps for England's invasion, would be greatly facilitated were Austria thrust down from her existing position as one of the Five Great Powers.

We grant that her past has not been a noble one. Spain, Italy, Sweden, Holland—a crowd of inferior states—all have historical associations more thrilling than those of this Hapsburg empire. With the exception of some few historians, Mailath, Hammer, Paloky, none of them of the first order, the contributions of Austria to serious literature have been almost null. In lighter literature she has the pleasant novelist, Caroline Pichler; but England has, at this moment, living and writing, a score of lady fictionists quite as good as the authoress of the Swedes in

Prague. Of late the name of Friedrich Halm has acquired deserved celebrity as a tragic dramatist. But, on the whole, we may apply to the nation the words of Sydney Smith, and ask, "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an Austrian book? or goes to an Austrian play? or looks at an Austrian picture or statue?" Little Saxe Weimar had its Karl August; Bavaria had its Ludwig. But what Hapsburg has been the patron of literature? The intellectual tastes of the race were only too well expressed in the question put by Francis to Châteaubriand at the Congress of Verona: "Ah! M. de C., are you related to that Châteaubriand who—who—who has written something!" Austria claims to be the chief of the Catholic powers. During the last half century the Romanist press of Germany has been incessantly active. Though not in exegetical, yet in dogmatic, in controversial, above all, in historical theology, the German Romanists have maintained a not altogether unequal contest with the Protestants. But Freiburg and Tübingen, Munich and the Rhine-land, not Vienna or Prague, have been the centres of such confessional activity through the press. The works of greatest immediate or permanent interest, the *Symbolik* of Möhler, the *Athanasius* of Görres, the religious philosophy of Franz von Baader, have all been produced apart from Austrian control.

Still we have no wish to see Austria dismembered in the interest of France, or for the advantage of Russia. She has a useful Future before her, would she pursue it. To do so, it is indispensable that she retrace her two chief blunders since the end of the Hungarian war—the Concordat of 1855, and the System of Centralization. The evils of the former are too palpable and too generally admitted to be dwelt on here. In regard of the latter, to use the language of a recent thoughtful and well-informed writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "Austria is fertile in material resources; she can then get rid of her present embarrassments, if her Government does not lose precious time. To abandon a system of administration at once expensive and unpopular, to throw herself with confidence on the nation,—such are the energetic measures which it is necessary to take. That Political Unity may continue, it must be made popular. Hitherto, unhappily, its name recalls to the people only the ideas of imposts tripled, deficits increasing, constant bureaucratic annoyances. In giving to the country liberal institutions, in according to it a just participation in public affairs, the Government would at one blow destroy all anti-unionist passions, and would communicate general popularity to the idea of Political Unity, which can only be solidly founded on the basis of a national representation: *Bis dat qui cito dat*."

The amount of taxation in Austria has increased 70 per cent. since 1849, a rate perfectly without precedent in history. This enormous increase has been chiefly caused by the new system of centralization, which, sweeping away all previously existing local government, is still more minutely ramified than that of France. In the latter country, the Minister of the Interior has *prefets* and *sous-prefets* under his authority; but the corresponding Cabinet official in Austria has three sets of functionaries below him, the governors of provinces, the chiefs of circles, and the chiefs of cantons. In 1847 the expense of administration amounted to 62 millions of florins; in 1856 they had risen to more than 160 millions. This new system has thus oppressed the people by the increased imposts it has necessitated, while it has disgusted the nobility, whom it has excluded from their position of previous local importance.

From the most recent German sources, we extract the following statistics about Austria. Previous to the cession of Lombardy to Sardinia, the Austrian Emperor ruled over 29,000,000 of Romanists, somewhat more than 3,000,000 of Protestants, nearly 3,000,000 of Greeks, and 850,000 Jews. The German population of the empire amounted to 8,000,000, the Slavonian to nearly 15,000,000, and the Magyar to 4,800,000. There were 10 universities,—Vienna, Prague, Pesth, Pavia, Padua, Cracow, Lemberg, Innsbrück, Grätz, and Olmütz. The intermediate education was provided for by 282 “*gymasien*,” and the primary instruction by 20,000 “*Volks-schulen*.” The Romish ecclesiastics amounted to nearly 70,000, or about double of the number to which Joseph II. reduced them. Last year there were published within the bounds of the empire 97 political journals—58 in German, 10 in Slavonic, 19 in Italian, 8 in Hungarian, 2 in Romaic, and 1 in Greek. There were 257 journals not political—125 in German, 21 in Slavonic, 89 in Italian, 20 in Hungarian, 1 in French, 1 in Russian. These statistics of journalism afford a fair index of the relative amount of intelligence in the different sections of the population of the Austrian states.

In taking leave of M. Michiels, we can honestly recommend his work to the English reader. The works of Baron von Hormayr and others, which he enumerates in his preface as having furnished him with his materials, have indeed been diligently availed of in Germany for the last dozen of years. But they have hitherto remained, for the most part, closed against the mere English reader. M. Michiels has rendered an important service, by putting them within reach, in a volume of moderate size and price. He intimates his intention of following up the present volume with another, in which Modern Austria will be “shown up.” As the apologetic work of Baron von Hortig has

been, a few years ago, issued in this country, in a cheap translation, it is desirable, for the general public, to listen to the full statement of the other side. But should the promised second volume appear, or should this one reach more editions, alike for the sake of M. Michiels and of his subject, we would desire a reconstruction of his style. He says, in his Preface, "I have reproduced facts in a simple and severe style. . . . I have abstained from declamation, and almost from reflection." This, unfortunately, is not the case. M. Michiels has a good deal of common-place reflection to get rid of, and a number of inflated epithets to discard. The taste is questionable anywhere, which indulges in such language as this, "Oh, severe and terrible Muse of History! thou who carriest the thoughts through ruins and tombs!" But when we meet with such tawdry grandiloquence in a preface, the effect is irresistibly ludicrous. M. Michiels appears, from his book, not to know much of English literature. His literary allusions are generally French. We can give him no better advice, than to study, before his next volume appears, the manner in which our best English authors have written history. Let him then try his best to approach—surpass he cannot—the excellence of the English, which Kossuth has, by force of genius and dint of study, learned to employ. As he is not an unpractised writer, it may be somewhat difficult to get rid of his unfortunate mannerism: but M. Michiels may be assured, that only an ill-cultured taste, or an indiscriminate partisanship, can admire it. History, perhaps, above all other themes, demands a noble simplicity of treatment.

ART. VI.—*On Colour, and on the Necessity for a General Diffusion of Taste among all Classes; with Remarks on laying out Dressed or Geometrical Gardens. Examples of Good and Bad Taste, illustrated by Woodcuts and Coloured Plates in Contrast.* By Sir J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., M.R.S.L., M.R.I.B.A., etc. London, 1858. 8vo. Pp. 418.

THE subject of the Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their applications to the arts, has, during the last fifty years, been forcing itself upon the attention both of the philosopher and the artist. The phenomena of accidental, or complementary, or harmonic colours, as they have been called, have been long ago studied and explained by optical writers, and the subject has to a great extent been exhausted by the labours of De La Hire, Castel,¹ Beguelen, Buffon, Scherffer, Æpinus, Darwin, Laplace, Haüy, Plateau, and others. The law of contrast, or the change which colours undergo when seen simultaneously or successively, was observed by several of these writers, but particularly by Dr Darwin; but it is to M. Chevreul, a distinguished member of the Institute of France, that we owe the establishment of the important law of the simultaneous, successive, and mixed contrast of colours, and of its application to the numerous arts in which coloured materials are employed.

Under a more limited aspect, the subject of harmonious colouring has been ably treated by our countryman, Mr D. R. Hay, in several excellent works which have excited much interest.² Adopting the discoveries of Newton respecting the decomposition of white light, and the combination of colours, and guided by a knowledge of those physiological actions of light upon the retina upon which the harmony and contrast of colours essentially depend, Mr Hay has laid down the rules of harmonious colouring for all the arts of ornamental design, whether they are practised in the interior decoration of houses, or in the various fabrics in which coloured materials are employed.

Previous to the researches of Chevreul and Hay, so early as 1810 indeed, the celebrated Goethe had published his *Farbenlehre*, or *Doctrine of Colours*;³ a work which, but for the reputation of its author, and its partial reappearance in an English dress, would have long ago sunk into comparative oblivion. The *Farbenlehre*, as originally published, was divided into three

¹ *L'Optique des Couleurs*, fondé sur les simples observations, et tournée surtout à la pratique de la peinture, de la teinture, et des autres arts colorées, 1740.

² *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring, adapted to Interior Decorations; with Observations on the Practice of House Painting.* By D. R. Hay, House Painter and Decorator to the Queen. Sixth Edit. Edin., 1847.

³ In 2 vols. 8vo, with a quarto volume of sixteen plates.

parts, *Didactic*, *Controversial*, and *Historical*; but Sir Charles Eastlake, who translated it in 1840, has given us only the didactic portion, "with such extracts from the other two as seemed necessary, in fairness to the author, to explain some of his statements." The attack upon Newton's optical discoveries contained in the author's preface, is equally presumptuous and impertinent. The Newtonian theory is described as an old castle, precipitately erected by a youthful architect, and abandoned by those who assisted in its construction and worshipped within its walls, and now occupied only by "a few invalids who, in simple seriousness, imagine that they are prepared to defend it." Thus "nodding to its fall, as a deserted piece of antiquity," the mighty Goethe proclaims to the world of science that he begins at once to "raze the Bastille," and "to dismantle it from gable and roof downwards; that the sun may at last shine into the old nest of rats and owls, and exhibit to the eye of the wandering traveller that labyrinthine, incongruous style of building, with its scanty make-shift contrivances, the result of accident and emergency, its intentional artifice, and clumsy repairs!"

It would be an unprofitable task to examine the pagoda of card-board which Goethe has substituted for the old castle of the prince of philosophers; but it is curious to remark, and not unworthy of being recorded, that Sir Charles Eastlake, and other cultivators of the highest art, have chosen it as their residence, and announced it as a truth, "*that the statements of Goethe contain more useful principles, in all that relates to harmony of colour, than any that have been derived from the established (Newtonian) doctrine.*" It is needless to say to any well-informed reader, that Newton never contemplated the æsthetic application of his discoveries, nor to any philosophical artist, that laws of colouring that are to guide his hand, and regulate the public taste, must have a better foundation than optical paralogisms and poetical paradoxes.¹

In a very different spirit from that of the German savant is the subject of harmonious colouring treated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. Abjuring all theories "founded upon a fanciful basis," he maintains that a perception of the harmony of colours is a natural gift,—that discords in colour can only be perceived by a correct eye, in the same manner as discords in music can only be perceived by a correct ear,—and that a sound knowledge of the subject "can be derived only from a natural perception of the harmony of colours, improved and matured by observation." This opinion will doubtless require some modification when we have studied it in the light of optical and physiological laws;—but

¹ The reader will find a severely critical analysis of Goethe's speculations in the *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1840, vol. lxxii. p. 99-132.

before we enter upon the consideration of this and other parts of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's work, we must make our readers acquainted with the previous and elaborate researches of M. Chevreul, with whose views he has expressed a general concurrence.

This distinguished member of the Institute had entered upon his scientific career as a chemist, and had given to the world ample proofs of his analytical skill, when the Government, in 1825, gave him the superintendence of the dyeing department of the Royal Manufactories of the Gobelins. In this office he felt it his duty to place the dyeing on a new basis; and he was therefore led to study two distinct subjects, namely, the contrast of colours, generally considered, either under their scientific relation, or under that of its applications, and the chemical part of dyeing. Having incidentally observed the influence of colours upon each other in juxtaposition, he studied the subject of accidental colours in the writings of Buffon, Scherfer, Rumford, Prieur, and others; but he failed in finding in them any indications of the *law of simultaneous contrast of colours* which he afterwards discovered, and which affords "the means of assorting coloured objects so as to obtain the best possible effect from them, according to the taste of the person who combines them; and of estimating if the eyes are well organized for seeing and judging of colours, or if painters have exactly copied objects of known colours."

These views were first given to the public in a lecture, delivered at the Institute on the 7th April 1828. In a more mature and extended shape, they formed the subject of eight public lectures given at the Gobelins, in the course of January 1836 and January 1838; and they were published, in the last of these years, under the title of "*The Principles of the Harmony and Contrast of Colours.*"¹

If we place beside one another two stripes of different tones (degrees of intensity) of the same colour, or two stripes of the same tone of different colours, the eye will perceive in the first case certain modifications which affect the intensity of the colour, and in the second case certain modifications which affect the optical composition of the two colours placed in juxtaposition. As these modifications make the stripes appear different from what they really are,—in the first case, different in the intensity of their colour, and in the second case, different in the nature of their colours,—M. Chevreul has given them the name of *Simultaneous Contrast of Colours*; calling the modification in the intensity of colour *contrast of tone*, and the modification which affects the optical composition of the two conjoined colours, *contrast of colour*.

¹ This work, which appeared in one vol. 8vo, with a quarto volume of plates, was translated in 1854 by Charles Martel, and published without the plates.

Under the head of *successive contrast of colours*, M. Chevreul includes what have been called accidental colours, or those which are perceived when we turn our eyes from one or more coloured objects to a white or dark ground. Under the name of *mixed contrast of colours* he includes those which arise from the mixture of a red colour with the colour seen after looking for some time at another colour. When we look, for example, at a *red wafer* for a short time, the eye will see *green*; and when the eye, thus impressed, looks at a *yellow* colour, the union of these is an example of mixed contrast.

In order to show the importance of attending to the phenomena of the *mixed contrast of colours*, M. Chevreul mentions two important facts communicated to him by dealers in coloured fabrics.

1. "When a purchaser has for a considerable time looked at a *yellow* fabric, and is then shown *orange* or *scarlet* stuffs, it is found that he takes them to be *amaranth red* or *crimson*; for there is a tendency in the retina, excited by *yellow*, to acquire an aptitude to see *violet*, whence all the *yellow* of the *scarlet* or *orange* stuff disappears, and the eye sees *red*, or a *red* tinged with *violet*. 2. If there is presented to a buyer, one after another, fourteen pieces of *red* stuff, he will consider the last six or seven less beautiful than those first seen, although the pieces be identically the same. The cause of this error of judgment is, that the eyes, having seen seven or eight *red* pieces in succession, are in the same condition as if they had regarded fixedly, during the same period of time, a single piece of *red* stuff; they have then a tendency to see the complementary of *red*, that is, to see *green*. This tendency goes, of necessity, to enfeeble the brilliancy of the *red* colour of the pieces seen later. In order that the merchant may not be the sufferer by this fatigue of the eyes of his customer, he must take care, after having shown the latter seven pieces of *red*, to present to him some pieces of *green* stuff, to restore the eyes to their normal state. If the sight of the *green* be sufficiently prolonged to exceed the normal state, the eyes will acquire a tendency to see *red*; then the last seven *red* pieces will appear more beautiful than the others."

In studying the subject of *simultaneous contrast*, when the stripes or coloured spaces have different magnitudes, and are placed either close to each other, or at different distances, M. Chevreul was led to the following results:—

1. The effect is a radiating one, setting out from the line where the stripes meet.

2. The effect is reciprocal between two equal surfaces in juxtaposition.

3. The effect still exists, but in a less degree, when the stripes or coloured spaces are at a distance from each other.

4. The effect exists when it cannot be ascribed to fatigue of the eye.

The principles thus laid down by M. Chevreul have been applied by him, with much ingenuity and success, to almost every case in which coloured materials are employed;—to the Gobelins and Beauvais tapestries; to the Savonnerie and other carpets; to moreens; to coloured glass windows; to colour-printing upon textile fabrics and paper; to calico printing; to written or printed characters on differently coloured papers; to the colouring of maps and engravings; to the decoration of churches, theatres, and houses; to military and other uniforms; to male and female clothing; and to horticulture and flower gardens.

Notwithstanding the importance of M. Chevreul's researches, and their direct application to so many professions and interests, it is a singular fact that they should have remained so long unknown to English readers, and so long overlooked by English manufacturers. They have been long known and fully appreciated by manufacturers and workmen in every part of France; and hence it is that the porcelain, fancy silks, paper-hangings, carpets, ribbands, etc., of French manufacture, have been so superior to those of England in the beauty of their patterns and the richness and harmony of their colours, as well as in the grouping of the figures, the adoption of the finest models of antiquity, and the introduction of flowers, fruit, and foliage, in the very forms and colours which nature has given them.

The inferiority of English art, and the unwillingness of successive governments to patronize it, had, for a long time, excited the notice of several men of science, and it was by their reiterated complaints that a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject. Schools of design were subsequently established in various parts of the kingdom; but it was not till the Great Exhibition of 1851 displayed to the world the superiority of foreign art, that a powerful impulse was given to British manufactures.

Admitting the inferiority of England to "other countries in all the various branches of æsthetic art," and desirous "to see her rival, and, if possible, excel them," Sir Gardner Wilkinson composed the work which we are about to analyse; "venturing," as he says, "to point out what appears to him certain errors and misconceptions into which we have fallen, or are liable to fall, and endeavouring to show how important it is that all classes of the community should appreciate the beautiful, and encourage the production of good works." In the execution of this task, our author abjures all theories and speculations whatever. He

renounces altogether the aid of physical science, and regards the optical and physiological relations of colour as tending to mislead rather than to guide the inquirer. Those, he maintains, who are to "instruct us in the harmony of colours must be thoroughly imbued with the true feeling for the subject, and must possess that natural perception of colour which, though it may be improved, cannot be obtained by mere study." Although, as will afterwards appear, we cannot entirely concur in these views, yet regarding a knowledge of harmonious colouring as depending more on facts than on theories, and believing that its principles and rules may be most correctly obtained from the writings of those who have studied the finest works of art in various countries, we shall endeavour to convey to our readers the opinions and decisions which Sir Gardner Wilkinson has given on the various subjects embraced in his valuable work. That his judgments have been formed after ample opportunities of observation and study, and are therefore entitled to much weight, will appear from a brief notice of his life and writings, which we have been enabled to present to our readers.

Sir John Gardner Wilkinson was born on the 5th October 1797; and was the son of the Rev. John Wilkinson and Mary Anne, daughter of the Rev. Richard Gardner, and great-great-granddaughter of Sir Salathiel Lovell of Harleston, one of the Barons of Exchequer in the reign of Queen Anne. Having lost his father and mother at an early age, he was placed under the charge of the Rev. Dr Yates, one of the chaplains of Chelsea College. He was sent to school at Harrow in 1813, and in 1816 he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford. Having met at his father's house the celebrated African traveller, Mr Jackson, and listened as a child to his interesting adventures, he evinced an early passion for travel; and while he was at Oxford, he availed himself of his long vacations to visit Belgium, France, and Spain. So eager, indeed, was he to gratify his favourite propensity, that he no sooner passed his examination for his B.A. degree in 1819, than he again went to the Continent without putting on his bachelor's gown.

In choosing a profession, Mr Wilkinson gave a preference to the army, and by the advice of his cousin, Major-General Sir Lovell Lovell, his name was entered on Lord Bridgewater's list for appointment to a cornetcy by purchase in the 14th Light Dragoons. While preparing himself for his profession, it was his intention to make a tour through Italy and the East; but having become acquainted with Sir William Gell at Naples, he was advised by him to make his visit to Egypt something better than one of idle curiosity, and he therefore deferred his departure for Egypt till he had prepared himself by studying all that was then known

of that country, from the works of Dr Thomas Young and other writers on Egyptian antiquities. Substituting, therefore, the study of ancient monuments and the decyphering of hieroglyphics for fortification and military drawing, he abandoned his purpose of entering the army, and in 1821 left Italy for Alexandria.

In pursuing his Egyptian studies with Sir William Gell, they adopted Dr Young's method of reading the hieroglyphics alphabetically; and their various attempts to decypher the characters according to the alphabetic or phonetic process, which are preserved in the note-books they then kept, afford indisputable evidence of Dr Young's priority to Champollion in that important discovery.

When our author had reached Cairo, in 1822, with his friend and fellow-collegian, Mr Wiggett of Allanbury Park, Berkshire, he made a large collection of hieroglyphical and other drawings from the monuments of Egypt and Nubia, many of which, by Dr Young's advice, were published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. After spending four or five months of 1823 in the Eastern Desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, he returned to Cairo, and in the following February revisited Upper Egypt, where, after a skirmish with the rebels who had enlisted under Sheikh Ahmed's standard against Mohammed Ali, he took refuge in an island near Sivot from the great plague of 1824, which made such fearful ravages at Cairo, and penetrated even to the upper country. The events which preceded and accompanied this dreadful epidemic were very remarkable.

As in the days of Herodotus, violent rain is still thought to portend calamities to Egypt. Its unusual continuance at the beginning of 1824 appeared to justify the prognostics of one of the "wise men," who had foretold that "in that year Egypt would be visited by rain, fire, sword, pestilence, and famine." The prophecy excited universal interest, and, soon after it was announced, violent rain fell in Cairo and all Lower Egypt. The streets became streams of water; numerous houses, drenched by the rain, crumbled and fell; and in many others, consisting of three stories, the water penetrated through each successive ceiling into the lower rooms, so that a single day more of rain would have laid in ruins every house in Cairo. The damp from so much water, and the alarm spread through the whole population, created a general expectation of the plague, which soon made its appearance. At the same time the arsenal caught fire; and the powder magazine having blown up and destroyed a great part of the citadel, the flames threatened to extend to the whole of Cairo. The terror thus produced had scarcely subsided, when intelligence arrived from Upper Egypt of the rebellion of Sheikh

Ahmed. The dread of anarchy and plunder was thus added to four out of the five calamities foretold by the mysterious seer; and it was not long before famine, the result of civil war, completed the fatal list.

Towards the close of 1824 our author made two journeys to the Fyoom, and completed his map of that province. In the winter of 1825 he extended his survey to the Little and the two Great Oases, and in 1826 to the Ababdeh Desert, from Kossayo to the emerald mines of Berenice, and about half a degree farther south. Towards the end of the same year, and again in 1830, he was occupied with the survey of the Eastern Desert from Kossayo northwards to Suez, together with the valley of the Nile; but the results of this long and laborious undertaking have, from causes with which we are unacquainted, not been published.

During two or more visits to Thebes, where he remained each time upwards of twelve months, he was enabled to complete the materials which he had previously collected for his great work, "On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," and his large topographical survey of that ancient city; and he was preparing to make another visit to Upper Egypt in 1833, when, from exposure to the sun during his long and frequent journeys in summer, his health gave way, and he was obliged to quit Egypt for its recovery. But though thus interrupted in his researches, he availed himself of the first opportunity of resuming them. He accordingly left England in 1837 for the purpose of revisiting Cairo, but he was stopped by ill health at Paris, and it was not till 1841 that he was able to accomplish the object which he had so much at heart.

The reputation which Mr Wilkinson had now acquired as an author, and the great value of his Egyptian researches, gave him a just claim to some of those marks of distinction which, even in this country, literary services occasionally command. In 1839 Her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and in 1852 he received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford.

In 1843 Sir Gardner Wilkinson made a third journey to Egypt, and spent two years abroad, visiting also Syria, Constantinople, Dalmatia, Sicily, the Regency of Tunis, and other countries; and in 1848, in his fourth journey, he went through Upper Egypt to Gebel Birkel, and the fourth cataract in Upper Ethiopia. After spending two years in Italy and other countries, and visiting, in 1850, Belgium and France, he returned for the fifth time to Egypt, in 1855, with the view of examining the Christian remains in that country; but a *coup de soleil* at Thebes prevented him from completing his researches, and he was

enabled only to collect some of the principal materials for a work, which we hope may yet be published, as the nucleus of some future examination of those neglected monuments.

In October 1856, Sir Gardner married Miss Lucas, daughter of Henry Lucas, Esq., of Uplands, Glamorganshire, descended from a family well known in the History of England. Lady Wilkinson is already known as the author of an interesting work "*On the Wild Flowers of England*," and is well suited by her talents and accomplishments to assist her husband in any future investigations which he may desire to make in that country to which he has devoted so many years of his life.

The greater part of the researches to which we have thus briefly referred, form the subject of many valuable and highly esteemed works. The most important of these are—his "*Hieroglyphical Extracts, and Materia Hieroglyphica*," published in 1827–28; his "*Topography of Thebes and Modern Egypt*;" his "*Modern Egypt and Thebes*;" his "*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*," in six vols.; his "*Dalmatia and Montenegro*;" his "*Popular Account of the Private Life, Manners, and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*," in two vols.; his "*Handbook of Egypt*;" his "*Egypt under the Pharaohs*;" and the interesting volume on "*Colour and Taste*," which we shall now proceed to analyse.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson divides this work into three Parts:—

Part I. On Colour.

Part II. On the Necessity of a Diffusion of Taste among all classes.

Part III. On Dressed or Geometrical Gardens.

After endeavouring to show that a knowledge of harmonious colouring can be obtained only "from facts and their results;" that the perception of this harmony is "a natural gift," and can be taught only, in so far as it is teachable, "by those who possess the faculty of perceiving it;" our author, in illustrating these views, discusses several important points which it is necessary to consider.

One of these points, which possesses a considerable interest both in its theoretical and practical aspect, is the proper position of colours in the interior of a building, or when applied to parts of a picture at different distances from the eye. According to some authors, the proper position of colours should be deduced from the manner in which they are presented to us in nature. Because the grass at our feet is *green*, the lower part of a wall should bear the same colour; while, as the *brown* earth is beneath the grass, a brown colour should occupy a still humbler place; and as the lofty sky rejoices in *azure*, so a blue colour should decorate the ceiling. Although our author justly de-

nounces such an order of colours, yet he approves of the blue having a prominent place in a ceiling, not because the sky is blue, but because cold transparent colours are of use in that position, as they not only give lightness to the upper parts of a room, but “convey an impression of *additional height* when it is required, and accord with *the gradations of distance*, and other necessary conditions.” It has been denied, indeed, that any effect of distance, or rather of difference of distance, can be obtained by using any particular colour or colours; but Sir Gardner states it as a fact not at all doubtful, that a ceiling may, to all appearance, be raised or lowered by these means,—that blue in many positions seems to recede, and that red comes nearer the eye, as frequently observable on coloured glass windows.

This very remarkable observation,—which, by the way, can only be made with two eyes,—is a scientific fact capable of the most rigorous demonstration. It was first pointed out by Sir David Brewster, and published in his description of what he calls a *Chromatic Stereoscope*.¹ If we look with both eyes through a *lens* about three inches in diameter, any object having colours of very different degrees of refrangibility,—such as the boundary lines on a map coloured with red on one side and blue on the other; a red rose among green leaves, and on a blue background; or any scarlet object whatever, on a violet ground; or, in general, any two simple colours not nearly of the same degree of refrangibility,—the *differently coloured parts of the object will appear at different distances from the observer*.

If we place, for example, a small *red* and *violet* disc, like the smallest wafer, beside one another, so that the line joining their centres is perpendicular to the line joining the eyes, and suppose that rays from both wafers enter the eyes when their optical axes are parallel, it is obvious that the distance between the violet images on each retina will be *less* than the distance between the real images; and consequently, the eyes will require to converge their axes to a *nearer* point in order to unite the *red* images, than in order to unite the violet images; the red images, consequently, will appear at this nearer point of convergence, just as in the lenticular stereoscope the more distant pair of points in the dissimilar image appear, when united, nearer to the eye.

“It is an obvious result,” says Sir D. Brewster, “of these observations, that *in painting, and in coloured decorations of all kinds*, the *red* or less refrangible colours should be given to the prominent parts of the object to be represented, and the *blue* or more refrangible colours to the background, and the parts of the objects that are to retire from the eye.”

¹ *Treatise on the Stereoscope*, pp. 126-129.

But, independently of the fact that differences of distance are given, in binocular vision, by differences of colours differently refrangible, there are obvious reasons why, in decorated apartments, the colours should be lighter from the floor upwards. Supposing that the windows are equi-distant from the floor and the ceiling, the ceiling must always be less illuminated in the daytime, whether the sun is shining or not; and hence it is necessary that, if coloured at all, the ceiling should be as nearly white as possible. In a climate like ours, where the windows of our apartments cannot be very large, and where the ceiling and angles are of necessity but feebly illuminated,—owing to the obstruction of the light by window-curtains,—light carpeting, light furniture even, and light paper-hangings are most desirable, and especially when the walls are covered with engravings or paintings.

Those who argue that the place of colours should be determined by their place in nature, maintain, with apparent consistency, that the colours which we should use, must be determined by their quantity in nature. The prevalence of green, therefore, in our fields and in our foliage, is held to be an argument for the copious introduction of that colour into our apartments; but in our judgment the prevalence of this colour out of doors, is the very reason why we should dispense with it in our apartments. In southern climates, where the brilliant green of our fields is unknown, we might, with great propriety, refresh ourselves with the sight of it in our decorations. Within the arctic circle, an eye accustomed to the blue and white tints of nature, would rest with peculiar satisfaction on the verdant colours of the temperate zone,—and even a sensation of heat might be derived from the warmer colours of the spectrum.

In discussing this subject, Sir Gardner Wilkinson considers “the introduction of large quantities of green as one of the mistakes which always creeps in when society becomes artificial, and as one of the signs of a want or of a decline of taste.” In place of adopting “for ornamentation” the quantities and arrangement of colours found in nature, he is of opinion that “we should generally deviate widely from them;” and that it would be absurd to “use the same quantity of green with which nature covers the large expanse of a landscape, or to introduce into any part of a building the mass of green we see in a single tree.”

“It may be admitted,” he adds, “as Burnet observes, that the colours to which the eye is accustomed in nature are those that are to be sought for in a landscape painting, ‘such as blue, white, or grey in skies; green, in trees and grass; brown or warm grey, in earth, wood, or stone.’ But this is a totally different question from the treatment of pure, flat, positive colours used for decorative purposes,

where no 'toning to those hues most common in nature' is required, or admissible. The painting is a copy of nature; not so a building, or a carpet. Attention to the due 'equilibrium' may be necessary in one as in the other; but from the use of mixed or compound hues in the former, and of positive or pure colours in the latter, their treatment, as well as their effect, is very distinct; and while in paintings, especially landscapes, the colouring chiefly consists of various combinations far removed from the primaries (red, yellow, and blue), in ornamentation the due effect is produced by the union of positive colours, most of which should be primaries."

The same persons who refer us to nature for examples of harmonious colouring, maintain that when two colours are found, as they frequently are, in flowers, they must necessarily be in harmony. If this were true, there could be no such thing as harmonic colours,—for nature presents us with numerous objects in which two discordant colours are combined. For such a combination two reasons may be assigned. By uniting each of the seven prismatic colours with their discords, as well as with their concords, a much greater variety of colouring is obtained, and the natural world is thus decked in a gayer and more gorgeous attire. But flowers and other natural objects are not made to be examined singly. A number of flowers, in each of which the colours are not discordant, may be so placed as to form a harmonious group; and in the conservatory or the flower garden, or even in the fields or in the heath, one of the discordant colours of a single flower or plant may stand in harmonious combination with another discordant colour in its neighbour. Sir Gardner Wilkinson replies differently to the admirer of natural combinations:—

"The same acceptance," he says, "of the colours of nature as *necessary concords*, must be extended to sounds, and we must, at least, allow her the credit of giving them to the notes of birds, and the voices of other animals; yet every one will admit, that the sounds uttered by a parrot and a pig, though quite natural, are far from agreeable. So, too, with flowers; and as some are most beautiful and harmonious in their colours, others are discordant; and few persons will go so far as to maintain, that all nature's works are equally pleasing, or that the figures of all animals being beautiful, we are to admire the hippopotamus, or other hideous creatures, as well as the most graceful. It might be as reasonable to maintain that every odour in nature is agreeable, as that every combination of colour in nature is so."

In support of these views, our author adduces an argument which, though highly interesting in its details, may not be very convincing to the admirers of colours naturally combined. "Those," he remarks, "who appeal to *nature* as their guide, should rather consult the *natural* taste of man in colour," which

is "in accordance with the coloured ornamentations of the best periods, and of people most remarkable for taste." In the coloured works of the Arabs, for example, or other orientals, such as in carpets and other ornamental fabrics, the finest taste has been displayed. The children of an Arab family of taste, if furnished by chance with a number of colours, "will arrange them into a pattern in some pleasing concord, and often produce toys remarkable for the beauty of their coloured ornaments."

Thirty or forty years ago, Sir Gardner saw, even in the streets of Cairo, the most striking combinations of colour, "in the hands of the unsophisticated members of the community;" and he states that Mr Salt, our late consul-general of Egypt, and a man of great taste, often purchased the playthings of children, on account of the beauty of their fancy designs. Among these, our author saw "an orange, into the surface of which they had cut a mosaic pattern, leaving the orange rind as a ground, and filling in all the triangular and other hollows; with various brilliant colours,—than which nothing could be found more harmonious in the mosaics of Italy or Damascus, or on the walls of the Alhambra."

Among European nations, Sir Gardner considers the Italians as having the truest perception of the harmony of colours, and he warns our English artists to follow the taste of Italy rather than that of Germany, which is unfavourably displayed "in the lower part of the great staircase of the British Museum, in the windows of the south aisle of Cologne Cathedral, and in the corridor and other parts of that frightful building, the Pinakothec of Munich." The Italians use freely the primary reds, blues, and yellows, and the greens and other compounds in smaller proportions, and they obtain a balance of tone by placing deeper colours near the ground, and more transparent ones on the upper parts of a wall.

The preference which is given in this country to dull colours, and our general indifference to the beauty of colour, as shown in the neutral tints or *quiet* colours of our churches and other public buildings, has been ascribed by some writers to our familiarity with the sober and grey tints of a northern climate. Sir Gardner, in admitting the fact, rejects the explanation of it. The inhabitants of North America, Siberia, and other arctic regions, as he states, employ the three primaries and other brilliant colours, and some centuries ago the same taste for highly coloured decoration existed even in England. Public monuments, the interiors of houses, and even churches, were ornamented with rich colours, and the brilliant colours of their glass windows were not isolated in walls of plaster and of stone. According to Mr Ruskin, the builders of the cathedrals of these days "laid upon

them the brightest colours they could obtain;" and he adds, that "there is not a truly noble monument in Europe which has not been either painted all over, or originally touched with paint, mosaic, and gilding in its prominent parts."

From these discussions Sir Gardner is led to treat at considerable length, and with much learning, of coloured glass windows, a subject which is now exciting universal attention. It is a question of some difficulty, and one which our author does not discuss, to what extent the decorations of coloured glass can be properly introduced into private houses and public buildings. It is very obvious that, in apartments commonly occupied by the family, and in which they work and read, such a mode of illumination would be wholly unsuitable. In rooms containing pictures, or objects of natural history or of vertu, coloured glass windows are likewise inadmissible. They must be confined to lobbies, staircases, and corridors, where they are seen only in passing, and where the light which they transmit does not interfere with the general effect, either by the tints which they radiate, or by the patches of colour which, in sunshine, they throw upon the walls. When, in the country, a window looks into an ugly court, or when in town it faces a blank wall or an otherwise disagreeable object, the use of coloured glass would not be inappropriate, though the same end might be attained by employing grey or roughened glass.

It is a point which has yet to be decided by a jury of unquestionable taste, how far churches and other public buildings are really decorated, or how far they are really disfigured, by paintings or by windows of coloured glass. The solemn services of the sanctuary are not likely to be more deeply impressed by glimpses of works of art, or by patches of coloured light straying over Gothic traceries, and discolouring the faces and draperies of the worshippers. Even the holy men, who were driven from temples made with hands, found a more peaceful altar in the time-worn cavern, on the bleak hillside, or on the blank shore, than in the picturesque glen or the rich woodlands of civilisation.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson is of opinion that paintings on panel or canvas are out of place in a Christian church. "When paintings," he says, "were put up in a Greek temple, it was for security, and because beautiful works were honoured by a place in that sacred edifice. This was quite consistent with, and will explain the fact of their not being dedications; and their subjects were seldom connected with religion, or the deity of the place. They were not intended as part of the ornamentation of the temple; and, unless the walls were of some uniform hue, adapted to their effect, they must have ill accorded with its coloured interior. The protection afforded them by the temple

was the excuse for their being there: the place was not chosen as one suited to works of art; and if some were dedications, they proved the piety rather than the taste of the donor. So, again, though the finest pictures may have been painted for churches, they are not suited to them on any plea. We do not go to church to look at pictures; and churches have seldom either a good light, or any other recommendation possessed by picture galleries; to which, moreover, the best paintings have, in process of time, been transferred."

Although our author thus abjures the introduction of paintings into churches, he is in favour of coloured glass windows, which, he says, have justly claimed attention in the present day, and which, as our readers know, are rapidly finding their way into our Presbyterian churches. His approbation, however, of this species of ornament is of a very limited kind. He admits that "there are some churches the style and decoration of which neither require nor accord with coloured glass, such as those of the Renaissance painted with large frescoes, where coloured glass windows would conceal and interfere with their effect. Nor would painted glass," he adds, "be suited to a building of Gothic style decorated with *fresco paintings*, such as Giotto's Chapel at Padua." In such buildings, the windows necessarily consist of colourless glass, in order to admit the light required for that species of decoration. Our author's approbation of coloured glass windows is still further limited. He considers them as admissible only when the interior of the building is *painted in harmony with them*. The admiration which the English have for coloured glass windows he thinks inconsistent with their objections to colour in the rest of the building, and he pronounces those persons more consistent who object to colour, "both on the window and the wall. A better excuse," he adds, "may be found for their prejudice, *than for the caprice of placing a coloured window only at the east end of a church, where it stands in glaring contrast to all the rest of the white-washed building; and where, from its generally affecting to imitate a 'painting,' it has all the appearance of a transparent blind.*" In this sentence, Sir Gardner Wilkinson distinctly condemns all the coloured windows in England, wherever the interior of the building is not coloured, and coloured harmoniously with the windows.

During the present epidemic in favour of coloured glass windows, and other expensive decorations in our cathedrals and places of worship, it is hardly safe to give utterance to opinions which call in question the taste and congruity of this class of ornaments. As we shall not presume, however, to discuss the question in its religious phase, we hope to evade much of the

censure which we should otherwise have incurred. A temple, a cathedral, a church, are buildings essentially different in character from a theatre, a circus, a court of justice, or a presence chamber. The Worshipped and the worshipper are there, and in the awe due to the one, and the humility due from the other, we may discover reasonable grounds for a chaste and even a severe grandeur in the surrounding edifice. Nothing in human art can be more sublime than the interior of the Greek or the Gothic temple, with their gigantic columns, their noble arches, their many-groined roofs, and their spacious domes—their “long-drawn aisles, and fretted vaults.” Hewn from the rocks of a pre-Adamite age, which water and fire had prepared, the devout worshipper appreciates their sober hue, which neither the builder nor the sculptor would venture to improve. In order to throw the light of day upon materials so exquisitely combined, windows of large extent are required. The highest art, and the finest taste, have been called forth to give to the Gothic window its magic forms; and there is perhaps no branch of the fine arts which has given so much pleasure to the worshipper who views it from within, or to the stranger who regards it from without. Its rich and varied forms require no foreign ornament. They are beautiful when they transmit the pure light of day, and not less so when the wind howls through their broken mullions.

It is necessary to the stability of every edifice, that the openings in its walls be no larger than is required for lighting it. If a church, therefore, or other public building, has been erected without any reference to the use of coloured glass, nothing could be more absurd than to adopt a decoration which would reduce to more than one-half or one-third the light which is required. But even in the case where the windows had been made large enough to give a sufficient light when reduced by coloured glass, the objections to its use are numerous and well-founded. The eye is doubtless pleased with the display of colours, however rudely combined, whether in the unpatterned oriental carpet, the illuminated missal, or even in the dress of Harlequin. The eye of the sage, as well as that of the school-boy, surveys with pleasure the ever-varying forms and colours in the kaleidoscope, the splendid tints of polarised light, or even the most formal combinations of mosaic colouring; and they have ample opportunities of gratifying so harmless a taste. Why, therefore, should we seek within the walls of a church, or even of a palace, for an indulgence which we can obtain by the light of day in the boudoir or in the staircase, or which we may command at night by surrounding our artificial lights with all the colours of the rainbow. There is no sympathy whatever between coloured glass and stone walls, and we might, with as much taste, cover the vestments of

the priest, or the gown of the judge, or even the drapery of women, with harmonious patches of primary and secondary colours. The introduction into churches, poorly endowed, of painted glass and coloured borders, is, we trust, the commencement of a revolution, in which the present system of gorgeous colouring will be replaced by a new art, yet to be developed, in which colourless combinations of ornamented ground glass will be enriched with borders of chaste and simple colouring, which may be softened by the interposition of glass of different degrees of roughness, from almost perfect transparency to almost perfect opacity.

As the rage for windows of coloured glass will doubtless continue, like other equally distasteful varieties of church decoration, our readers will not be displeased with a brief notice of the origin of stained and painted glass, as given by our author. When glass is of one uniform hue, it is called *stained*, and when colour is applied to the surface of colourless glass, and then burnt in, it is said to be *painted*. In the "enamel method," as it is called, the whole picture is painted and burnt in on the previously colourless surface; while in the simple mosaic method, the picture is composed of pieces of stained glass. In the "mosaic enamel method," both processes are used.

"What is generally called Mosaic glass," says Sir Gardner, "has really some of its details and shadows marked out by colours; and of this kind are the earliest windows of the 1100 and 1200 in France. For, though composed of coloured pieces of glass, held together by the leads, which form the outlines of the designs, the shading is made by lines in bistre laid upon the surface, and afterwards burnt in; and the same colour is used for some of the details and folds of draperies.

The art gradually grew out of the original simple mosaic process. But it has long been a question when and where the first idea originated, of adding the few shades and bistre lines; for in that was the germ of the enamelled process, and *the real origin of painted glass.*"

Our author does not mention a process, in which two or three plates of stained glass are welded alternately to two or three plates of colourless crown glass. The writer of this article, when in Switzerland in 1814, found a specimen of this glass, in the Abbey of Konigsfelden, near Brugg. It consisted of six plates, three of common greenish glass, and other three of stained glass, of a reddish pink colour. The effect of the combination was a very pale pink,¹ different from that of the plates, so that by this process any tint whatever may be produced.

¹ This specimen, when cut and polished on its edges, to show the combined plates, was presented to Sir Walter Scott, who fitted it up on a stand, and is probably now at Abbotsford.

The choir of the church at Konigsfelden is lighted by *eleven* coloured glass

Windows of stained glass seem to have been used in the fourth century, in the age of Constantine, and probably a century earlier. From Byzantium, the repository of all the arts after the age of Constantine, coloured glass windows passed into the west of Europe. About 400 they were used in the San Paolo-fuori-le-mura at Rome, built by Constantine; and in the sixth century, in the Apse of S. Giovanni Laterano, at Rome. Before the 1100, they were employed in France; and in Flanders and Germauy, in the 1200. Although there can be no doubt that we owe to the Byzantine Greeks the art of painting upon glass, yet France had the merit of bringing the art to a perfection which the Greeks could never have attained, and of giving to the paintings a brilliancy which constitutes its real merit.

In reference to "the choice of style in coloured windows," Sir Gardner Wilkinson recommends for study and imitation the mosaic glass of the 1200. That of the next century, he admits, is often richer in the colour of the material, but inferior "in the arrangement of the colours and the character of the ornamentation." According to Lavarte,¹ quoted by our author—

"The merit of the windows of the 1200 is their perfect harmony with the general effect of the edifices to which they belong. . . . In the middle of the fifteenth century, the revolution in the art of painting upon glass was complete. . . . Thenceforth glass was nothing more than the material subservient to the painter, as canvas or wood in oil painting. Glass painters went so far as to copy upon white glass, as upon canvas, the masterpieces of Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and the other great painters of the Italian Renaissance. . . . We also find entire windows painted in mono-chromatic tints. . . . But the era of glass painting was at an end. From the moment that it was attempted to transform an art of purely monumental decoration into an art of expression, its intention was perverted, and this led of necessity to its ruin."

In the mosaic windows are placed a series of medallions, or lozenges—circular, oval, or of other shapes—containing Scripture subjects, and surrounded by a coloured mosaic ground; the medallions, with a rich border, form the whole window; and hence they are called *medallion windows*, to distinguish them from *canopied windows*, which contain the figures of saints under canopies. Very fine specimens of the medallion window are found in the cathedrals of Rheims, Chartres, Bruges, Auxerre, Sens, and the Sainte Chapelle in Paris.

In the latter part of the 1300, the coloured window assumed gradually the character of a large picture, until, in 1500, the whole window, though consisting of several lights, was covered windows, by whose light, we believe, are displayed the portraits of all the knights that fell in the battle of Sempach.

¹ Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages.

with one picture; “and mosaic yellow canopies, and monstrous transparent columns, with other architectural accessories, defied all harmony of colour, proportion, and possibility.” In the middle of the fifteenth century, the revolution in the art of glass painting was complete, and “its era was at an end.” Glass was merely the ground which a painter substituted for canvas; and the works of Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and other great painters, were copied upon white glass. “The attempt to transform an art of purely ornamental decoration into an art of expression, led, according to our author, to its ruin.”

Our limits will not permit us to follow Sir Gardner, in his interesting inquiry, into the true principles of glass painting; but such of our artists or readers who are interested in the subject, will be gratified with the following list of the conditions or properties of coloured glass windows:—

“They should be subservient to the general ornamentation, their object being decorative; they should assimilate to, and aid the decorations and style of the building; they should not be a contrast to a white wall, nor pretend to be a painting or large picture; the small figures in the medallions, though conventional, should be good, not imitations of a rude style, and should be part of the coloured effect of the window, when seen at a distance; broad opaque shadows should not be introduced, nor an attempt be made to convert the flat into a round style; figures larger than life should be avoided, as injurious to the proportions of a building; no great expanse of one colour in one place should catch the eye; and a picture extending over two or more lights, cut by an opaque mullion, is inconsistent and offensive. A quantity of white glass is bad and poor, and yellow is better than white for preventing red and blue from appearing purple at a distance. The border should be in proportion to the size of the light; too small, and even too large a quantity of ground between medallions, should be avoided; but the medallions should not be all of the same form, and the patterns should not be too small, nor have a spotted appearance, as in a kaleidoscope;¹ the primary colours should predominate over the secondary and tertiary; and the best windows for imitation are those of the 1200. In rosette windows, the tracery lights, or openings, should radiate from the centre, rather than be concentric. But coloured glass is not required in buildings of the Renaissance style.”

From the subject of coloured glass windows, and the principle of glass painting, our author passes to the consideration of the perception of colour, the balance of colour, and the manner in which colours affect each other. The perception of the harmony

¹ As very few persons have seen a really good kaleidoscope, we presume that our author may not be of this number. When the instrument is good, and the ground properly chosen, and the objects of a right colour, and properly illuminated, there can be no such thing as spotting in the patterns, which never have been, and never can be, equalled by the most skilful artist.

of colours he considers, as we have already seen, a natural gift ; and he asserts, that those who possess it can no more help perceiving at first sight whether their arrangement forms a concord or a discord, than they can help distinguishing *red* from *green*, which one out of every 750 cannot do.¹ “To give an eye for colour,” he says, “is no more possible than to give an ear for sound ; and though both might be improved by study, if possessed, so both may be impaired by bad habit.”

In order to improve our natural perception of colours, we must not only ascertain “what two, or more, when placed together, are concords or discords,” but also the “quantity of each,” as well as their “proper position.” We have already explained the opinions of M. Chevreul on the contrast or mutual influence of colours. Sir Gardner, adopting similar views, mentions *harmony by contrast* as the most important, namely, *red* or *scarlet* with *blue*, and *orange* with *blue*. Some, he says, are contrasts by coldness, as those just mentioned ; and some by difference of lucidity, as *yellow* contrasted with *black* or with *brown*. The next is *harmony by analogy*, as *crimson* and *red brown*, *purple* and *crimson*, *yellow* and *gold*. There is also *harmony of tones*, as different *blues*, *reds*, etc., the light one being the ground for the darker ; and lastly, *harmony of hues*, as *verdigris green* to lighten up *blue green*, and *scarlet* with *dark red*. *Harmony by contrast*, and *harmony by analogy*, consist in the due proportion of two or more colours which are concords.

In all our inquiries into the harmony of colours, it is necessary to classify them, an operation which has been performed very differently by different individuals. The following is adopted by Sir Gardner Wilkinson :—

- “A. PRIMARIES (*Simple colours*) : blue, red, and yellow.
- B. SECONDARIES (*Compound colours*) : purple (composed of blue and red) ; orange (composed of red and yellow) ; green (composed of blue and yellow).
- C. TERTIARIES (*Mixed colours*) : russet (composed of purple and orange) ; citrine (composed of orange and green) ; and olive (composed of green and purple).
- D. (*Irregular colours*) : brownish greys, neutral tints, drabs, stone colour, etc.
- E. (*Extreme colours*) : black and white.”

As it is difficult to ascertain what idea is conveyed by the mention of any colour, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary,

¹ This is a mistake, as it will be seen from our Review *On Colour Blindness*, in vol. xxiv., p. 342, that Dr George Wilson, to whose researches our author refers, found, from the examination of 1154 persons of different professions, that 1 in every 18 was colour blind, the ratios in different classes being from 1 in every 8.4 to 1 in every 50.

Sir Gardner is of opinion, in reference to primary colours, that *red* is best represented by the colour of the *Verbena melindris*, *yellow* by *gamboge* moistened with water, and *blue* by the deepest colour of the sky, or by lapis lazuli, or French blue.

In order to give an idea of what is meant by different colours in different languages, Sir Gardner has drawn up a very interesting table, occupying eight closely printed pages, in which he has given the names of the principal colours in English, Arabic, French, German, Greek, Latin, and Italian. This valuable table, the result of much learning and research, is followed by an elaborate discussion of the arrangement of colours, in *twenty-one* sections, occupying upwards of seventy pages. In the sixteenth section he begins by treating of the arrangement of colours by *twos*, showing their agreement or disagreement, in order to establish their effect upon each other by juxtaposition, without reference to the quantity of each. The following are the most pleasing:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| “ 1. Blue and orange or gold. | 7. Green and gold. |
| 2. Blue and scarlet. | 8. Black and orange or gold. |
| 3. Blue and white. | 9. Horse chesnut brown and orange (or gold). |
| 4. Blue and black. | 10. Brown and gold. |
| 5. Blue and horse chesnut. | 11. Brown and gold.” |
| 6. Purple and orange or gold. | |

This table is followed by one of thirty-two pages, showing the concords and discords of several colours, and mentioning the plants whose colours, either simply or in combination, illustrate his views. Although the details in this table are of great practical value to the artist and the amateur, we can find room only for a specimen of it:—

1. “ *Blue* and *red* harmonize, but want *yellow*, and scarlet is preferable to red. In flowers, *Double Delphinium*.”

2. “ *Red* and *green* wanting. When the red approaches to dark, a discord. When the red has a scarlet hue, and the green is bright and rather yellow, the combination is less disagreeable than when the latter is bluish green; and though this may be contrary to theory, which requires more blue to balance the red and yellow of the scarlet, *the fact is proved by experience*; thus the flower and leaf of the *scarlet geraniums* accord better than the same flower with the blue leaf of the *Iris* or *Flag*.”

3. “ *Yellow* and *green* harmonize, but inferior to orange and green. Yellow and pink discord, disagreeable and poor.”

4. “ *Scarlet* and *green*, better than *red* and *green*, and still better than *crimson* and green, but wanting.”

5. “ *Crimson* and *blue* harmonize, but wanting yellow, they do not combine so well as *blue* and *scarlet*.”

In the interesting table, of which this is a specimen, our

author treats of the combination of two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight colours, and refers to the succeeding sections of his work for explanatory information.

In order to illustrate by examples the effect of a combination mentioned in the table, Sir Gardner refers to the actual combinations as given in the coloured plates of several works, such as Waring and Macquoid's *Architectural Art in Italy and Spain*; Grüner's *Fresco Decorations of Italian Churches and Palaces*; Digby Wyatt's *Memoirs of the Middle Ages*; Mr Owen Jones' great work on the *Alhambra*, and his *Grammar of Ornament*; and the Messrs Day's *Treasury of Ornamental Art*.

In the last or twenty-first of the sections we have mentioned, our author gives an account of the very interesting and elaborate researches of Mr Babbage on the employment of coloured papers for printing, with the view of determining the colours of inks and of papers which are least fatiguing to the eye. With this view Mr Babbage provided THIRTY vols., each containing paper of different colours, and having tables of logarithms printed on them in black ink; and also twenty-one vols., two of which were printed with *black* ink; two with light, and two with dark *blue*; two with *purple*; two with dark, and two with light *red*; two with dark, and two with light *green*; two with *olive*, and one with metallic ink. The coloured sheets of paper employed were—

	No. of Sheets.		No. of Sheets.
Purple,	14	Yellow, orange, buff, etc.,	42
Blue,	13	Greys and neutral tints,	40
Green,	23		—
Red, pink, etc., . .	18		150

After a careful examination of these papers, Mr Babbage found that the *order of distinctness* in which coloured papers with black ink are most suited for use, are as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| “ 1. White paper cream coloured. | 9. Light purplish grey. |
| 2. Do. do. bluish. | 10. Light bluish grey. |
| 3. Light ochrous yellow tinge. | 11. Bright yellow. |
| 4. Light ochrous with warm or redder tinge. | 12. Bright pea green. |
| 5. Light ochrous with yellow tinge. | 13. Bright yellow orange. |
| 6. Light greenish tinge. | 14. Bright blue. |
| 7. Light pink tinge. | 15. Vermillion. |
| 8. Light straw colour. | 16. Purple. |
| | 17. Carmine pink. ” |

When black ink is used upon white paper, the distinctness is a maximum; but it is said to be more fatiguing to the sight than on some other colours, especially in a strong light, and it is stated “that a light tone of ochrous yellow is more comfortable to the eye for long-continued use. This is a more im-

portant point to determine than the degree of distinctness; and it appears from a careful comparison by Mr Babbage, that, with black ink, papers Nos. 3 and 4 are better for long use than No. 1; the green of No. 12 more comfortable than Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17; No. 6 better than No. 12; and Nos. 15 and 17 very fatiguing, and red far more so, especially by candle-light. The general result of these observations is, that black ink upon red ochrous yellow paper, when not too yellow, is the best for the eyes by candle-light. Dr George Wilson, in his book on Colour Blindness, has mentioned an opinion of Sir David Brewster's, that orange yellow light exercises a more powerful action upon the retina than white light of greater intensity; so that, if this should prove generally true, it would explain the superior distinctness of black upon yellowish paper.

Having had occasion to repeat Mr Babbage's experiments on the coloured papers referred to, which he kindly presented to us, we found it very difficult to decide upon the degrees of distinctness and fatigue which they produced. We are persuaded that different eyes have different degrees of sensibility to the same colour, and we know that the eyes of the same individual are not equally sensitive to colours, just as one ear will hear the chirp of the cricket while the other is deaf to it, and yet the vision and the hearing in both cases perfect. The subject must, therefore, be studied inductively, and that which is found to be true with a great number of individuals may be received as scientific truth.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson concludes the first part of his volume *On Colour* with the following summary of "necessary conditions" for harmonious combinations:—

“1. The eye is the proper judge of colour, and the perception of colour is a natural gift.

2. We should abstain from theories till the subject is understood.

3. Flowers and other ornaments should be conventional, not *direct* copies of natural objects; nor should we tread on these in carpets, nor walk on the tracery of architecture.

4. The three primary colours, red, blue, and yellow, which are a concord, should predominate in ornamentation; yet scarlet (which is really a compound colour) looks better than red, even with blue and yellow, and always so when with blue alone, with which it does not assume the same purple hue as does a red (or a crimson) in juxtaposition with blue, owing to the yellow in the scarlet.

5. A fillet of yellow (or some other colour when there are many) should be placed between, or near to, red and blue, to obviate their purple effect.

6. The two accidental colours do not necessarily harmonize.

7. Harmony is not limited to similarity of colour; but there is harmony by contrast also, and contrasts are of different kinds.

8. The effect of simultaneous contrasts is to be considered.
9. The intensity of tones of colours should be equal in the same composition, but a dark and a light hue may be used together with good effect.
10. The quantity of colours is to be balanced, and some may be in a smaller quantity when combined with certain others.
11. The proper relative position of colours is to be consulted.
12. Some colours by candle-light and by daylight have a different effect, and allowance is to be made for this.
13. Colours that accord well, both in their hues and in certain quantities, do not always suit every kind of ornament, and some combinations which suit a carpet and a wall do not answer well for a dress.
14. In some compositions, and particularly in the painted walls of a church, or other building, the coloured patterns should not cover the whole space. The eye requires some repose, and is fatigued by any object overloaded with ornament.
15. A great quantity of the same colour in one part, and little or none of it in another, are fatal to the general effect.
16. Large masses of one single colour should not catch the eye. There may be a mass or ground of one colour in the centre, and a border of several colours round it.
17. Bright green may be introduced to lighten up a composition, but not in masses except as a ground. Green as a ground must be a glaucous green.
18. Greys and some other neutral colours answer well as a ground, and soften the abruptness of contrasts when required.
19. Two of the primaries may harmonize better with each than other two of them, and they accord in *different ratios*; so, too, between any two of the secondaries, and so between the primaries and their (accidental) secondary colours."

We have thus endeavoured to give our readers as correct an account of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's system of harmonious colouring as our narrow limits will permit. The system is founded on *facts* or experience alone, and it is placed in direct opposition to theories of accidental or harmonic colour, which our author pointedly abjures. As he has referred to experiments which we have made, and as we have on many occasions maintained what may be called the *optical or physiological doctrine or theory* (if that word is more suitable) of *harmonious colouring*, we are called upon to submit the question to a rigorous examination.

If the laws of colouring are to be obtained from facts, we must begin by ascertaining *what a fact is*. It is the *opinion* of a person who has the natural gift, or the perceptive faculty, of appreciating harmonious combination; and in order to obtain such facts, we must collect the opinions of men of undoubted taste, or gather the facts from an examination of the works of art of all ages. Now, the person who possesses this perceptive

faculty must first decide what colours are concords, and secondly, their due proportions, before he pronounces on their harmony. In order to obtain *one fact*, we must have the concurrent opinions of a large number of individuals of acknowledged taste and experience; but these can only be collected from the study of the best coloured glass windows, or from the paintings of the most distinguished masters. That no concurrence is to be found in the perceptions of colour by the artists of coloured glass windows, or in the perceptions of the most eminent painters, we venture to assert. If such a concurrence exists, it must be exhibited in a number of facts capable of generalization. It would be easy to point out, in the finest works of coloured art, as many discords as concords; and there is no painter in whose works we cannot point out combinations of colours which are reconcileable with no system or theory whatever, whether they profess to be founded on facts or optical and physiological principles. It is quite different in the case of harmonies in music, with which our author compares those of colour. No discords will be found in the works of the great composers; and did they exist to any extent, they might be explained by a state of the ear in which it is deaf to certain grave or acute sounds. There is, therefore, no system or set of rules for harmonious colouring, which can be said to be founded *in fact*, so as to entitle us to question the results of any rational theory entirely independent of the varieties of individual organization.

When the perceptive theory tells us that *red* and *blue* are *concords*, which we deny, and maintain that they are *discords*, we ask what kind of *reds* and *blues* have been placed in combination. Were they colours of the spectrum, or were they the colours of mineral, vegetable, or animal substances? The red and blue of the spectrum may be discords, as they are in theory, while the red and blue submitted to the perceptive faculty may be concords. *Red* and *green* are said perceptively to be discords, which they are when primary, while in theory they are perfect concords when not primary. The cause of this is, that different kinds of red and green have been combined, and therefore the perceptive faculty has not run counter to theory. These views will be rightly appreciated when the true theory of harmonious colouring is understood, the colours being, of course, the pure primary colours of the spectrum—produced by the decomposition of white light; or compound colours, produced by thin plates, as seen in common or in polarised light.

In the true theory of harmonious colouring, the harmony depends on two conditions—one *optical*, and the other *physiological*. The optical condition is, that the colours, whether two, three, or more, *shall form white light*; and hence it is that the

three colours, red, yellow, and blue, are in harmony. The physiological condition, to take the case of two colours, is, that *when the retina is impressed with one of these colours it is simultaneously impressed with the other*—that is, when it sees red it at the same instant sees green, the two making white. When the eye, therefore, contemplates in succession red and green wafers supposed to be correctly complementary, it transfers the complementary red of the green to the red, and increases its tint, and then the complementary green of the red to the green, and enhances its colour. Had the green wafer been blue, its complementary yellow would have made the red scarlet, and the complementary green from the red would have made the green bluish green. Now, these effects are perfectly analogous with what takes place in music. When a string gives out its fundamental sound, it gives out at the same time its harmonics, the two being simultaneously heard, just as the two complementary or harmonic colours are simultaneously seen.¹

The harmony produced by the complementary colours may be thus explained. The retina is put into different states of vibration by different colours. The complementary vibrations from the *green* wafer, namely, those that give *red*, are in perfect concord with the stronger ones of the *red* wafer; and the complementary vibrations from the *red* wafer, namely, those that give green, are in perfect concord with the stronger ones of the green wafer. When the colours are compound, each of the component colours producing vibrations of different kinds, the concord may not be so perfect as when they approximate to primary colours; but even in the extreme case, where the compound colour consists of rays from opposite ends of the spectrum, the general effect is to produce pure white light, which is not a discordant result.

The second part of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's volume, "On the Necessity of a Diffusion of Taste among all Classes," is substantially a Treatise "On Taste in Ornamental Design," which, indeed, is the running title of the whole part, occupying no less than 200 pages. It treats of a great variety of interesting subjects, and in a large number of woodcuts it presents to the reader examples of good and bad taste in the numerous articles of household furniture, and in various architectural structures. After pointing out the advantages of diffusing a taste for ornamental art among the lower classes, and showing that the most beautiful designs may be given to the commonest and cheapest utensils and objects in the humblest households, he adopts the three maxims given by Vitruvius for architecture, namely,—

¹ The old theory of the fatigue of the eye produced by looking at one colour, and referred to by our author, has been long ago abandoned.

1. That the articles should answer the purposes for which they are intended ;
2. That they should be durable, or of solid workmanship ; and
3. That they should possess beauty—not the beauty obtained from capricious ornament, with which so many of our modern productions are overloaded.

“Taste,” our author adds, “to be useful, must pervade all classes ; and by this means graceful and beautiful objects for everyday use will come into general demand, and be generally made. They will also be obtained at a moderate price, and thus be placed within the reach of all, instead of being confined to the wealthy few who happen to be possessed of cultivated taste. For it is not by making what is elegant dear to the purchaser, that it will be generally appreciated—this is an impediment, not an encouragement to it ; and until good things are within the reach of all, and recognised by the majority, it is in vain to hope for excellence in any country.”

After remarking with Mr Wornum that the prosperity of the inhabitants of the small island of ancient Samos was a singular instance of the great national benefit to be derived from the judicious application of art to manufactures, Sir Gardner ascribes the deficiency of taste in articles for common use in England to the want of taste among the workmen. The manufacturer, when a man of taste, often manufactures beautiful articles which the public refuse to buy ; and our author mentions an Italian who was compelled, in order to support his family, to manufacture what did sell—the most commonplace ornaments, among which were “dogs and flowers, Canova’s three lanky Graces, and elongated vases equally deficient in proportion, form, and decoration.” Hence he considers it as a first step to know “what to avoid in choosing,” and therefore that the public should be taught “what is *bad*, and *why* it is so,” rather than what is in good taste and what is worthy of notice.

Among the causes to which our author ascribes the general deficiency of taste in England, he mentions the want of Museums in our manufacturing and other provincial towns, and the shutting up on Sundays of the Museums we do possess, especially the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The first of these causes is doubtless the most prominent, and one which it would not be difficult to remove. The second is one of more doubtful propriety, and which might bring evils in its train that would be poorly compensated by the amount of diffused taste which it might introduce. The diminution in the working hours of the population, the increased number of holidays which are given and taken, and the number of excursion trains which carry crowds of the people, both from town and country, to visit all

the objects of interest, and the Museums we have in the larger towns, might, if Museums were more general, supply the place of art-study on the Sabbath.

In discussing the various points on which good taste depends, Sir Gardner mentions the great importance of a perception of the harmony of *proportion*, which is nowhere better shown than in the buildings of the Greeks and the later Italians. "Symmetry," he says, "in one sense may be called the harmony of proportion, though there is really a difference between proportion and symmetry; the latter applying to the concord of the different parts with each other, as well as with the whole, as in the human figure; while an object which is of one simple form, without detachable parts, is regulated by proportion, such as an obelisk, and other simple geometrical figures." The faculty of perceiving proportion and symmetry our author considers as a natural gift, which may be taught like music, but not acquired by rules, however good and well-defined; thus concurring with Professor Cockerell, who observes, "that we begin by admiring ornaments, details, and forms, but it is in a more advanced stage only that we make all these subordinate to that sense of mythical proportion, and that harmony of quantities, which affect the mind like a mathematical truth; and, like a concord of musical sounds on the ear, are perceived and confessed as obvious and unalterable."

Among the errors in taste committed in the middle ages, and even in modern Europe, Sir Gardner mentions the custom of representing landscapes, or a number of distant figures, in bas-relief, upon metal, stone, and similar materials,—a practice not followed by the Greeks, who never represented distance or perspective as the ground of their basso-relievos. For a similar reason, he reprobates landscapes upon fictile vases, or even upon a porcelain cup, as is done in the sumptuous vases of Sèvres manufacture, and in porcelain plates "where the landscape is buried beneath meat and vegetables." No less offensive is the practice of employing natural objects as ornaments in decorative art, which our author regards as indicating poverty of invention, and a deficiency of taste for design. The Greeks never used servile copies of flowers or other natural objects. "They took the idea, the *motive* of the object, and made it an ideal imitation, which was much more pleasing to the eye." The patterns of the Arabs, which are more varied than those of the Greeks, had the same character, and evince an extraordinary talent for combinations of forms. "In all the best periods of art," as Mr Owen Jones remarks, "all ornament was rather based upon an observation of the principles which regulate the arrangement of form in nature, than on an attempt to imitate the absolute forms of those works; and that, whenever this limit was exceeded, in any

art, it was one of the strongest symptoms of decline—*true art consisting in idealizing, and not copying the forms of nature.*"

The mixture of materials of different kinds in articles of furniture is justly denounced by our author, such as the union of bronze with wood, and, above all, of bright brass with wood,—wooden tables inlaid with stone,—stone doors either wholly or partly of malachite,—and rich cabinets inlaid with costly jewels. The highly-prized and expensive tables of Florence in *pietre dure*, imitating birds, flowers, etc., are equally inconsistent with true taste.

In illustration of his proposal to diffuse taste by exhibiting to the eye forms and combinations in which it is violated, Sir Gardner has given a large number of woodcuts representing vases of bad forms,—inconsistent combinations,—good designs badly copied,—tasteless columns, obelisks, colossi, domes, spires, pediments, arches, weather-cocks, pinnacles, chimneys, etc.

In treating of the decoration of houses, our author confines himself to a few passing observations which are well deserving of public attention. In a climate like ours, where we spend so much of our life in our libraries and public rooms, nothing is more desirable than that our eyes should derive all the pleasure which can be imparted by harmonious colouring, beautiful forms, and fine proportions. Every house, tastefully decorated, and containing examples of high art, would thus be a school of design in which our visitors, and even our domestics, might add to their knowledge, as well as improve their taste. In private as well as in public buildings, ornaments, whether coloured or sculptured, should not extend over the whole surface of the walls. The eye requires repose, and the general effect should be that of broad masses, displaying minuteness when not seen at a distance. Small uncoloured spaces in the midst of coloured patterns afford an agreeable relief and variety; but in employing paper-hangings with equi-distant coloured patterns, we must combine them in such a manner that they are not likely to produce, in certain abnormal states of our vision, the strange and almost supernatural phenomena which we have described, at great length, in a former article.¹

In painting the rooms of a house, or in selecting a paper for them, when pictures are to be introduced, the walls should be of one colour, *without patterns*; and that colour, according to our author, should be *red* or *tea-green*, either of which we should think too absorptive of light in rooms where it is almost impossible to obtain a proper illumination, owing to the smallness and position of the windows, and the darkness produced by the curtains. We should, therefore, prefer a very light blue, which would harmonize with the gildings of the picture-frames, while

¹ On Binocular Vision, in vol. xvii. p. 192, 193-196.

it reflected light upon those portions of the pictures which receive no light directly from the windows. In a room covered with pictures, a ceiling almost white, a carpet as light as possible, and furniture of the same hue, are necessary to obtain sufficient light to display the pictures. The proper exhibition of the pictures is the object to be accomplished by every available means, whether they are consistent or not with good taste.

In Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Etruria, and, in later times, in Christian churches, painting was a necessary part of architectural decoration. Statues, obelisks, and even monuments of granite, were painted; and the Greek bas-reliefs were in the oldest times of an uniform red colour, with a background of blue. The question of colouring statues, which is now exciting much interest, is viewed in very different lights. Although it is certain that statues were coloured by the Greeks, yet, as the effect was successful only when it was produced by the first artists, Sir Gardner Wilkinson is of opinion that it should not be attempted in the present day. Accustomed to admire statues of white marble, it is not easy to reconcile ourselves to a coloured Venus, or to the coloured bust of a relative or friend. The attempt, however, has been made, to a small extent, by two distinguished artists to whom our author has not referred. The Venus of Mr Gibson of Rome, decked with ornaments of gold, and with a slight colouring in her drapery, has been denounced by one party and admired by another; and the bust of the Queen, by Baron Marochetti, presented by Her Majesty to the Earl of Aberdeen, and other coloured busts by the same artist, have experienced a similar reception. These two works of art, however, both of which we have seen, and partially admired, are treated in a very different manner. The bust of the Queen is simply stained, as it were, with a solution of coffee, which is darker in the dress and the hair than in the flesh; and the effect, though at first startling, like that of Mr Gibson's Venus, is more agreeable after we have looked at it for some time.

Our limits will not permit us to follow our author through the remaining pages of his Second Part, in which he discusses a great number of most important subjects, which cannot fail to interest a very large class of readers. After treating of the proper place for Pictures and Statues—of the pointed style of Architecture—of the invention and history of the Arch—of the similarity of Greek to Egyptian inventions—of early Christian Art—of the history of Mosaics—of the rise of Painting in Italy—of the decay of Art—of the Beautiful, and the difference between the Beautiful in Art and Nature—and of the different styles of Architecture, he concludes the Part with the following brief summary of the more important points of which he has treated:—

“One of the most important points is, that taste be *general* among all classes. These, too, are essential :—that the beautiful be combined with the useful ;—that proportion, good form, and (when required) harmonious colours, be combined in objects of everyday use ;—that rare and costly *materials* be not preferred to *excellence of design* ;—that good examples be imitated, rather than new designs invented, merely for the sake of novelty ;—that no design be made up of parts put together to form it without reference to their compatibility ;—that one object be not employed for another of a different character ;—that *authority* be not an excuse for a faulty design ;—that the spirit, not the direct imitation, of natural objects be adopted for ornamentation ;—and that the education of the Eye be preferred to a mechanical adherence to mere rules.”

In the *Third* and concluding Part of our author's volume, entitled *On Dressed and Geometrical Gardens*, he does not propose to give all the necessary instructions for the laying out of gardens. His principal object is to show “how advantageously form and colour may be combined in formal beds, and how necessary is their proper combination for giving full effect to the geometrical patterns of a dressed garden.”

In order that an ornamental garden near the house may be in harmony with the formal character of the building, it should be laid out in geometrical patterns, and bounded by terraces and balustrades of masonry. Beyond the terraces “a less formal garden, with borders and winding walks, might succeed, leading gradually from the symmetrical and artificial part to that which bears a nearer resemblance to the wildness of nature.”

The gentle slope of a hill is considered particularly suitable for a terrace garden, with a succession of different levels connected by flights of steps ; but it is commonly on a level field or lawn that geometrical gardens are laid out. When the space allotted to the garden is limited, a number of high formal yew, or other clipped evergreen hedges, are not appropriate, and in no case should trees be made to imitate birds, or be cut into grotesque shapes. No trees should be near the house ; and the approach to it may be by an avenue of fine trees, though the road, before reaching the avenue, may be as circuitous as is consistent with the character of the ground. The lawn nearest the house may be planted with cedars and other fine trees ; but no large piece of water, whether natural or artificial, should be near the house. Sir Gardner recommends trees of vertical growth and dark colour, as forming a good contrast with a building in the Italian or Grecian style, the horizontal lines of the building being opposed to the long vertical stems of stone pines, or old Scotch firs, just as the long level of a meadow is agreeably contrasted with the upright poplar.

It is not necessary that dressed gardens should be large. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has seen one "with a terrace walk, and the usual beds, not a hundred feet square, which, when bright with flowers, gave the impression of far more importance than it had any right to claim from its extent."

When the geometrical pattern has been fixed upon, the next step is to determine the colours for harmonious combinations, and select the flowers by which these colours are to be obtained. Flowers that have the same height, and that blossom at the same periods, must be chosen, in order that the designs may be continued during successive seasons. Rare plants are not necessary, some of the most common being more eligible.

In order to exhibit the arrangement of colours, Sir Gardner has given coloured drawings of three geometrical gardens, with their flower-beds, in none of which there is perfect symmetry either of form or of colour, which we think would have added greatly to their beauty. We might dispense with symmetry of colour, but symmetry of form would be pleasing even in winter, when no colour is to be seen. The principal colours recommended by our author, are blue, red, scarlet, pink, purple, lilac, yellow, orange, and white; and he has given an interesting table, occupying nine pages, which contains the names of the plants, with their different colours, the times when they flower, and observations on their treatment.

If the analysis we have so imperfectly given of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's interesting volume should induce our readers to peruse it themselves, we shall have conferred upon them no ordinary favour. The subjects of which it treats are so numerous, so closely connected with our daily life and pursuits, and so calculated to subdue and purify the aspirations of wealth and rank, and to refine and elevate the hardworking children of toil, that its lessons should be impressed upon the young and the thoughtless, upon the old and the wise, as great moral truths to guide and to cheer them amid the corruptions and sorrows of our social life. The beautiful in Art and Nature, equally the gift of the Great Giver, may be enjoyed by the humblest as well as the highest of our race. The cup of cold water will taste the sweeter, and the goblet of rich wine the richer, when the eye rests with pleasure upon their lovely forms. The village Lavinia will be "adorned the most," when she has exchanged the meretricious decorations borrowed from the ball-room for the simple drapery of homely life; and the court beauty will not be the less attractive when she has replaced her gaudy and costly attire with the chaste and hallowed models of a less luxurious age. Nor will the cottage family be less joyous when in their plot of flower

garden they revel in the harmonies of colour, or when the mantel-piece and walls of their dwelling exhibit to them the choicest forms of art, or those scenes of the picturesque and the sublime with which modern science can so cheaply supply them.

The pleasures of the Eye and the Ear are the cheapest and the sweetest of our luxuries; and when they shall be equally appreciated by the classes whom no common sympathy had previously blended, or whom the usages of a barbarous age had too widely severed, society will be welded together by more enduring bonds, and new buttresses added to the social fabric. The artisan or the labourer who devotes his leisure hour to the observation of Nature, or the admiration of Art,—who gathers for his family the curious plant, or the tiny organism, or the travelled pebble, or who presents to them the elegant flower-vase or graceful statue, is not likely to seek for excitement in village revels, in political clubs, or in dishonest combinations. His moral nature will rise with his material tastes; and while his less instructed neighbour will look up to him as a model for imitation, his more educated superior will appreciate his acquirements as a companion or a friend.

It is only in those studies where the Eye becomes our teacher, that we can expect to unite in a common pursuit the dissevered classes of society. It is in the Galleries of Art,—in the rich Museums of our cities,—in our Botanical, Zoological, and Horticultural Gardens,—or in our Crystal Palaces, where Art and Science are rivals, that the children of wealth and of toil can assemble in the common admiration of all that is beautiful in Art and Nature; and if our rulers should listen to the appeals which have been so long and so urgently made to them, they would establish Museums in every town, and furnish them from the hoarded treasures of the Metropolis.

The extension of education, the improvement of our schools and universities, and the advancement of science, are all objects worthy of a great nation; but it is not through their agency that we can refine and elevate and unite the various masses of the community. The depths of science are not to be sounded, nor the heights of philosophy attained, even by the most favoured classes, and still less by the uneducated and neglected sections of society. Science and philosophy, therefore, can afford no common ground of study or of converse to the rich and the poor. It is among the remains of ancient, and the achievements of modern Art, and amid the beauties which we daily appreciate, and the lovely forms of organic life which are ever before us, that we can all, high and low, breathe the same pure air, and rise to a higher morality and a nobler civilization.

ART. VII.—*The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.; with Notices of Contemporary Persons and Events.* By his Son, THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING. Vol. I. London: Longmans, 1859.

IN the year 1785, well nigh half a century after the rise of Methodism, a sapient society in London discussed, for three nights in succession, this question:—"Have the Methodists done most good or evil?" The disputants do not appear to have been either a company of free-thinkers, or a set of frolicsome and reckless young men. It seems to have been a grave and earnest affair. Thomas Olivers, of whom Southey, in the *Life of Wesley*, gives such an interesting sketch, joined the society to be present at the debate, and his speech on the occasion was published long afterwards in the form of a pamphlet. How the question was decided we do not know; nor is it of any consequence. It is the discussion, not the decision, of the question that is at all curious. That serious men should at that date have made this a subject of prolonged debate, is not a little remarkable. We cannot but think that, in our own day, Methodism is better understood and better appreciated. Looking at its extensive labours at home and abroad, and estimating—if it can be estimated—the value of its services to the human race, we might smile at, but should never think of discussing, the question which the London sages so laboriously debated. Doubtless, there are still whole classes of men who would promptly give their vote against Methodism. Infidels would do so; so would Papists; so would the enemies and revilers of evangelical religion; and so, we fear, would many who consider themselves zealous Christians in that church which the Wesleys loved so well and treated so tenderly. We are told by John Wesley, that up till the time when he commenced field-preaching, he thought it "almost a sin to save souls out of a church;" so there are some who seem to think that it is almost a sin—if, indeed, it be not an impossibility—to save souls out of the Church of England; and that it is both almost and altogether a sin to detach them from her communion. But among intelligent and earnest Protestants, who will, of course, treat such pretensions with derision, there can, we imagine, be only one opinion as to the debt which the world owes to Methodism. That debt we cordially acknowledge, without qualification or reserve. We do not say, of course, that we are prepared to subscribe all its dogmas, or to approve of all its ecclesiastical regulations. It might be easy enough to find things in the Wesleyan creed and organization to which we should be disposed to take exception; but this does not hinder

us from expressing our hearty admiration of the zeal and devotedness with which Methodism has prosecuted the great work of promoting the best interests of mankind.

Our readers will have no difficulty in discerning, that the special ground of our esteem for this branch of the Church of Christ is the amount of good which it has done to the souls of men. Indeed, it is only when we look at man as an immortal being, and take eternity into our reckoning, that we can duly appreciate the services of Wesleyan Methodism. We cheerfully admit that it claims our respect and gratitude upon other grounds. It has done much to elevate and civilize the lower orders of society in England and elsewhere, and thus to diffuse elements of order and stability through our social system. By its efforts multitudes in heathen lands, who, a few years ago, were debased and brutal savages, are now "sitting clothed, and in their right mind." It has produced many men of distinguished talent, and the literature emanating from its book-room has neither been scanty in amount nor contemptible in quality. But we strongly feel that Wesleyan Methodism would be unfairly treated if it were tried by such standards of judgment as these. For however great may have been the material, or social, or intellectual benefits flowing from its labours, these were rather the incidental accompaniments of the Christianity which it sought to diffuse than the direct object of its efforts and aims. If it were the main business of a church to polish and refine human society, to add extensively to the stock of general literature, to maintain a body of dignified, well-bred, and scholarly ecclesiastics, or even to frame an orthodox creed, and construct symmetrical systems of divinity, and exhibit a stately and harmonious development of correct ecclesiastical order, we might probably be of opinion that Methodism must retire from competition with some other denominations. But it was not any of these things which it set before it as its leading object. "Your business is to save souls," was Wesley's pointed and oft-repeated admonition to his preachers. And if this be, in truth, the primary and principal mission of the Church of Christ, then we cannot but regard Methodism as having, from the first, done the great work of the Church vigorously and well. And the more adequately we realize the incalculable value of immortal souls, the higher will be our estimate of all that Wesleyanism has done, and is still doing for their welfare.

It is not necessary that we should affirm that the erection of the Wesleyan Institute was the very best thing that could have occurred in England at the time when it arose,—that it was better, for example, than would have been an extensive revival of true religion in the Establishment, or better than if some one

or more of the Non-conformist bodies had taken the place and performed the part which fell to Wesley and his coadjutors. But, if the religious condition of the Church was such as to call for supplementary efforts for the Christianization of the people, and if none of the other ecclesiastical systems afforded them, then we are surely not only at liberty, but bound to rejoice in the rise of Methodism, and to look with complacency upon its progress.

The annals of Methodism form a curious chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England. The reign of the second George is a singularly dreary and uninviting period to contemplate, both as respects the political, and social, and religious, character of the nation. Corruption rioted in all the public departments of the state; a withering Socinianism infested the Church, and, as a consequence, gross immorality and avowed irreligion widely prevailed. Nor did evangelical religion fare much better among the Dissenters in England than in the Established Church. The fervent piety of the early Non-conformists had grievously declined; and many of the ministers had lapsed, or were fast lapsing, into a virtual and practical, if not an open and professed Socinianism, and many of the people into utter ungodliness. It was at the time when the gloom seemed to be deepening all around, and every source of illumination becoming hopelessly obscured, that a light dawned at Oxford, which, faint and struggling at first, soon shed its rays into the surrounding darkness, and ultimately did not a little to dispel it.

The Wesleys sprang from a good stock. The parents had been educated as Puritans, though they subsequently "conformed." The father—the rector of Epworth—was a diligent and conscientious minister. The mother—like so many mothers of eminent men—was remarkable for strong sense, high principle, deep piety, uncommon natural talent, energy, and force of character. It is easy to prophesy after the event; but one feels disposed to say, that the sons of such a woman could hardly turn out mere ordinary men.

Under deep religious convictions John and Charles Wesley, with three or four kindred spirits, formed at Oxford about one hundred and thirty years ago, what was called, in derision, the "Holy Club," and were nicknamed "Methodists." Braving the storm of ridicule,—that most formidable of all modes of assault against educated young men,—they resolutely held on their course. Prominent even then, as ever after, was the distinctive aim of Wesley, to which we have before adverted. And, as their work went on, the broad and placid surface of ecclesiastical routine was stirred; the waters were put in motion, and though there might be here and there, a turbid eddy visible,

yet even the wildest rush of the torrent was infinitely preferable to the sluggishness and stagnation which reigned before. The Wesleys and Whitefield were soon surrounded by listening thousands, many of them men for whose souls no one had hitherto cared, and on whose ears now fell, for the first time, the warnings and offers of the Gospel. Church dignitaries fretted and fumed at these disorderly proceedings; though they might have remembered that, as Wesley says, "one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching" is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. But with all their reverence for the Church, these fervid evangelists were not to be driven from their labour of love, even by a bishop's frown. "You have no business here," said the Bishop of Bristol to Wesley, "you are not commissioned to preach in this diocese." "My Lord," said Wesley, "my business on earth is to do what good I can. Wherever, therefore, I think I can do most good, there must I stay so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here, therefore here I stay." The pulpits were generally shut against them; but this, instead of silencing, only drove them the more to preach in the open air, where tens of thousands listened to their message, who never would have entered within the walls of a church to hear it.

But the frown of the regular clergy, was far from being the only or the most formidable opposition, which the early Methodists had to encounter. They were violently persecuted,—and the narrative of these persecutions is one of the strangest chapters in their history. It is sad to think that, in a Christian land, those who were preaching the Gospel of the grace of God, and who could have no other aim or object than the good of their hearers, should be assailed and put in peril of their lives by fierce and brutal mobs, composed of men and women who had themselves been baptised into the Christian Church, and who called themselves Christians. We read, till we are absolutely sickened with the details, of Methodist preachers being hustled, pelted with stones and filth, dragged by the hair of the head through the streets, and trampled bleeding in the mire; of men and women plundered and maltreated; of soldiers sentenced, one to receive two hundred, and another five hundred lashes, for attending a Methodist meeting, *when off duty*, etc., etc. We might fill pages with the hideous recitals, and yet the worst would remain to be told. No honourable mind can learn, without indignation and disgust, that these abominable atrocities were, in many cases, openly encouraged by the gentry and the clergy; not unfrequently by some of both these orders who were in the Commission of the Peace, and occasionally by some of *both* these orders, who were at the moment in a state of intoxication. "We find and present," said an English jury, when

receiving—or rather when throwing out—the depositions of some of the sufferers, “We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill-fame, a vagabond and a common disturber of his Majesty’s peace, and we pray he may be transported.”!

When scenes like these occurred in England, one cannot be surprised to read of men and women present at a Methodist meeting in Ireland, being “beaten without mercy;” the preacher being knocked down, “one thrusting a stick into his mouth, another tramping upon his face, swearing that he would ‘tread the Holy Ghost out of him,’” etc., etc. It is pleasing to us, as North Britons, to think that though Wesley might occasionally have to complain of a Scottish congregation, “which seemed to know everything and to feel nothing,” no similar proceedings disgraced our Presbyterian country. Meanwhile, fed continually by the untiring labours of its founder and the preachers appointed by him, and organized by the sagacity and administrative talent which so pre-eminently characterised him, the system of Methodism began to take shape and consistency. Wesley was not content, like Whitefield, simply to Christianize great multitudes of men. He would not leave the “babes in Christ” to walk alone, or find support to their tottering steps wherever they could; whether from the clergy, or in the chance fellowship of private Christians. He surrounded each of them with suitable counsel, and provided needful superintendence,—thus linking the several parts of the mechanism together by a strong yet flexible chain. With a zeal which burned like a fire, and consumed every personal feeling of reluctance or self-indulgence; with a courage which braved the most appalling dangers; with a determination which bore him right onward over obstacles which would have staggered the timid and repulsed the feeble; with a capacity for work which hardly knew weariness or claimed repose, and a capacity for administration, which moulded with plastic skill the rough materials with which he had to deal, into form and symmetry; with a heaven-inspired devotedness which breathed the spirit of his Divine Master,—“My meat is to do the will of my Father, and to finish His work;” and with a band of ardent coadjutors, whom he raised up, or rather whom God raised up, to second his efforts and to share his toils; and above all, with the blessing of the Most High upon his and their labours, Wesley soon had thousands belonging to his societies, and calling themselves without scruple by the once despised name of Methodists.

But we are to keep it full in view, that in all this, John Wesley never intended to establish a separate ecclesiastical community, or to detach his converts from the Church of England. This pregnant and remarkable fact should at least exempt him

from the imputation of ambitiously aiming at making himself a name as the founder of a sect. But it deserves careful consideration on many other grounds. His resolute and tenacious clinging to the Established Church, and his desire to frame his own institute—or rather to regulate his *societies*—so as to give scope to this strong attachment, and harmonize, if possible, with this fond adherence, materially affected the constitution of the Wesleyan system, and modified its course. Indeed, the relation of Wesley and Wesleyanism to the Church of England, is one of the departments of this subject which deserve special attention. As to Wesley himself, it is certain that, amid obloquy and insult heaped upon him for half a century, and fierce opposition to his efforts for the salvation of souls, he cherished an undying love for the Church, and was most unwilling to become, or to be called, a separatist. No man was more tender of her reputation or more anxious for her welfare. No man with a spirit so high as Wesley's, and, as has been sometimes alleged, so imperious and impatient of contradiction, could, unless animated with profound reverence and affection, have borne the treatment which he had to endure from his mother church and her clergy, without being driven into hostility and hatred. Towards her, at least, he largely manifested that charity which "suffereth long and is kind," which "envieth not, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things;" and, in this respect, as in so many others, his mantle has, to a wonderful extent, fallen upon his successors. Even in the state of separation, into which the Church did so much to *force* them to enter, they have cherished towards her feelings, not merely of forbearance, but of kindness and good-will, which have been but coldly acknowledged and but scantily reciprocated.

We remarked that Wesley's stanch adherence to the Church had an important bearing upon the constitution of his societies. It followed from it that Methodism, as it came from the hands of its founder, was not properly a *Church*, but a *society within a Church*; not a distinct and complete ecclesiastical institute, but an auxiliary, or supplement, or appendage, to the national institute already existing. Thus, he admonishes his preachers to attend the Church at least two Sundays every month, and denies that the service of the Methodists is "public worship," in such a sense as to supersede the Church service. "It presupposes public prayer, like the sermons at the University." "If the people put ours in place of the Church service, we *hurt* them that stay with us, and *ruin* them that leave us." In harmony with these views, so frequently and forcibly expressed, was the constant declaration of Wesley, that his preachers were mere laymen, having no

right to administer the sacraments, or to assume the designation of ministers, or clergy, or the title of *reverend*.

From all this it follows that the Wesleyan system was not framed after what was in reality—or even after what appeared to its founder to be—the New Testament model of a church, just because it was not designed to be a Church at all. It was constructed piece-meal, as experience required, and as new emergencies called for new provisions. The Conference, the District, and Quarterly, and Leaders' Meetings, the Circuit and Superintendent, the Class and its Leader, Itinerancy and Lay Preaching,—these and other parts of the vast machinery of Methodism, were instituted, not primarily or professedly, because Scripture expressly prescribed them as necessary component parts of, and as together constituting, the external economy of a Church of Christ, but because they were deemed important auxiliaries, and useful arrangements in carrying on, *in the bosom of the Church of England*, the great work of converting sinners, and building up believers in their most holy faith. Hence it occurs, that intelligent and candid Wesleyans, like the biographer of Dr Bunting, freely admit that “Methodists do not profess to rest their ecclesiastical policy upon any *jus divinum*.”—P. 84, *note*. It is interesting to observe how, in spite of Wesley's fond predilections, and strong prejudices, and resolute struggles, and firm will, and sovereign authority, his societies were gradually falling, even in his own day, into a distinctive ecclesiastical mould, and admitted an organization which paved the way for a separate denominational existence. Some lament that he did not bind his societies indissolubly to the Church: we can only marvel at the tenacity with which he clung to her. What was anticipated by others, and dreaded by himself, occurred soon after his death. Yet so reluctant were many, even then, formally to withdraw from the Establishment, that we find, in the life of Dr Bunting, that when he was on probation in the Macclesfield Circuit, in 1803, “service during church hours not having been yet introduced into the Methodist Chapel, he was able frequently to attend the vigorous ministry of Mr Horne”—an Episcopal minister—“and he communicated occasionally at his church.”—P. 148.

Ere we pass from the Methodism of Wesley's day, and the career of that extraordinary man, we have a few additional remarks to offer. We have seen that Wesley did not owe his success, in any measure, to the exhibition of a new church, claiming to be more scriptural and complete in its constitution than the existing Establishment. Nor did it flow from the promulgation of new doctrines, although so obsolete had the old doctrines become in many parishes, that we read of the people, in one place,

engaging in high debate as to what religion the preacher (Wesley) was of, some averring that he was a Quaker, others insisting that he was an Anabaptist, till a village oracle solved the problem and settled the controversy, by pronouncing him to be a Presbyterian-Papist.

Nor did Wesley attract men to him by speaking smooth things, and crying, "Peace, peace," while there was no peace. He and his fellow-labourers proclaimed the total depravity of the natural man, and the absolute necessity of the great and thorough spiritual change called conversion, and offered to their hearers a free and present salvation through an all-sufficient Saviour. Under God, we ascribe Wesley's success, *instrumentally*, to that noble characteristic which pre-eminently distinguished him, and which has distinguished all great men, and been productive of all great achievements, the characteristic of *hard work*. It was not by the magic of genius that he won his triumphs. Universally, indeed—at least the exceptions are marvellously few—it has been by strenuous, persevering toil—by *sheer hard work*—that even great men have achieved great results.

So it was with Wesley. When we read his journal and letters, we discover the secret of the spread of Methodism, in so far as it depended upon human instrumentality. For example, under the date of Friday—not *Sunday*, be it observed—the 11th July 1765, when he was in his sixty-third year, we have this record, "Preached at five; again at nine, in the new house at Stokesley; came to Gainsborough a little before twelve, and preached immediately; then rode on to Whitby, and preached at seven." Writing from Dumfries, on June 1st 1790, he says, "I doubt I shall not recover my strength till I use the noble medicine, preaching in the morning." Well may Mr Bunting exclaim, "To think of early morning preaching"—i.e., at five A.M.—"curing the ailments of a man in the eighty-eighth year of his age!" All the pages at our disposal might be filled with similar illustrations of this splendid capacity for work.

And these labours of Wesley and his confreres were carried on amid many outward discomforts. We have referred to the persecutions which they endured, but they had other hardships to encounter. "Brother Nelson," said Wesley, one morning about three o'clock, to his companion, as they lay on the floor, where they had lain every night for near three weeks, one of them having a greatcoat for a pillow, and the other "Burkitt's Notes on the New Testament;" "Brother Nelson, let us be of good cheer, I have one whole side yet, for the skin is off but on one side." Then look at Mr Thomas Taylor, paying 3s. a week for room, fire, and attendance in Glasgow, often telling the landlady not to provide anything for dinner, dressing himself a

little before noon, and walking out, then coming in to his "hungry room with a hungry belly," thus making her think that he had dined out, and so saving his credit. We read of an entry in the society book of a certain city to this effect, "7s. 6d. for turning the assistant preacher's coat to make it fit the second preacher." In the Bradford Circuit book for 1770, the whole annual income of the preacher for food, clothes, books, and all other necessities, *for himself and his family*, is stated to be less than L.33. Assuredly it could not be for filthy lucre that *any* man, educated or not, could engage in a work of which the wages amounted to such a pittance as this. These circumstances made the hard work of the early Methodist preachers harder still. Yet we find Wesley labouring after the fashion now indicated, from day to day, and from year to year, through more than half a century. It is truly a noble spectacle to contemplate, such a long lifetime of toil expended in such a cause. We must not, of course, say that it absolutely *deserved* success, but we do say that it was the most likely of all things to obtain it.

And when treating of this subject, we may observe that the example of Wesley has been extensively followed by his successors. No one, indeed, will affirm that they have universally or generally manifested a zeal and assiduity equal to his. Had they done so, there would scarcely, we believe, have been at this moment, a man, woman, or child, in England, ignorant of the way of salvation. This, however, was not to be expected. Men like Wesley are not so rife. But the volume before us contains ample evidence of the possession by others of an admirable aptitude for work. "My circuit," wrote John Bennet in 1750, "is one hundred and fifty miles in two weeks, during which time I preach thirty-four times, besides meeting the societies and visiting the sick," p. 3. Half a century later, "Brother Solomon Ashton" describes his *walks* and labours in the Lancaster circuit. "Eighty-two miles and eleven sermons the first week; forty-three miles and nine sermons the second," and so on. "This," he adds, "was my first month's work on foot. The fatigue of walking and talking, rain by day, damp beds by night, etc., have caused me to suffer very much in health," p. 123. During the two years which young Bunting spent in the Oldham circuit, "he preached six hundred and twenty-eight times in his own circuit, and twenty-two times out of it," p. 126. In his four years of probation, "he preached thirteen hundred and forty-eight times," p. 149. We are told of an old gentleman, still surviving, who "walked with Adam Clarke, during the three years of his residence in London, six thousand miles, heard him preach nine hundred sermons (eight hundred and ninety-eight of which were from different texts)." Work like this carried on

for a long course of years, and over the whole empire, could not fail, by the blessing of God, to be extensively successful.

In sketching, however rapidly, the history of Methodism, one loves to linger upon the character and career of Wesley. He lived so long, and bulked so large, that it is not easy to lose sight of him. Fettered as he was by his devoted allegiance to the Church of England, hampered and hindered as was his rare talent for organising, by the fear of invading existing ecclesiastical authority, yet impelled irresistibly onwards by his ardent zeal for the conversion of sinners, and his anxious concern for the growth in grace of his converts, this great evangelist went resolutely on, doing most energetically the work to which he felt himself called, preaching the Gospel, tending and training his spiritual children, and providing for the oversight and government of his rapidly multiplying societies. We follow his footsteps with unflagging interest for upwards of sixty years, from the days of the "godly club" at Oxford, onwards to the time when, in 1790, he presided over his last Conference, and when the circuits in the British dominions numbered 119, served by 313 preachers, and comprising 77,000 members; and, in addition to these, there were 97 circuits, 198 preachers, and 43,000 members in the United States. With what feelings must the venerable Wesley have contemplated the prodigious results of his apostolic labours! Before another Conference, he had entered into his rest and reward; and when *at length* he rested from his labours, of few men that ever lived could it be said with so much truth and emphasis, that "his works do follow him." "There may come a time," said Southey, some forty years ago, "when the name of Wesley will be more generally known, and in remoter regions of the globe, than that of Frederic or of Catherine." Assuredly that time has already come.

Wesley passed away; but the vast mechanism which he had constructed did not fall in pieces or come to a stand. The hopes of enemies, and the fears of friends, were alike disappointed. Another Wesley, indeed, could not be found, nor could any one stand in the same relation to the societies which he had formed. It was impossible, therefore, to perpetuate such an autocracy as he had exercised, and if it had been possible, it would not have been desirable. But the conference which had met annually for almost half a century, through which, and in whose name, Wesley had governed the societies, and which he had formally designated, by the legal Deed of Declaration, his successors in power, now firmly grasped—if we must not say the *sceptre*—at least the *helm*, and the good ship moved steadily forward in her course. She did not, indeed, escape some stiff gales, which now and then rent a sail, and snapped a spar, and on more than one occasion

severely tested the sea-worthiness of the vessel, but she bore bravely on ; and though she sometimes reeled and staggered in the storm, she never foundered, nor, though once or twice very near the breakers, did she ever run aground.

In looking at Methodism after the death of Wesley, we miss, of course, the grand central figure—the master-spirit which had so long directed all its movements ; and the men whom he left behind must have missed him much more. They would feel every hour the want of his sagacity and authority in counsel, his skill and promptitude in administration, his energy and unquenchable ardour in action. But it was not merely that his seat of supremacy was empty, and that the blank was sorely felt. There were grave questions, which a respectful deference to his feelings and authority had kept in abeyance while he lived, and, we were about to say, *reigned*, which now urgently clamoured for a settlement. Were the tens of thousands who had grown up in the bosom of Methodist families, or had been converted by Methodist preachers, both of which classes had scarcely known, and had never valued any other religious services than those held in Methodist chapels—were they still to profess a nominal adherence to the Church of England, and were they to deny themselves, or suffer themselves to be deprived of sealing ordinances within what they could not but esteem their *own* communion ? They had in the Wesleyan preachers the only ministers of the Gospel from whom they had ever derived spiritual benefit ; were they to go to others, of whom they knew nothing, and who might possibly refuse and repel them, for the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper ? They had hitherto yielded to Mr Wesley's wishes ; but was the glaring anomaly to continue ? In short, was Wesleyan Methodism to be a *church*, or was it to be a mere appendage or supplement to the English Establishment. The moment was critical, the question vital. Warm and wide-spread discussion took place as to whether the sacraments should be administered in Wesleyan chapels, and by Wesleyan preachers ; and it required all the cautious wisdom of the Conference to prevent an explosion. The danger was averted by the adoption of a prudent " Plan of Pacification," which permitted, under certain regulations, the sacraments to be administered ; and thus was Wesleyan Methodism launched as a distinct and independent branch of the Church of Christ.

Then came the controversy raised by Alexander Kilham regarding the infusion of the lay element into Wesleyan legislation, and the admission of the people to share in the management of all Connexional affairs. A small secession was the immediate result ; but often since that period has the struggle been renewed.

It was while these controversies were going on, that young JABEZ BUNTING began to look with an inquiring and intelligent eye at the working of Methodism. And so controlling did his influence speedily become, that his biography will be found to include the history of the Connexion for more than half a century. "During this period," says Grindrod, in his "Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Methodism;" referring to the thirty years preceding 1841—and the remark would be equally applicable to the subsequent fifteen years—"Our legislation bears intrinsic evidence of being the production of one superior mind; other parties may have contributed original suggestions and emendations; but it is obvious that one master-hand, for the last generation, has framed the great majority of the acts of our Conference. Besides many minor regulations dispersed through our annual minutes, the invaluable system of finance, particularly in the department of the Contingent Fund, the entire constitution of the Missionary Society, of the Theological Institution, and of our Sunday schools, were framed by the same honoured minister."—*Introduction*, p. xv. Of course, the "honoured minister" referred to can be none other than Dr Bunting; and we shall find, that the services here indicated form only a small, though in themselves important part of what he did for Methodism, during his long and active career. On the occasion of his death, the Irish Conference spoke of him as the "ever-to-be-venerated Jabez Bunting." The French Conference say, "A great moral light has disappeared in England; a sun has set among you." And the British Conference reply, "In the death of Dr Bunting we have lost our wisest counsellor and our most able defender." And, in the minute upon his death, this sentence occurs: "The most precious gifts of nature, rich and copious endowments of heavenly grace, and a favourable conjunction of providential circumstances, improved with extraordinary faithfulness and diligence, made him, during more than half a century, whether in or out of office, 'more honourable than his brethren,' in a degree at once wonderful and indubitable."—*Minutes of Conference*, 1858. Such was the estimation in which Dr Bunting was held in his own Connection. We might fill pages with similar testimonies from eminent men in other communions. We content ourselves, for brevity's sake, with quoting one of the pithiest and most comprehensive of them all, viz. that in which Dr Chalmers pronounced him to be "one of the best and wisest of men."

Dr Bunting owed little of his fame or his high position to his published writings, for these were exceedingly few and unobtrusive. But as a man of action and counsel, as a preacher and debater, as a ruler of men and administrator of affairs, and

consequently, as a man of weight and momentum, of power and influence, he was without a rival in the Wesleyan Connexion since the days of its founder. It cannot be uninteresting, and it ought not to be un instructive, to trace the career of the individual who left his mark so deeply engraven upon the whole system of Methodism, and through it upon the world at large. We must confine ourselves to the more prominent incidents recorded in this Memoir; or those which may seem best fitted to illustrate the character of the man, or the distinguishing features of the religious community to which he belonged, and of the times in which he lived. We hoped and expected to have had the completed biography in our hands before commencing this article; but we have still to regret the want of that part of the work which, of necessity, will specially treat of the public life of Dr Bunting. While, however, the absence of this volume is, in one sense, the more to be regretted on account of the prominence and publicity of the topics of which it will have to treat; in another, it is of less moment on that very account, inasmuch as the leading incidents which it will record, are already before the world,—and the part which the principal actor performed, is tolerably well-known, or may be readily ascertained from other sources. Besides, apart from the subjects with which the next volume must deal, and upon which we can only touch slightly at present, we shall find, in the portion of the Memoir already published, ample materials to occupy all the remaining space at our disposal.

Jabez Bunting was born at Manchester in 1779. "Of my father's ancestors," says the biographer, "I read in quiet churchyards in the Peak of Derbyshire, the simple story that they lived and died." And in connection with this we have, at the outset, one of the many genial and suggestive remarks in which this volume abounds. "It was soon after the birth" of Mary Redfern, Dr Bunting's mother, "that the first Methodist preachers began their mission in the Peak. Wesley had sent them, not so much to the masses, already partially supplied with Christian ordinances, as to those 'who needed them most;' and on many a broad parish, and into many a dark hamlet throughout the land, the doctrine of a personal, happy, and active religion, flashed as with the brightness of a new revelation from heaven. In this age of great cities, let not the claims of the few and destitute be forgotten; of the plain and impressible country-folk, who still form the strength and staple of the English people. Such was one of the latest counsels bequeathed by Jabez Bunting to his successors in the work of Methodism."—P. 2.

Mary Redfern heard Richard Boardman preach from the text, "And Jabez was more honourable than his brethren, etc.,"

1 Chron. iv. 9, 10. That sermon made a deep and lasting impression upon the maiden; and ten years afterwards, she gave the name Jabez "to her first and only son, a solemn record of her pious gratitude, and a presage, not then understood, of his future character and history," p. 9. Of this estimable woman it is recorded,—and but for the feminine noun and pronoun, one might fancy that the description was designed for her son,—“She was a women of excellent judgment, quick perception, firm will, and very active habits; and if somewhat haughty, was yet of a generous and tender spirit. Grace subdued her pride, and sanctified her various faculties to the service of God in her own vocation,” p. 15. A mother like this would train her son wisely and well; and among other amiable traits in that son's character, were the sentiments of profound gratitude, and respect, and affection, which he cherished for his mother. “Before his marriage, he regularly gave her one-half of his income; which, board and lodging being provided for him wherever he chanced to reside, never amounted to twenty pounds a-year. In his poorest and most pinching days afterwards,—if, indeed, they can be distinguished from the rest,—he took upon him the sole charge of eking out her scanty resources, so as to provide her with comforts at least equal to his own,” p. 16.

Mary Redfern's husband and Jabez Bunting's father, was a tailor by trade, a Methodist in religion, and a radical in politics. For a tailor to be a radical is nothing extraordinary; but a radical *Wesleyan* tailor is, we presume, a phenomenon much less frequently met with.

The only memorable circumstance recorded of Bunting's infancy, is his being taken by his mother to be presented to Wesley, in Oldham Street Chapel, and his being devoutly blessed by the venerable apostle. Wesley, we have said, had no successor in the government of his societies; but if any one was ever to make an approach to his lofty position, the child who then received his benediction was to be the man. The parents of Jabez Bunting gave him a superior education. We read that at the school which he attended for several years, “the Septuagint and the Greek Testament; the Greek and Latin Classics; English, Greek, and Latin composition, both in prose and verse; the translation of French; the Psalter in Hebrew; the correct and emphatic reading and recitation of English; Geography; Astronomy; and the elements of Natural Philosophy, were all included in the *curriculum* through which he passed,” p. 25. We must not lay too much stress upon the circumstance of all these subjects of study being in *the curriculum*, for from what we know of such schools in England, we surmise that putting them *there* and getting them into the heads

of the pupils, are two very different things. But there can be no doubt, that the young scholar was diligent and successful in his studies, and became—Methodist as he was—a favourite both with his schoolfellows and his teacher.

Introductory to the account of Jabez Bunting's conversion, we have a paragraph on the subject of baptismal regeneration, which we do not altogether comprehend, and which we may say, is the only passage in the volume with respect to which we are in this uncomfortable predicament. Then we are informed how the mother watched, with anxious and prayerful longing, for tokens of grace in her son, and how, at length, in his sixteenth year, the fervent desire of her heart was satisfied. Joseph Benson's preaching had deeply impressed his soul; and Alexander Mather's discipline, accompanied by a solemn word from his mother, brought him to a decision. He joined the society; and on his first ticket of membership, prepared and printed in London, he formed a part of the prayer of Jabez, "Oh that Thou wouldest bless me indeed, and that Thou wouldest keep me from evil!" "I can imagine him," says the biographer, "taking it home and showing it to his mother, but scarcely how she felt when she read it."—P. 39.

At the age of sixteen he entered the house of Dr Percival, a distinguished Manchester physician, to act as the doctor's amanuensis, and at the same time to acquire a knowledge of his profession. This arrangement promised great worldly advantages to the young pupil; but his careful mother stipulated that he should sleep at home, "thus gently detaining him under the spell of domestic piety." With Dr Percival he read and conversed upon all subjects, wrote extensively to his dictation, studied general literature, and "familiarized himself with the discussion of public events, in their relation to order, happiness, and religion." He associated on free and friendly terms with the intelligent and well-bred visitors of the family; and this intercourse, acting upon the substratum of his own inherent good feeling and good sense, communicated insensibly that politeness and polish which sat so gracefully upon him, and which led some one, in after years, to say of him, with reference to Wesley's injunction to his preachers, not to "affect the gentleman," "Dr Bunting does not *affect* the gentleman, he is one." "Altogether," says the biographer, "he was, by the time he attained his twentieth year, a man ripe for the business of life; with well-trying tools in well-skilled hands, ready for use in whatever kind of speculative or practical labour he might be called to follow. Best of all sciences, he had learned thoroughly how to work."—P. 53.

It would be mere pedantry to deny that the training through which young Bunting passed comprised in it many of the ele-

ments of a really *good* education ; yet it would not be fair, either to the author or the subject of this biography, to refrain from quoting the candid and sensible view taken by both, of the importance of a strictly professional training to a minister of the Gospel : “ It is impossible to repress a feeling of regret that he was not subjected to courses of study more directly relating to the sacred calling. He himself always mourned over his irreparable lack of such an advantage.”—P. 49.

At the age of seventeen he founded a young men's religious society, which exercised and strengthened both his gifts and graces, and soon he became a regular “ prayer-leader.” And here occurs a beautiful passage, for which we must make room, both on account of what it tells of the Methodism of the period, and the hint which it furnishes to other churches in dealing with what is confessedly one of the greatest and most difficult of problems, “ the evangelization of the masses.” “ In those days the main strength and efforts of zealous young Methodists were spent upon the adult rather than upon the young ; and Manchester was pervaded by a system of prayer-meetings, held principally after chapel hours, on Sunday evenings, by means of which the “ water of life,” fresh from the fountain of the sanctuary, was carried to large multitudes of people, who themselves never fetched it. Small companies were collected together, generally in cottages ; and the simple services attracted ready and general sympathy. Short hymns, short prayers, and short, but earnest addresses—exercises suited, not to the stated worship of the church, but to the awakening of ignorant and careless sinners, roused the attention of the people ; and a respect for religion was induced, where its power was unknown, or but little felt. At these meetings, too, many who longed for the privileges of the Sabbath, but busy, persecuted, or ashamed of ragged poverty, habitually went without them, hailed its dawn as its curfew sounded ; and while the bell rang out the day, seized eagerly its evening blessing. And great was the advantage realized by those who led the humble devotions. It was the drill of the private : it was that and much more to those who were thereafter to head the armies of Israel. City missions are a great modern institute ; but the agency of which I now speak, is something even simpler and more extensive, and bores more deeply and directly into the lowest strata of society. It is not the casual, nor even the periodical visit, however useful, of the hired missionary, but the erection, in every lane and alley, of the standard of Gospel ordinances. And all of average intelligence may, under proper regulations, engage in this work. It requires no pecuniary outlay ; it may be set about the very next Sunday evening ; and, even when conducted on the largest scale, it is

happily disencumbered of all that apparatus of wheel and weight which impedes so many efforts to do good."—Pp. 66, 67.

When he had completed his nineteenth year, Jabez Bunting, without at once abandoning the study of medicine, began to act as a local preacher. Some who heard his first sermon in a cottage, always maintained, that it was never excelled by him afterwards, "either as to its matter, manner, or manifest effect." But the biographer anxiously and wisely interposes the remark, that this "early popularity and influence were due, not so much to his rare talents, as to his careful cultivation of them." "And thus," he adds, in that quiet vein of caustic humour in which he sometimes indulges, "those in every position to whom 'much,' and those to whom 'little is given'—all, indeed, except the men who, having little, think it so much, that they do not care to make the most of it, may learn a profitable lesson."—P. 96.

But the all-important question had now to be decided, Was this young man to prosecute his medical studies, and become a Manchester physician, with, probably, an extensive practice and a large income, or was he to devote his life to the hard, and pecuniarily ill-requited work of the Wesleyan ministry? And in dealing with this question, we have a striking and characteristic specimen of his manner of looking at a subject in all its bearings, stating the reasons *pro* and *con* with great candour and distinctness, numbering them in order, 1, 2, 3, etc., and calmly and deliberately making up his mind as to the course of duty, ready and resolved to adopt *that*, at whatever cost. Happily, if not in number, at least in weight, the reasons in favour of the ministry preponderated, and cheerfully, and without a murmur, surrendering the prospects of affluence which were opening before him, he embraced the profession in which he was persuaded he should be "most happy and most useful;" and in 1799 he set out on foot for Oldham, on his first circuit, as a probationer, carrying his luggage in a pair of saddle-bags, his uncle and class-leader, Joseph Redfern, walking with him some distance, and at a lone spot on the road, kneeling down, and asking the blessing of God upon the young preacher.

Along with notices of his pulpit and pastoral labours, we have the characteristic tradition, that even at that early period he "stood by his order." He refused to retire from a quarterly meeting, as the preacher had been expected to do, during the discussion of certain questions; and it was indignantly remarked, that "a good old rule had that day been set aside, to please that proud son of Adam, Jabez Bunting."

From Oldham he went to Macclesfield, where he completed his four years' term of probation. We have quoted a passage referring to the operations of Methodism among the scattered

population of rural districts; it is but just to quote another, which speaks of its no less effective labours in the midst of the densely peopled manufacturing towns:—

“Macclesfield, like Manchester, and other towns in the district, was then rising rapidly into importance as a great seat of industry; and, during the latter half of the last century, Methodism seized as its own, though not with a selfish exclusiveness, the places where men gathered thickly together. The historians of our country have failed to tell how Methodism, with its simple agencies for the conversion of the common people, attended upon the rise of the manufacturing system; and in the dearth or famine of all other provision, made safe and beneficial the vast and sudden increase of the population, and of its means of wealth.”—P. 155.

It certainly would not be easy to estimate, though it is a pleasure to acknowledge, the deep debt which the nation owes to Wesleyan Methodism, for its services to the ever-accumulating swarms of our mining and manufacturing population.

While at Macclesfield, we learn that this popular young Methodist preacher was offered Episcopal orders and an incumbency, but that “he promptly rejected all such overtures.” It is vain to speculate upon what might have followed if they had been accepted. One thing is tolerably clear, that with the existing constitution of the Church of England, and the obstructions to a leading mind making its influence felt through all her borders, Methodism would have lost more by Bunting’s conformity than the Episcopal Church would have gained; and as to himself, instead of the Dr Bunting with whose name and fame the distant isles of the sea are familiar, he would have dwindled into a comfortable, creditable rector, useful to his parishioners, and perhaps rather troublesome to his bishop, from a stubborn propensity to judge for himself and to take his own way. He did well—for others and for himself—to remain where he was.

We are told that at this time “the pulpit received his first attention, not so much because its claims were instant and almost daily, as because he knew that the secret of ministerial influence lies chiefly there. He never missed an opportunity of hearing a sermon. He carefully copied and preserved skeletons and sketches. His own preparations were full and elaborate, and were subjected to continual revision,” p. 148. As the period of his probation drew to a close, we find preparations of another kind. “Every Methodist preacher, when his probation has ended, and he is fully received and recognised as a minister, but not before, is entitled to charge the Connexion with the maintenance of a wife,” p. 149. The curious record drawn up on the occasion is frankly given by the biographer, with the

very just remark, that "it supplies many suggestions to young ministers whose thoughts may be similarly occupied; and it is a striking exhibition of the writer's characteristic qualities." For the latter reason, if not for the former, we greatly value the record; and if our space had permitted, we should gladly have transferred it to our pages for our readers' gratification and benefit, both as "supplying suggestions to those whose thoughts may be similarly occupied," and as being highly characteristic of the subject of this memoir. There is first of all a clear statement of the question at issue, and, for a lover, a marvellously calm and candid discussion of it; and combined with all this, there is manifest throughout a quiet but thorough determination to do whatever should be seen to be the *right* thing. "There are two questions," he says, "to be seriously considered. May God graciously direct my paths, and enable me to judge aright! 1. The first question is *general*, viz., *Shall I marry, or take any step toward marriage at present?*" Then he states in order what may be urged, first, on the *affirmative* side, and, secondly, on the *negative* side of this general question, and concludes—"After the most deliberate consideration, accompanied with solemn abstinence and prayer, my judgment is that the balance of argument is greatly in favour of matrimony as soon as convenient;" and in vindication of the soundness of this conclusion, he proceeds quietly and effectually to demolish and pound to atoms the whole array of objections to the step. But then comes a *second* question: "Is Miss —— a proper person to be addressed by me on the subject?" Then follow ten good strong reasons *in favour* of the proposed application, and six weak ones *against* it. No one can doubt for a moment either what the decision is to be, or that in arriving at it strong affection was linked to and controlled by a still stronger sense of duty. We cannot help saying that the portrait of the lady in question, drawn by the hand of her son, is one of the most exquisite of the many charming sketches of this fascinating volume.

Immediately on being "received into full connexion," young Bunting was stationed in London. We have from the pen of the venerable Dr Leifchild a beautiful notice of him as he appeared at that period. The writer speaks of him as "calm and self-possessed in the pulpit," of the "clear and commanding tones of his voice," of "the flow of strong manly sense in his sermons;" and dwells upon that singular richness and fervency of prayer which even then characterised him, and for which he was all his life remarkable. "I was charmed and delighted while I was instructed. Never before had I heard such preaching. Other preachers, indeed, excelled him in some points, but none that I ever heard equalled him as a whole."—P. 166.

Fortunately we have the benefit of the letters which at this time he wrote to his betrothed, and are thus admitted to the privacy of his inmost thoughts, as well as to the inspection of his daily work. And we must say, that the perusal of these letters, written in such circumstances, greatly enhance our estimate of his piety and devotedness, his warmth of heart, soundness of judgment, sterling good sense, and the manliness, and worth, and weight of his whole character. At a still earlier period, we find this young man writing to one of his most intimate associates in terms which, for friendliness and fidelity, we consider too characteristic and remarkable to omit:—"As I am never likely to be able in any other way to testify my grateful sense of the obligations under which your friendship has placed me, I will endeavour to do it by acting towards you the part of a faithful friend, if I should ever have the pain to see you, while busied about many things, grow weary and faint in your mind concerning the one thing needful. I entreat you to perform the same brotherly office towards me, and to watch over me in love."—P. 140.

In the letters from London, we have many similar utterances of mingled affection and faithfulness, and many curious glimpses of the life of a Methodist preacher in the metropolis half a century ago. Among other things, the writer refers frequently and feelingly, though, we must say, in a different strain from that which John Wesley was wont to use, to the early morning preaching, at five o'clock. For example:—"Thursday evening, September 8th. I was so weary and drowsy this morning at five o'clock, that though I heard Mr Taylor going out to preach, I had neither curiosity enough nor piety enough to rise and hear him. Tomorrow I must be up, as it will be my own turn to conduct the early devotions of the sanctuary." But alas! the resolution had no better fate than many other *evening* resolutions of early rising, for we find it recorded next day—"I was very unfortunate this morning. I did not rise, for I did not wake, after day-light appeared, until half-past five o'clock. However, it does not appear to have been of much consequence. They seem to have been accustomed to such disappointments for some years; so that when Mr Taylor preached yesterday, and informed them that they might expect me this morning, Mr Lovelace, an old worn-out barrister, could not help expressing his belief that 'now there would be a revival in London, for there had been little good done since the morning preaching had been discontinued; and that the abandonment of this practice was the true cause of the present war.'" On this unlucky morning the extraordinary number of *twenty-one* had assembled to hear the new preacher. The average attendance seems to have ranged from

eight to thirteen. "This seems to be the *ne plus ultra*, beyond which the attractions of my morning eloquence cannot avail." And he adds, in plain terms, "I view this service as a complete work of supererogation." Shade of Wesley! has it come to this? Seriously, however, we must confess that, looking at the change in the usages of society, we are entirely of young Bunting's opinion.

His old love for hearing sermons—so that they were not preached at five in the morning—remained strong within him. And very interesting are the notices which he gives of various celebrities of the period; some of them long since departed, and others but recently withdrawn from us, but *all* of them now gone. For example:—"After finishing my letters, I hastened to St Mary Woolnoth, and had the pleasure of seeing and hearing, for the first time, the rector, Mr Newton, 'venerable in virtues as in age.' He appears to be quite worn out, and tottering over the brink of the grave. His text was, 'Rejoice the soul of Thy servant.' There was nothing particularly interesting in his sermon, except as viewed in connection with the character and circumstances of the preacher. I love to hear old ministers."—P. 181. Again: "I went to Surrey Chapel, and heard a sort of lecture from Mr Jay. Few preachers are able to extort tears from me, but he conquered me. When I hear such preaching as Mr Jay's I am always ashamed of myself, and wonder that the people should ever like to listen to my poor swashy sermons."—*Ibid.* Again: "We went to hear Mr Cecil. On the whole, I was very much delighted, though I acknowledge the justice of a critique on Mr Cecil as a preacher, made in my hearing by Mr Symons, a pious clergyman. He said, 'Mr Cecil is a very wise preacher. He is a second Book of Ecclesiastes. Yet I should like him better, and he would do more good, if he were rather a Second Epistle to the Romans.'"—P. 217. One is disposed to smile at the terms in which the future financier of Methodism speaks of the steps—"bold, but certainly necessary"—which were taken about this time with respect to the management of the missionary funds. To us the *necessity* of the steps is much more obvious than the *boldness*, though we doubt not that, to a Methodist of that day, the boldness would seem much more palpable than the necessity. Hitherto the whole direction of this, as of all other *Connexional*, as distinct from *local*, funds, had been entrusted to, or assumed by, the preachers, or rather the Conference. The very gentlest and most limited infusion of the lay element was now attempted. "A committee of finance and advice" was appointed, and on that committee a few trusted laymen were placed. In a previous enactment, that circuit stewards should have a right to be present at the meetings of the district,

and to *advise* at the settlement of all *financial* matters ; and in the appointment, in 1803, of the committee, “ to guard our religious privileges in these perilous times,” of which the majority happened to be laymen, and one a *representative*, viz., the general steward of the London Circuit *for the time being* ;—in these provisions is here traced the germ of the present financial policy of the Connexion,—a policy which, it is remarked, Jabez Bunting did not then conjecture “ was to be distinctively and emphatically his own.” As to missions, the “ bold” measure of appointing a committee, in which there were a *few* laymen, issued at next Conference in the appointment of a committee, composed exclusively of preachers, “ as *they choose* to manage their missions in future only by their general superintendent, and a committee chosen out of their own body.” “ So ended,” says Mr Bunting, “ my father’s first essay at developing the constitution of Methodism.”

Jabez Bunting’s next “essay” in a matter of public interest was not more successful. We find him, young as he still was, voted into the chair at a meeting of ministers of various denominations, for the purpose of establishing a Review, on the basis of “ the doctrinal articles of the Church of England,” but free from sectarian principles and peculiarities, for the defence and advancement of a common Christianity. The experiment failed. The Review—the *Eclectic*—was established, but its basis soon became less broad and catholic. The age was not ripe for the enterprise as originally planned, and other circumstances tended to render the well-meant design abortive. Wesleyan Methodists were not regarded with cordiality, either by the Nonconformists on the one hand, or by any section of the Established Church on the other. But Mr Bunting points out, in a very striking passage, that there was a still more serious difficulty. “ The frozen Establishment had begun to thaw, and, waking and warming into conscious life, had stretched its limbs, had begun to look about it, and discovering its powers, had displayed them in the sight of friend and foe. ‘ The common people’ always ‘ heard it gladly,’ and its parochial system gave it a quick, firm, and simultaneous grasp upon the entire country. No wonder, then, that those who thought they discerned in all state churches a tendency to evil rather than to good, were startled when they saw the Church of England in downright earnest, and would not feign friendship when they felt nothing but suspicion and dread. So it came to pass, that when this strong man became a rejoicing competitor in the race for usefulness, and Methodism running all the faster, yet breathed out a welcome, bade him play fairly, and wished him quickly at the goal, the old Dissent stopped and questioned, saying now, that the strange racer carried too much weight, and now, that he had undue advantage ; all which little

heeding, he went on his way, and, as many think, got a fair century's start of those who tried to hinder him. But may all win!"—Pp. 237, 238. We are told that from this incident Dr Bunting learned the lesson of caution respecting schemes of united action among Christians of different denominations, looking at them *keenly* rather than *coldly*; and while cordially supporting such institutions as the Bible Society and City Missions, and becoming an attached member of the Evangelical Alliance, as a manifestation of the substantial unity of Christians; yet, when a specific course of action was proposed, preferring that it should be carried on under the recognised direction and responsibility of some one branch of the Church of Christ.

When Jabez Bunting left London, after a residence of two years, at the early age of twenty-six, he was already a man of mark and high standing in the Connexion, and was looked upon as rapidly rising to the foremost place. In such a body, a young minister with his power in the pulpit, his general intelligence, his energy and fearlessness, his admirable good sense, his turn for business, and his over-mastering force of will, could never rest in a position of mediocrity.

His next circuit was Manchester, where he was distinguished for "*that active, every-day discharge of the duties of a Methodist preacher, which is the best preparative for the general service of Methodism.*" We may extend very widely this just remark, and say, generally or universally, that the best preparative for our next sphere, whatever that may be, is the thorough and conscientious performance of the duties of our present one, whatever *that* may be.

He was now a family man, yet his annual income, from all professional sources, did not, we find, exceed L.83. His letter to the Income-Tax Commissioners brings before us the Wesleyan system of ministerial support. "The societies do not support their ministers, as is usual among other religious denominations, by fixed and regular salaries; but by sundry small allowances, which differ considerably in different places, and which are varied, from time to time, according to the actual wants of the preachers, and in proportion to the number and necessities of their families." No wise man, familiar with the difficulties which beset this subject, and looking at the peculiar system of itinerancy subsisting in the Methodist Connexion, will venture captiously to criticise this method of supporting the ministry. We already know in part, and we hope to learn more in detail in the second volume, how Dr Bunting laboured to ameliorate the pecuniary condition of Wesleyan ministers and their children. It is understood that Wesley's old rule of a penny a week and a shilling a quarter from each member, afforded important hints to Dr Chalmers

when devising the system of Free Church "economics," and that he anxiously consulted with Dr Bunting on the subject. We are confident that, in so far as the different circumstances of the two churches would permit the application to the one of the experience of the other, the suggestions of the great Wesleyan financier and leader would be highly prized by his Presbyterian friend. Traces of the strong and steady hand and clear intelligence of Jabez Bunting, are to be found in the legislation of the Conference of 1807, as in the rule "insisting on the immediate emancipation of slaves belonging to any minister in the West Indies, or to his wife," that which regulates the jurisdiction of Conference considered as an appellate court, rather than a court of first instance, etc.

In his next circuit—Sheffield—he prosecuted vigorously his ministerial work, and, at the same time, looked around with a clear and comprehensive glance over the whole Connexion and all its affairs. His thoughts were now anxiously turned to the establishment of a collegiate institute for training young men for the ministry. He did not, indeed, advocate the systematic education of every man whom the grace and providence of God called to the work of the Methodist ministry; but he believed, as stated by his biographer, that "culture will, in most cases, improve both the flower and the fruit;" while at the same time he was ready to say, "If culture would weaken or destroy the plant, let it grow wild." After the persevering efforts of a quarter of a century, this object was at length accomplished. While in the Sheffield circuit, he strenuously assailed a practice which had come to be common among the Methodists in the north of England,—that of teaching writing in Sunday schools. How religious men and teachers of religion could reconcile this practice with the reverence for the Sabbath which they inculcated, it is not very easy to imagine. But so prevalent had the evil become, that it required all the commanding energy of Jabez Bunting to put it down; and, after his departure, it revived. His manner of dealing with this subject, and with some misunderstandings springing out of it, is highly characteristic; but we have not room for extracts.

As to his treatment of general Connexional affairs, we have the following succinct account:—"It was his policy to promote simultaneous improvements in all directions. Let the entrance to the ministry be still diligently guarded; let all the ancient usages of mutual inquiry and supervision, of itinerancy, and of sustentation, be sacredly preserved; let the standard of literary, theological, and religious attainment be made higher and more uniform; in short, let the ministry be such as should command, without controversy or reluctance, the recognition and confidence

of the people. But, at the same time, respect their rights," i.e., the rights of the people; "secure their services in every department not assigned by the New Testament exclusively to the minister or to the pastorate; relieve the clergy from a burden which was greater than they could bear, and from wretched suspicions, ill-natured insinuations, and bitter calumnies; and pour the light of noon-day upon the smouldering fires of faction, so putting them out for ever. The two lines of action, so far from being diverse, were the two component parts of one complete and comprehensive system; and, as each was steadily and prudently pursued, it promoted and secured the other."—Pp. 360, 361.

When Lord Sidmouth proposed his nefarious Bill for *amending* the Toleration Act, Jabez Bunting stood boldly forward in opposition to the measure. It was in connection with this subject that he was first brought into contact with Richard Watson, and a friendship was begun which may truly be said to have been productive of momentous consequences to millions of the human race.

With the Conference of 1811 the first volume of this most interesting memoir closes, leaving its subject moving steadily upward to his inevitable pre-eminence,—a pre-eminence which was rather yielded to him than arrogated,—rather made over to him and recognised as being his by right of merit than ambitiously grasped at or eagerly assumed; and which, if referred to in Conference, must have been spoken of under another name than pre-eminence or supremacy.

The rest of Dr Bunting's long and active career was passed, to a large extent, in the full view of the religious world. This will not make the second volume less welcome,—it only renders it less *necessary* for filling up the sketch of his life and character. Such a sketch we had designed to present; but our rapidly narrowing limits compel us to touch very slightly upon the subsequent events of his history, and to satisfy ourselves with indicating, in a very general way, some of the leading topics with which the coming volume will have to deal. It will exhibit the subject of the memoir in 1812—so early *for him* and so late *for the transaction*—taking a prominent part in procuring the passing of the law which repealed the *Five Mile* and *Conventicle* Acts, and which adjusted the relations of Non-conformists to the state; and, about the same time, zealously and energetically supporting the movement for opening India to Christianity. It will present him before us projecting that mighty enterprise, the establishment of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and, in conjunction with Morley, Watson, and others, presiding over its inauguration,—an event fraught with unspeakably important consequences and blessed results to myriads of mankind. We look for interesting details regarding Dr Bunt-

ing's resolute adherence to the Anti-slavery Society at all hazards and at whatever cost; of his labours as editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and the new and high tone which he imparted to the Connexional literature; of his advocacy of Catholic emancipation in opposition to the views of almost every minister and member of the religious body to which he belonged; of his other opinions and actings with respect to important measures of state policy; and of his London life when permanently located in the metropolis as missionary secretary, being now beyond all question the foremost man and the recognized representative of Wesleyan Methodism, and as such mingling in and influencing all the prominent religious movements of his time. We shall doubtless hear of his undisputed and skilful leadership of the Wesleyan counsels and Conference for the long period of thirty years,—of his great power in debate and singular administrative talent, and the profound respect and deference paid to him throughout the Connexion. And when this is spoken of, we shall not be surprised if we find it acknowledged in this frank and candid biography, that the great man before us had his failings,—that, for instance, there might occasionally be some reason for the offence which was now and then taken at the scathing sarcasms flung abroad in hot discussions, and that some of the complaints of imperiousness and arrogance which at one time were so rife, may possibly not have been altogether destitute of foundation. The faithful biographer of Luther would have to make the same admission. But it will also be shown that his immovable adherence to the position which he took up so resolutely, and defended so stoutly or so sternly, was never for a moment linked to any mean or paltry scheme for his own aggrandisement. The narrative will, we believe, make it clear, that if Jabez Bunting had a giant's strength, and sometimes used it like a giant, he was only wielding not merely the influence which he had fairly won, but what his brethren had almost thrust upon him, and that all was done with a pure and single eye to the prosperity of the Wesleyanism which he so fondly loved. Among the many tributes to Dr Bunting which we have seen, one of the most masterly is that which appeared some twenty years ago in an extremely clever book, with the foolish title of "*Wesleyan Takings*," from which we extract a passage bearing upon this particular feature of character. And we quote from this sketch the more readily, that it is understood to have been drawn by a very decided opponent of Dr Bunting's policy, one of the leaders of the recent large secession from the Wesleyan ranks, Mr Everett. After speaking of the feelings of jealousy which had been excited by Dr Bunting's overwhelming influence in the Connexion, the writer proceeds:—

“All acquit him of selfishness; all unite in giving him credit for the purest motives; and when his proceedings are viewed in the aggregate, he will be found to be generally philanthropic in his views, feelings, and purposes. And we again inquire, How has he obtained such ascendancy in the body? Not by fraud, not by misconduct, but by lending his superior talents to promote the best interests of the Connexion. He has not satisfied himself with barely preaching, and quietly eating the bread of his labours; with pinning his mind down to the circuit in which he moved, like a fly whose prospect is bounded by the breakfast-table on which it alights; with taking Methodism as it had been handed to him, resolved to allow it to pass on in the same state: but he has taken an enlarged view of the whole; has looked upon Methodism as the mere creature of providential circumstances; and has been always on the watch for times and seasons, in order to mould its laws to the temper of the age—the changes and improvements experienced in society at large. He has kept his eye fixed on the working of the whole machinery, while others have attended to the rotatory motion of a single wheel; he has watched while others have slept; he has laboured while others have loitered. By attending to the interest of the whole, knowledge has poured in upon him from every quarter; men of inferior talent have committed their concerns into his hand; and now he reigns supreme, is equal to a king in Israel; with this security to the body—He is wise and good. No man was ever more useful—not Wesley himself—in the various offices he has sustained. He is, properly speaking, a man of business; not as it regards its bustle, for he might do more, but in the knowledge he brings to it, and the number of hands employed. The politics of Methodism have been his meat and drink, his daily study; and its laws and usages, subsequent to his entering upon public life, bear the impress of his mind.”—*Wesleyan Takings*, pp. 11, 12.

We confidently anticipate that the completed record of his public career will show that he honestly did all that he deemed the Methodist constitution permitted, and all that, within that range, the highest talent and the soundest judgment, combined with the most intimate acquaintance with every portion of the complicated Wesleyan machine, and the most ardent desire for its efficiency, could accomplish, both for the independence and authority of the ministry, and in the way of recognising the rights, and enlisting the sympathies, and utilizing the energies of the people; admitting them extensively into committees, and employing them freely not only in managing the secular affairs of the Connexion, but summoning as many of them as possible to the exercise of spiritual functions, as local preachers, class leaders, etc. And whatever difference of opinion may have existed, or may still exist, regarding Dr Bunting's policy, his biographer may well be permitted to point to the fact, that when he became a preacher, the members of the Wesleyan community, exclusive of those in

the United States, numbered 120,000, and that when he retired into private life, the number had swelled to upwards of 400,000; and this in spite of considerable secessions, and notwithstanding of the revived zeal of the Church of England, which Methodism had done so much to quicken and evoke, and which now provided for and absorbed multitudes who would otherwise have found their way into the Wesleyan ranks. And he may also point to the kindred fact, that the annual contributions from the Connexion for the support of missions to the heathen,—which, when Bunting originated the Missionary Society in 1813, amounted only to some L.5000, and when he assumed the management on Watson's death in 1833, had advanced to L.47,000,—reached, when he retired in 1851, the noble sum of upwards of L.100,000, with more than a hundred thousand converts enrolled as members of society. And in addition to all that Dr Bunting did for his own church, the biographer may point to his eminent services to the general cause of Christianity, and his readiness to aid what he believed to be the cause of truth and righteousness in communions far removed from his own, of which his ardent support of the Free Church movement in Scotland may serve as a specimen.

Of the manner in which the biographer has performed his part we can scarcely speak in too high terms. He has told the story of his father's life—so far as it has yet gone—with admirable tact, ability, and skill. This memoir is a singularly fresh and interesting work, containing much important information, and many valuable and suggestive remarks, and pervaded throughout by a genial, manly, Christian spirit, which it does one good to meet with. If we complain of anything, it is, that with exuberant good feeling the author has devoted too much space to sketches of his father's early friends. With all respect for these worthies, we must confess that we rather grudge them their room; and we shall be surprised if the biographer himself do not come, ere his next volume see the light, to be of our opinion. However, we condone the venial fault, partly because of the kindly feeling which led to it, and partly because these sketches are really very interesting in themselves, and are remarkably well executed. Altogether, we can express no better wish for Mr Bunting as an author, than that he may be as successful with his second volume as he has been with the first. He will have to touch some delicate connexional questions, and to walk "*per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*." But we have great confidence that he will step firmly and freely, yet gently; and that, by the frank and honest record of his father's actings and opinions, he will not stir the embers of former controversies, or give reasonable offence to any. And we are sure that he will have more to say of his warm affections, his

urbanity and genuine kindness of heart, his modesty and lofty disinterestedness while intolerant of selfishness and conceit in others, his quiet unostentatious demeanour as a Christian gentleman, with the easy dignity of a venerated Christian minister, and of his gentle and genial manners in the bosom of his family. And after tracing his career through many trying and some stormy scenes, the record will tell of the tranquillity of his latest years, and the honours which crowned his hoary head ; of the calm and peaceful evening in which his sun declined to its setting, and his happy death in the faith and hope of the Gospel. The author is rendering an important service to the universal Church,—to which, indeed, Dr Bunting belonged ; for, as Angell James said of him to some Wesleyan ministers, “He is *ours* as well as *yours*,”—and it is nothing more than the barest justice to the subject of the memoir that such a record should be drawn up. Jabez Bunting has left little in the world of letters to keep his name alive. And never do we look upon him with greater respect and reverence than when, with all his lofty aspirations, his refined literary taste, and his consciousness of the possession of powers which would have raised him to a lofty niche in the temple of Fame, we find him addressing a friend in these simple yet sublime words : “The die is cast. If I give to our missions the attention they require, I shall not have any time hereafter for literature.” His monument was to be of another kind. Standing in the centre of modern Methodism, and looking abroad upon its well-compacted institutions, or pointing to the distant isles of the sea, and the whole wide mission field of the Wesleyan Connexion, to churches rising in the spiritual waste, and Gospel light dispelling pagan darkness, he might have said—or the myriads who honour his name and memory may say for him, for he would have been the last to say it himself—“*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*” And in the world of literature this admirable biography will constitute Dr Bunting’s worthy and enduring memorial.

ART. VIII.—*Ceylon: An Account of the Island—Physical, Historical, and Topographical; with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities, and Productions.* By Sir JAMES EMERSON TENNENT, K.C.S., LL.D., etc. Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Drawings. Third Edition. London: Longmans and Co. 1859.

“I AM going Overland,” said a friend to us some months ago, when about to start for India, “and will write to you long accounts of Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, the Red Sea, Aden, and Calcutta.” Ceylon had not occurred to him. “We touch,” said another, “at Point de Galle, but I suppose there is not much to interest one there.” This ignorance of what turns out after all, to be for several reasons, the chief point of interest in the overland route, is almost universal, even among well educated men. It seems strange that it should be so, when works like those of Major Forbes, Dr Davy, Henry Marshall, and Dr Hoffmeister,¹ are easily accessible to all. The able work of Sir James Emerson Tennent will make this ignorance without excuse for the future. But if the traveller to India expects little at Point de Galle, his surprise and pleasure are all the greater when he finds himself amidst scenes from which he had not hoped for a new sensation. “It is now a week,” writes one friend, “since we sailed from that charming anchorage—Galle. Our approach to it had been magnificent. The coast, from the time we caught sight of it, was uninterruptedly beautiful. Stretches of bright yellow sand, intervals of rocky beach and low cliffs, with here and there craggy points and reefs running out into the sea, all adorned by a luxuriant forest of cocoa-nut trees and big-leaved plantains, the stems and roots of which are washed by the salt surf, meet the eye. The surf, too, greatly adds to the charms of the scenery. Its bright white masses ever and anon rise up out of the blue expanse, rush up the beach, or over the rocks, or up the cliffs to unaccountable heights, and then from those cliffs rejoining parent ocean in hundreds of white rills and pretty cascades. Nor does the beauty terminate in all this; for beyond the beach, and the groves of which we get a glimpse, and the thickly set native huts which stand out with an occasional smoky plume nodding over them, rise hills and swelling uplands all crowned with dense woods; while yet above all these are lofty mountains, looking grandly as their pointed summits reach towards the sky. In all my Continental wanderings

¹ *Travels in Ceylon, etc.* Translated from the German. Edinburgh: W. P. Kennedy. 1848.—In the list of works on Ceylon given by Sir J. E. Tennent, Hoffmeister's Travels are not mentioned. It is, however, full of most interesting information.

never had I seen anything so beautiful as this entrance to Point de Galle. The freshness, the luxuriance, the variety of outline in the scenery, the pretty bungalows peeping out from their embosoming groves, the streets with their deeply shaded side-ways, the avenues of great, old trees, the lovely and dazzling flowers of tropical shrubs and creepers, the bustle, animation, and perpetual movement of the Singhalese in their grey-toned garments, all conspire to excite and to interest. Above all, it was the first ushering into the new forms and dazzling specialities of tropical life, vegetable and animal." These were first impressions. But that even a protracted residence on the island, and much familiarity with its scenery do not modify them, is plain from Sir James Tennent's work. The grandeur and beauty of the scenery rise ever freshly before him. Thus, remembering first impressions, and glancing at some general features of the island, he says,—“No traveller fresh from Europe will ever part with the impression left by the first gaze upon tropical scenery, as it is developed in the bay, and the wooded hills that encircle it; for although Galle is surpassed both in grandeur and beauty by places afterwards seen in the island, still the feeling of admiration and wonder called forth by its loveliness remains vivid and unimpaired. . . . The sea, blue as sapphire, breaks upon the fortified rocks which form the entrance to the harbour; the headlands are bright with verdure; and the yellow strand is shaded by palm-trees that incline towards the sea, and bend their crowns above the water. The shore is gemmed with flowers; the hills behind are draped with forests of perennial green; and far in the distance rises the zone of purple hills, above which towers the sacred mountain of Adam's Peak, with its summit enveloped in clouds.”

But Point de Galle has other attractions besides its scenery. It was the “Kalah” at which the seamen of the renowned Haroun Alraschid “met the Chinese junks, and brought back gems, silks, and spices from Serendib to Bassora;” and there is every likelihood that it is the long lost Tarshish of Scripture. The reasons for this conclusion are fully stated by the author. The details are interesting, as suggesting to us how much light may yet be shed on Scripture topography. Again, Sir James says,—“The nucleus of its mountain masses consists of gneissic, granitic, and other crystalline rocks, which in their resistless upheaval have rent the superincumbent strata, raising them into lofty pyramids and crags, or hurling them in gigantic fragments to the plains below. Time and decay are slow in their assaults on these towering precipices and splintered pinnacles; and from the absence of more perishable materials, there are few graceful sweeps along the higher chains, or rolling downs in the lower

ranges of the hills. Every bold elevation is crowned by battlemented cliffs, and flanked by chasms in which the shattered strata are seen as sharp and as rugged as if they had but recently undergone the grand convulsion that displaced them.

• “The soil in these regions is consequently light and unremunerative; but the plentiful moisture arising from the interception of every passing vapour from the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, added to the intense warmth of the atmosphere, combine to force a vegetation so rich and luxuriant, that imagination can picture nothing more wondrous and charming: every level spot is enamelled with verdure; forests of never-fading bloom cover mountain and valley; flowers of the brightest hues grow in profusion over the plains; and delicate climbing plants, rooted in the shelving rocks, hang in huge festoons down the edge of every precipice.

“Unlike the forests of Europe, in which the excess of some peculiar trees imparts a character of monotony and heaviness to the outline and colouring, the forests of Ceylon are singularly attractive from the endless variety of their foliage, and the vivid contrast of their hues. The mountains, especially those looking towards the east and south, rise abruptly to prodigious and almost precipitous heights above the level plains; and the emotion excited when a traveller, from one of these towering elevations, looks down for the first time upon the vast expanse of the low lands, leaves an indelible impression on the memory. The rivers wind through the woods below like threads of silver through green embroidery, till they are lost in a dim haze which conceals the far horizon; and through this a line of tremulous light marks where the sunbeams are glittering on the waves upon the distant shore.

“From age to age a scene so lovely has imparted a colouring of romance to the adventures of the seamen who, in the eagerness of commerce, swept round the shores of India, to bring back the pearls and precious stones, the cinnamon and odours of Ceylon. The tales of the Arabians are fraught with the wonders of ‘Serendib;’ and the mariners of the Persian Gulf have left a record of their delight in reaching the calm havens of the island, and reposing for months together in valleys where the waters of the sea were overshadowed by woods, and the gardens were blooming in perennial summer.”—P. 6.

Again—“In its general outline the island resembles a pear, and suggests to its admiring inhabitants the figure of those pearls which, from their elongated form, are suspended from the tapering end. When originally upheaved above the ocean, its shape was in all probability nearly circular, with a prolongation in the direction of north-east. The mountain zone in the south, covering an area of about 4212 miles, may then have formed the

largest proportion of its entire area ; and the belt of low lands, known as the Maritime Provinces, consist to a great extent of soil from the disintegration of the gneiss, detritus from the hills, alluvium carried down the rivers, and marine deposits gradually collected on the shore. But in addition to these, the land has for ages been slowly rising from the sea ; and terraces abounding in marine shells, imbedded in agglutinated sand, occur in situations far above high-water mark. Immediately inland from Point de Galle, the surface soil rests on a stratum of decomposing coral ; and sea-shells are found at a considerable distance from the shore. Farther north, at Madampe, between Chilau and Megombo, the shells of pearl-oysters and other bivalves are turned up by the plough, more than ten miles from the sea."—P. 12.

The geological features of the island are not of very much interest. On the crests of the mountains, stratified crystalline rocks, with massive veins of quartz, are found distorted and broken by great intruded masses of granite. Gneiss prevails ; and as this assumes remarkably eccentric forms, both in position and in the process of disintegration, the surface of the country is everywhere extremely picturesque. Breccias are found along the western coast, formed by the agglutination of corallines, shells, sand, and disintegrated gneiss. Incorporated with these are small sapphires, rubies, tourmaline, etc. In the Northern Provinces a recent coral formation is the prevailing rock. "Nearly four parts of the island," says Sir James, "are undulating plains, slightly diversified by offsets from the mountain system, which entirely covers the remaining fifth. Every district, from the depths of the valleys to the summits of the hills, is clothed with perennial foliage ; and even the sand-drifts, to the ripple on the sea-line, are carpeted with verdure, and sheltered from the sunbeams by the cool shadows of the palm groves. But the soil, notwithstanding this wonderful display of spontaneous vegetation, is not responsive to systematic cultivation, and is but imperfectly adapted for maturing a constant succession of seeds and cereal productions. But the chief interest which attaches to the mountains and rocks of this region, arises from the fact that they contain those mines of *precious stones* which, from time immemorial, have conferred renown on Ceylon. The ancients celebrated the gems as well as the pearls of 'Taprobane ;' the tales of mariners, returning from their eastern expeditions, supplied to the story-tellers of the Arabian Nights their fables of the jewels of 'Serendib ;' and the travellers of the Middle Ages, on returning to Europe, told of the 'sapphires, topazes, amethysts, garnets, and other costly stones' of Ceylon, and of the ruby which belonged to the king of the island, 'a span in length, without a flaw, and brilliant beyond description.'

“The extent to which gems are still found is sufficient to account for these early traditions of their splendour and profusion; and fabulous as this story of the ruby of the Kandyan kings may be, the abundance of gems in Saffragam has given to the capital of the district the name of *Ratnapoora*, which means literally, ‘the city of rubies.’ They are not, however, confined to this quarter alone, but quantities are still found on the western plains between Adam’s Peak and the sea, at Neuera-ellia, in Oovalu, at Kandy, at Mattelle in the Central Province, and at Ruanwelli, near Colombo, at Matura, and in the beds of the rivers eastwards towards the ancient Mahagam.”—P. 33.

This glance at the outstanding physical features and mineralogical peculiarities of the island, may form a fitting introduction to a general outline of its civil history. The descriptions in which Camoens, in his great epic, sets before us the regions

— Where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,
And waves her woods,

were, at best, but feeble echoes of the gorgeous pictures which, from earliest times, had been given of “the land of the hyacinth and the ruby,” “the island of jewels,” the “second Eden.” Greek and Roman, Christian and Mahometan, Chinaman and Hindoo, have vied with each other in exalting the praises of Ceylon. Its geographical position, the wildly luxuriant beauty of its scenery, and the rich variety of its *fauna* and its *flora*, were sure to attract the attention of nations whose spirit of enterprise was directed either by the lust of conquest or the love of gain. But the island, universally talked of, was till recently little known; less indeed, historically, than India or China. As inquirers searched into the remote past of these wondrous lands, they found, even in their most extravagant myths, resting-points of historic certainty standing out, at one dimly defined period and another, like objects shrouded in the mists of the morning. But for many generations every attempt to make out the true history of Ceylon was after a season given up as hopeless, because of the deep darkness resting over it. “It was not till about the year 1826 that the discovery was made and communicated to Europe, that whilst the history of India was only to be conjectured from myths, and elaborated from the dates on copper grants, or fading inscriptions on rocks and columns, Ceylon was in possession of continuous written chronicles, rich in authentic facts, and not only presenting a connected history of the island itself, but also yielding valuable materials for elucidating that of India. At the moment when Prinsep was deciphering the mysterious Buddhist inscriptions which are scattered over Hindustan and Western India, and when Cosma de Kōrrōs

was unrolling the Buddhist records of Thibet, and Hodgson those of Nepaul, a fellow-labourer of kindred genius was successfully exploring the Pali manuscripts of Ceylon, and developing results not less remarkable nor less conducive to the illustration of the early history of Southern Asia. Mr Turnour, a civil officer of the Ceylon service, was then administering the government of the district of Suffragam, and, being resident at Ratnapoora, near the foot of Adam's Peak, he was enabled to pursue his studies under the guidance of Gallé, a learned priest, through whose instrumentality he obtained from the Wihara, at Mulgiri-galla, near Tangalle (a temple founded about 130 B.C.), some rare and important MSS., the perusal of which gave an impulse and direction to the investigations which occupied the rest of his life."—P. 312.

The Mahawanso, thus brought to light, is a metrical chronicle, written in Pali, containing a dynastic history of Ceylon. Contributed by various authors, it embraces a period ranging from 543 B.C. to 1758 A.D. A dead letter to all but those initiated in the mysteries of Buddhism, the Mahawanso had happily been the subject of a running comment, accompanied by a literal annotated version of the original text. With the help of this, Turnour rendered it into English prose, and thus opened up the authentic early history of Ceylon to the public. Sir James Emerson Tennent takes the Mahawanso for a starting point, and gives his readers an admirable sketch of Singhalese history under the three great divisions, "Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern." As the ground is comparatively little known, the materials fresh and full of interest, we propose to follow Sir James' most interesting and able outline, marking what seems to us the leading links in the chain of events, from the conquest of the island by Wijayo, 543 B.C., to the British possession in 1798.

Wijayo was the founder of "the Great Dynasty." Having with a few followers left Bengal, the adventurer landed in Ceylon, where he found the Yakkos, the aboriginal inhabitants, pursuing the peaceful art of husbandry. Differing in language and general social characteristics from the ruling classes on the Indian continent, the Yakkos appeared to have belonged to a race broadly distinguished from the Bengalese strangers. Wijayo soon ingratiated himself with the natives, married a Yakko princess, and in time, was recognised by them as king. Pride grew with power. The patrimonial name of Wijayo was Sihala, to which he changed the name of the island; whence Singhala, Singhalese, Seylan, and Ceylon. When he had obtained a firm footing as king, he repudiated his Yakko wife, and married the daughter of an Indian sovereign. Wijayo

and his immediate successors were anxious to encourage by all means the introduction of people from the continent, and prided themselves on the toleration of every form of religion. Brahamanism soon began to prevail, and appears to have been the superstition which stood most out until 307 B.C., when Tissa, the *Déwána-pia*, or beloved of the saints, began to reign. At this time an apostle of Buddhism arrived on the island, and gained over Déwánapiatissa and his people to that faith. The rites of Brahamanism yielded to the worship of Buda, and Tissa's satisfaction was complete when a branch of the sacred Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) was planted in his kingdom. A slip taken from the identical tree in Magadha, under which Gotama reclined when he received Buddhahood, was brought in a golden vase to Ceylon, and planted at Anarajapoorā, "where," says Sir James, "after the lapse of more than 2000 years, it still continues to flourish and to receive the proffered veneration of the Singhalese." The stupendous ecclesiastical structures, whose remains arrest the attention of travellers, appear to have been all built about the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon. As in Europe, the great Gothic cathedrals may be said to have been the expression of the skill and the taste of one or two generations, or of one or two leading minds, so the sacred fabrics of Ceylon stand associated with one brief period in the history of the island.

The next important political change occurred about 237 B.C. Two youths from Malabar rose to great power and distinction among the Singhalese. Having formed a strong political faction in their favour, they put the reigning king to death, and divided between themselves the supreme power for a period of twenty years. Overthrown in their turn, the legitimate line was restored, but only to enjoy the throne at that time for a period of ten years, when it was again usurped by a Malabar named Elala, who held possession of it for forty years. "In the final struggle for the throne," says our author, "in which the Malabars were worsted by the gallantry of Dutugaimunu, a prince of the excluded family, the deeds of bravery displayed by Elala were the admiration of his enemies. The contest between the chiefs is the solitary tale of Ceylon chivalry, in which Elala is the Saladin and Dutugaimunu the Cœur-de-lion." The successful claimant is noted in Singhalese history for his piety not less than his prowess. In his reign, the far-famed brazen palace was built, whose ruins still testify to its original grandeur. Roofed with plates of brass, "it was elevated on 1600 monolithic columns of granite twelve feet high, and arranged in lines of forty, so as to cover an area of upwards of two hundred and twenty square feet. On those rested nine stories in height,

in addition to one thousand dormitories for priests, containing halls and other apartments for their exercise and accommodation."

Members of the "Great dynasty held the throne, with the exception of one or two interruptions, for more than eight hundred years, from Wijayo, its founder, to Mahasen. The dynasty of the *Sulu-wanse*, or 'infer race' succeeded, and amidst invasions, revolutions, and decline, continued, with unsteady hand, to hold the government down to its occupancy by the Europeans in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both dynasties continued to be regarded by the aborigines as usurpers, and though the conquering race spread over the whole island, the Yakkos were slow in mixing with them. Marks of their gentilitial separation still exist in the island, in the remains of their ancient superstition." Traces of the worship of snakes and demons are, to the present hour, clearly perceptible amongst them. The Buddhists still resort to the incantations of the "devil dancers" in cases of danger and emergency. A Singhalese, rather than put a cobra de capello to death, encloses the reptile in a wicker cage and sets it adrift on the nearest stream; and, in the island of Nainativoe, to the south-west of Jaffa, there was, till recently, a little temple dedicated to the goddess Naga Tambirau, in which consecrated serpents were tenderly reared by the Pandarams, and daily fed at the expense of the worshippers." Notwithstanding the abounding political troubles and intestine divisions which characterised the lengthened period of the *Sulu-wanse* dynasty, the island progressed in material comfort. Agriculture was extended, public buildings were reared, the arts of social life were fostered, great tanks were formed, and a national literature sprung up, based on the doctrinal system of Buddha which had been reduced to writing.

Sir J. E. Tennant has succeeded in throwing much interest into his elaborate sketch of Singhalese Mediæval history. The copious notes which accompany the able narrative, bear witness to the learning, industry, and varied information of the author. Here, as in other parts of this valuable work, we have clear proofs that no pains have been spared to make it a complete monograph on Ceylon. The fame of the beauty and wealth of Taprobane had reached the soldiers of Alexander the Great in their Indian campaign, and, on their return to Europe, they "brought back accounts of what they had been told of its elephants and ivory, its tortoises and marine monsters." The attention of the nations of the West thus called to it, continued ever on the alert for additional information. About twenty years after the death of Alexander, Magasthenes was sent as ambassador to the Prasii, "from whose country Ceylon had been

colonized two centuries before by the expedition under Wijayo," and though the reports which he made of Taprobane and of its inhabitants, the "Palæongi," or sons of Pali, were greatly exaggerated, they nevertheless added much to the existing knowledge of the island. But it was reserved for a Roman seaman, in the reign of Claudius, to open the route to the "island of spices," and to put Europeans in the way of becoming fully acquainted with it. "Hippalus observing the steady prevalence of the monsoons which blew over the Indian Ocean alternately from east to west, dared to trust himself to their influence, and, departing from Arabia, he stretched fearlessly across the unknown deep, and was carried by the winds to Muziris, a port on the coast of Malabar." "An extensive acquaintance was now acquired with the sea coast of India; and the great work of Pliny, compiled less than fifty years after the discovery by Hippalus, serves to attest the additional knowledge regarding Ceylon which had been collected during the interval." About seventy years later, Ptolemy described it so fully in his "System of Geography," as to show how rapidly correct information of the island was finding its way to Europe. "The extent and accuracy of Ptolemy's information was so surprising, that it has given rise to surmises as to the sources whence it could possibly have been derived."

Cosmas, an Egyptian merchant in the reign of Justinian, wrote an account of Ceylon from information given him by Sophater, a Greek trader, who had visited it. The particulars stated are full of interest. They embrace its government, products, and ecclesiastical affairs. One sentence is worth quoting. "The island," he says, "has also a community of Christians, chiefly resident Persians, with a presbyter ordained in Persia, a deacon, and a complete ecclesiastical ritual."

In this imperfect general outline of its Mediæval history, we have confined ourselves to the intercourse of the European nations with Ceylon. Sir James, however, deals with the relations between the Singhalese and the people of Arabia, India, and China. This we must pass over, and come to the last division, namely, the Modern History of Ceylon. This may be said to commence with the expedition of the Venetian voyager, Marco Polo, who touched at Ceylon in 1291. But, without doing more than thus refer to the Venetian, we ask our readers to follow us as we glance at the story of Portuguese adventure. "Begin by preaching, but, that failing, proceed to the decision of the sword," formed one of the instructions given by the Government of Portugal to the adventurers who, more than three hundred years ago, went forth in search of riches in India and the adjacent islands. The advice was faithfully followed. It was not likely

that the preaching would be very influential ; and, we accordingly find recourse to the sword, universally characteristic of the Portuguese dealings with the people of the East. " They appeared in the Indian Seas in the threefold character of merchants, missionaries, and pirates. Their ostensible motto was, " amity, commerce, and religion." The third character too frequently absorbed the other two. Rapacity took the place of the lawful commercial spirit, bigotry, on the side of a superstition very little better than that of the Yakkos, usurped that of the true missionary of Christ ; while, for amity, the natives everywhere were treated by a cruelty which knew no relenting, when aggrandisement stood in the way.

The Portuguese flag appeared for the first time in the waters of Ceylon in 1505. Twelve years elapsed before it was again seen there. They had, however, meanwhile been obtaining influence and a firm footing on the Indian Continent. Ormuz had been captured ; Goa and the coasts of Malabar had been fortified ; and Malacca had yielded to their power. " Midway between their extreme settlements, the harbours of Ceylon rendered the island a place of importance. And, at length, in 1517, Lopo Soarez de Albergaria appeared in person before Colombo, with a flotilla of seventeen sail, and with materials and workmen for the creation of a factory, in conformity with a promise alleged to have been made by the king to Don Lorenzo de Almeyda, in 1505 ; that the apprehension of the Singhalese court were aroused by the discovery that seven hundred soldiers were carried in the merchant ships of the Viceroy, and that the proposed factory was to be mounted with cannon." After a good deal of diplomacy on the part of the strangers, and many scruples on the part of the king and his people, they were allowed to land, " and the first European stronghold in Ceylon began to rise on the rocky beach at Colombo." The footing thus gained was made the most of. Repeated concessions were wrung from the Singhalese ; and, for a time, the attempts to free themselves from the troublesome strangers tended only to strengthen their position in the island. Sanguinary wars raged frequently between the parties, characterized by atrocities almost without a parallel in the history of European intercourse with the East. This state of matters continued during the whole period of Portuguese influence in Ceylon. " But a new and formidable rival now appeared to contend with Portugal for the possession of Ceylon. The Dutch had obtained a footing at the Kandyan court, and formed an alliance with the king, alike disastrous to the missionary zeal and the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese, who, after a struggle of nearly fifty years' duration, were finally expelled from that island, which their kings had magniloquently

declared "they would rather lose all India than imperil." The leading Singhalese authorities were forward to welcome and to enter into alliance with the Dutch ; when it was made evident to them that they were bitterly at enmity with their tormentors. The Portuguese held their ground till 1658, when they were expelled from the island and replaced by the Dutch, who set vigorously to work to make the most of their position and to enrich themselves in their commercial relations with the natives. "Throughout all the records which the Dutch have left us of their policy in Ceylon, it is painfully observable, that no disinterested concern is manifested, and no measures directed for the elevation and happiness of the native population ; and even where care is shown to have been bestowed upon the spread of education and religion, motives are apparent, either latent or avowed, which detract from the grace and generosity of the act. Thus, schools were freely established ; but the avowed object was to wean the young Singhalese from their allegiance to the emperor, and better to impress them with the power and ascendancy of Holland."

The tales of wealth which had reached Europe, connected with the Portuguese possession of Ceylon, so influenced British merchants, that they resolved to become sharers in it. The Turkey Company sent four adventurous merchants to India. One of these, Ralph Fitch, visited Ceylon in 1589, "probably the first of his nation who had ever beheld the island." British interest in the island was kept up for many years by the visits paid to it by Englishmen ; and, in 1796, they obtained possession of it from the Dutch without striking a blow. "Private property was declared inviolable ; the funds of charitable foundations were held sacred ; the garrison marched out with the honours of war, piled arms on the esplanade, and returned again to their barracks. Night closed on the descending standard of Holland, and at sunrise the British flag waved on the walls of Colombo." The island thus acquired was handed over to the East India Company, and its management was intrusted to the Council of the Madras Presidency. The Singhalese first experience of British rule was anything but satisfactory. Portuguese and Dutch had whipped them with cords, but their new masters seemed resolved to whip them with scorpions. The result inevitable in such circumstances followed. About a year after, the misdeeds of men employed by the British drove the natives to open revolt ; and, though the rebellion was speedily suppressed, much blood was shed in doing so. The home authorities resolved to withdraw the island from the control of the East India Company, and to put it under the immediate direction of the Crown. In 1798 the Hon. Frederick North, afterwards Earl of Guildford, was sent out as

the first British Governor. Governor North found his task a difficult one. He succeeded, however, in soon putting matters on a much more satisfactory footing than they had formerly been ; and, had he kept clear of the intrigues at the Kandyan court on the death of the king Rajadhi Raja Singha, in 1798, his period of rule would have passed without any great shadows on it. But it appears that he did not discourage the conspiracy of the adjar, or prime minister of the late king, to procure the violent dethronement of the reigning king, and to take possession of the Kandyan crown. Governor North's complicity led to most serious consequences. The views of the unscrupulous and ambitious adjar seemed about to be realized—the ball was nearly at his feet. There was only one hinderance to perfect success, namely, the presence of the British troops who had come to his aid, but whom he found unwilling to carry out all his designs. He formed the daring design to massacre the British troops, now enfeebled by disease. This was so successfully realized, that only one soldier escaped, and lived to tell the tale of the slaughter. Vengeance ultimately overtook the prime minister. Detected in an attempt to assassinate the king, he was beheaded in 1812, and his nephew Eheylapola, raised to the office of adjar.

“ But Eheylapola inherited, with the power, all the ambitious duplicity of his predecessor ; and availing himself of the universal horror with which the king was regarded, he secretly solicited the connivance of the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to the organisation of a general revolt. The conspiracy was discovered and extinguished with indiscriminate bloodshed, whilst the discomfited adjar was forced to fly to Colombo, and supplicate the protection of the British. And now followed an awful tragedy, which cannot be more vividly described than in the language of Davy, who collected the particulars from eye-witnesses of the scene. ‘ Hurried along by the flood of his revenge, the tyrant, lost to every tender feeling, resolved to punish Eheylapola, who had escaped, through his family, who still remained in his power ; he sentenced his wife and children, and his brother and his wife, to death ; the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females to be drowned. In front of the queen's palace, and between the Nata and Maha Vishnu Dewales, as if to shock and insult the gods as well as the sex, the wife of Eheylapola and his children were brought from prison, where they had been in charge of female gaolers, and delivered over to their executioners. The lady, with great resolution, maintained her and her children's innocence and her lord's, at the same time submitting to the king's pleasure, and offering up her own and her offsprings' lives, with the fervent hope that her husband would be benefited by the sacrifice. Having uttered these

sentiments aloud, she desired her eldest child to submit to his fate; the poor boy, who was eleven years old, clung to his mother, terrified and crying; her second son, of nine years, heroically stepped forward, and bade his brother not to be afraid, he would show him the way to die! By the blow of a sword the head of this noble child was severed from his body; streaming with blood, and hardly inanimate, it was thrown into a rice mortar, the pestle was put into the mother's hands, and she was ordered to pound it, or be disgracefully tortured. To avoid the infamy, the wretched woman did lift up the pestle and let it fall. One by one the heads of her children were cut off, and one by one the poor mother . . . but the circumstance is too dreadful to be dwelt on. One of the children was an infant, and it was plucked from its mother's breast to be beheaded: when the head was severed from the body, the milk it had just drawn out mingled with its blood. During this tragical scene, the crowd who had assembled to witness it wept and sobbed aloud, unable to suppress their feelings of grief and horror. Palihapane Dissave was so affected that he fainted, and was expelled his office for showing such sensibility. During two days the whole of Kandy, with the exception of the tyrant's court, was as one house of mourning and lamentation; and so deep was the grief, that not a fire, it is said, was kindled, no food was dressed, and a general fast was held. After the execution of her children, the sufferings of the mother were speedily relieved. She and her sister-in-law were led to the little tank in the immediate neighbourhood of Kandy, called Bogambara, and drowned. This awful occurrence, in all its hideous particulars, I have had verified by individuals still living, who were spectators of a scene that, after the lapse of forty years, is still spoken of with a shudder. But the limit of human endurance had been passed; revolt became rife throughout the kingdom; promiscuous executions followed, and the terrified nation anxiously watched for the approach of a British force to rescue them from the monster on the throne. At length the insatiate savage ventured to challenge the descent of the vengeance that awaited him. A party of native merchants, British subjects, who had gone up to Kandy to trade, were seized and mutilated by the tyrant; they were deprived of their ears, their noses, and hands, and those who survived were driven towards Colombo, with the severed members tied to their necks. An avenging army was instantly on its march. War was declared in January 1815, and within a few weeks the Kandyan capital was once more in possession of the English, and the despot a captive at Colombo."

This bloody tale very fully illustrates the terrible tyranny under which the Kandyans then lay, and the disgusting atrocity

of their supreme ruler. The day of vengeance came speedily ; and the mode in which the ruthless tyrant was dwelt with, was well fitted to strike with terror all who, like him, were willing to set at defiance the power of the British. Yet scarcely two years had elapsed, when the people, who had welcomed the British as deliverers, rose in arms against them. After many difficulties, this rebellion was put down, and since that time, 1817, British rule has been undisputed. Under the protection of this country, the native population have enjoyed a degree of liberty to which formerly they had been complete strangers. The arts of Christian civilisation have been introduced. Roads have been made, courts of law established, domestic slavery abolished, education fostered, and commerce encouraged. "The blessings of peaceful order, the mild influence of education, and the gradual influx of wealth, will not fail to produce their accustomed results ; and the mountaineers of Ceylon will, at no distant day, share with the lowlanders in the consciousness of repose and prosperity under the protection of the British Crown." It might be added, that Sir James, during his tenure of office, has done much to realize the hope which he here expresses ; and that when the after history of the island shall come to be written, his period of rule will form one of its most attractive chapters. We might dwell on this, but it is time our readers were admitted more fully to the interesting pages in which Sir James has described Ceylon. Here is a notice of its climate, of the pretty phenomenon "Anthelia" and of a Ceylon May.

"The climate of Ceylon, from its physical configuration and insular attachment, contrasts favourably with that of the great Indian peninsula. Owing to the moderate dimensions of the island, the elevation of its mountains, the very short space during which the sun is passing over it in his regression from or approach to the solstices, and its surrounding seas being nearly uniform in temperature, it is exempt from the extremes of heating and cooling to which the neighbouring continent of India is exposed. From the same causes, it is subjected more uniformly to the genial influences of the trade winds that blow over the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal." —P. 54.

"May is signalised by the great event of the change of the monsoon, and all the grand phenomena which accompany its approach.

"It is difficult for one who has not resided in the tropics to comprehend the feeling of enjoyment which accompanies these periodical commotions of the atmosphere ; in Europe they would be fraught with annoyance, but in Ceylon they are welcomed with a relish proportionate to the monotony they dispel. Long

before the wished-for period arrives, the verdure produced by the previous rains becomes almost obliterated by the burning droughts of March and April. The deciduous trees shed their foliage, the plants cease to put forth fresh leaves, and all vegetable life languishes under the unwholesome heat. The grass withers on the baked and cloven earth, and red dust settles on the branches and thirsty brushwood. The insects, deprived of their accustomed food, disappear underground, or hide beneath the decaying bark; the water-beetles bury themselves in the hardened mud of the pools, and the *helices* retire into the crevices of the stones or the hollows, amongst the roots of the trees, closing the apertures of their shells with the hybernating epiphragm. Butterflies are no longer seen hovering over the flowers; the birds appear fewer and less joyous; and the wild animals and crocodiles, driven by the drought from their accustomed retreats, wander through the jungle, and even venture to approach the village wells in search of water. Man equally languishes under the general exhaustion; ordinary exertion becomes distasteful, and the native Singhalese, although inured to the climate, move with lassitude and reluctance.

“Meanwhile the air becomes loaded to saturation with aqueous vapour drawn up by the augmented force of evaporation, acting vigorously over land and sea; the sky, instead of its brilliant blue, assumes the sullen tint of lead, and not a breath disturbs the motionless rest of the clouds that hang on the lower range of hills. At length, generally about the middle of the month, but frequently earlier, the sultry suspense is broken by the arrival of the wished-for change. The sun has by this time nearly attained his greatest northern declination, and created a torrid heat throughout the lands of southern Asia and the peninsula of India. The air, lightened by its high temperature and such watery vapour as it may contain, rises into loftier regions, and is replaced by indraughts from the neighbouring sea, and thus a tendency is gradually given to the formation of a current bringing up from the south the warm humid air of the equator. The wind, therefore, which reaches Ceylon, comes laden with moisture, taken up in its passage across the great Indian Ocean. As the monsoon draws near, the days become more overcast and hot, banks of clouds rise over the ocean to the west, and, in the peculiar twilight the eye is attracted by the unusual whiteness of the sea-birds that sweep along the strand to seize the objects flung on shore by the rising surf.

“At last the sudden lightnings flash among the hills and sheet through the clouds that overhang the sea, and with a crash of thunder the monsoon bursts over the thirsty land, not in showers or partial torrents, but in a wide deluge, that in the

course of a few hours overtops the river banks, and spreads in inundations over every level plain.

“All the phenomena of this explosion are stupendous; thunder, as we are accustomed to be awed by it in Europe, affords but the faintest idea of its overpowering grandeur in Ceylon; and its sublimity is infinitely increased, as it is faintly heard from the shore, resounding through night and darkness over the gloomy sea. The lightning, when it touches the earth, where it is covered with the descending torrent, flashes into it, and disappears instantaneously; but, when it strikes a drier surface, in seeking better conductors, it often opens a hollow like that formed by the explosion of a shell, and frequently leaves behind it traces of vitrification. In Ceylon, however, occurrences of this kind are rare; and accidents are seldom recorded from lightning, probably owing to the profusion of trees, and especially of cocoa-nut palms, which, when drenched with rain, intercept the discharge, and conduct the electric matter to the earth. The rain at these periods excites the astonishment of a European; it descends in almost continuous streams, so close and so dense, that the level ground, unable to absorb it sufficiently fast, is covered with one uniform sheet of water, and down the sides of acclivities it rushes in a volume that wears channels in the surface. For hours together, the noise of the torrent, as it beats upon the trees, and bursts upon the roofs, flowing thence in rivulets along the ground, occasions an uproar that drowns the ordinary voice, and renders sleep impossible.”—P. 61.

“A curious phenomena, to which the name of ‘*Anthelia*’ has been given, and which may probably have suggested to the early painters the idea of the glory surrounding the heads of beatified saints, is to be seen in singular beauty, at early morning, in Ceylon. When the light is intense, and the shadows proportionally dark—when the sun is near the horizon, and the shadow of a person walking is thrown on the dewy grass—each particle furnishes a double reflection from its concave and convex surfaces; and to the spectator his own figure, but more particularly the head, appears surrounded by a halo as vivid as if radiated from diamonds. The Buddhists may possibly have taken from this beautiful object their idea of the *agni*, or emblem of the sun, with which the head of Buddha is surmounted. But unable to express a *halo* in sculpture, they concentrated it into a flame.”—P. 73.

Very much attention has been paid by the author to the zoology and botany of the island; and the pages in which they are described are among the most interesting of the volume. While in both departments of natural science Ceylon has much in common with the neighbouring continent, it can lay claim to

an interesting *fauna* and *flora* of its own. Sir James, and the accomplished men who lent him their invaluable assistance, deserve the thanks of every naturalist, for the great care they have devoted to this. We are introduced to the birds of Ceylon thus:—“In the glory of their plumage, the birds of the interior are surpassed by those of South America and Northern India; and the melody of their song will bear no comparison with that of the warblers of Europe; but the want of brilliancy is compensated by their singular grace of form, and the absence of prolonged and modulated harmony by the rich and melodious tones of their clear and musical calls. In the elevations of the Kandyan country, there are a few, such as the robin of Neuera-ellia, and the long-tailed thrush, whose song rivals that of their European namesakes; but, far beyond the attraction of their notes, the traveller rejoices in the flute-like voices of the oriole, the Dayal-bird, and some others equally charming; when, at the first dawn of day, they wake the forest with their clear *reveille*.

It is only on emerging from the dense forests, and coming into the vicinity of the lakes and pasture of the low country, that birds become visible in great quantities. In the close jungle one occasionally hears the call of the coppersmith, or the strokes of the great orange-coloured woodpecker, as it beats the decaying trees in search of insects, whilst clinging to the bark with its finely-pointed claws, and leaning for support upon the short stiff feathers of its tail. And on the lofty branches of the higher trees, the hornbill (the toucan of the East), with its enormous double casque, sits to watch the motions of the tiny reptiles and smaller birds, on which it preys, tossing them into the air when seized, and catching them in its gigantic mandibles as they fall. The remarkable excrescence on the beak of this extraordinary bird may serve to explain the statement of the Minorite friar, Oderic of Potenau, in Friuli, who travelled in Ceylon in the fourteenth century, and brought suspicion on the veracity of his narrative, by asserting that he had there seen “*birds with two heads*.”

As we emerge from the deep shade, and approach the park-like openings on the verge of the low country, quantities of peafowl are to be found, either feeding amongst the seeds and nuts in the long grass, or sunning themselves on the branches of the surrounding trees. Nothing to be met with in demesnes in England can give an adequate idea, either of the size or the magnificence of this matchless bird, when seen in his native solitudes. Here he generally selects some projecting branch, from which his plumage may hang, free of the foliage; and, if there be a dead and leafless bough, he is certain to choose it for his resting-place, whence he droops his wings and suspends his

gorgeous train, or spreads it in the morning sun, to drive off the damps and dews of the night.

In some of the unfrequented portions of the eastern province, to which Europeans rarely resort, and where the pea-fowl are unmolested by the natives, their number is so extraordinary, that, regarded as game, it ceases to be "sport" to destroy them; and their cries at early morning are so tumultuous and incessant, as to banish sleep, and amount to an actual inconvenience. Their flesh is excellent, when served up hot; but, when cold, it contracts a reddish and disagreeable tinge: it is said to be indigestible. But of all, the most astonishing in point of multitude, as well as the most interesting, from their endless variety, are myriads of aquatic birds and waders, which frequent the lakes and water-courses, especially those along the coast, near Batticaloa, between the mainland and the sand formations of the shore, and those which resort to the innumerable salt marshes and lagoons to the south of Trincomalie. These, and the profusion of perching birds, fly-catchers, finches, and thrushes, which appear in the open country, afford sufficient quarry for raptorial and predatory species—eagles, hawks, and falcons, whose daring sweeps and effortless undulations are striking objects in the cloudless sky."—P. 165.

Ceylon is rich in cheiroptera:—

"The multitude of *bats* is one of the features of the evening landscape; they abound in every cave and subterranean passage—in the tunnels, on the highways, in the galleries of the fortifications, in the roofs of the bungalows, and the ruins of every temple and building. At sunset they are seen issuing from their diurnal retreats, to roam through the twilight in search of crepuscular insects; and as night approaches, and the lights in the rooms attract the night-flying lepidoptera, the bats sweep round the dinner-table, and carry off their tiny prey within the glitter of the lamps. Including the frugivorous section, about sixteen species have been identified in Ceylon, and of these, two varieties are peculiar to the island. The colours of some of them are as brilliant as the plumage of a bird—bright yellow, deep orange, and a rich ferruginous brown, inclining to red. The roussette of Ceylon (the "flying-fox," as it is usually called by Europeans) measures from three to four feet from point to point of its extended wings; and some of them have been seen wanting but a few inches of five feet in the alar expanse. These sombre-looking creatures feed chiefly on ripe fruits—the guava, the plantain, and the rose-apple, and are abundant in all the maritime districts, especially at the season when the silk-cotton tree, the *puluri-imbul*, is putting forth its flower-buds, of which they are singularly fond. By day they suspend themselves from the highest branches, hang-

ing by the claws of the hind legs, pressing the chin against the breast, and using the closed membrane attached to the fore-arms, as a mantle to envelop the head. At sunset, launching into the air, they hover, with a murmuring sound, occasioned by the beating of their broad membranous wings, around the fruit trees, on which they feed till morning, when they resume their pensile attitude, as before. They are strongly attracted to the cocoa-nut trees, during the period when toddy is drawn for distillation, and exhibit, it is said, at such times, symptoms like intoxication.

The flying-fox is killed by the natives for the sake of its flesh, which, I have been told, by a gentleman who has eaten it, resembles that of the hare.

There are several varieties (some of them peculiar to the island) of the horse-shoe-headed *Rhinolophus*, with the strange leaf-like appendage erected on the extremity of the nose. It has been suggested that bats, though nocturnal, are deficient in that keen vision characteristic of animals which take their prey at night. I doubt whether this conjecture be well-founded; but at least it would seem, that in their peculiar economy, some additional power is required to supplement that of vision, as in insects that of touch is superadded, in the most sensitive development to that of sight. Hence, it is possible that the extended screen stretched at the back of their nostrils, may be intended by nature to facilitate the collection and conduction of odours, as the vast development of the shell of the ear in the same family is designed to assist in the collection of sounds, and thus to reinforce their vision when in pursuit of their prey at twilight, by the superior sensitiveness of the organs of hearing and smell, as they are already remarkable for that marvellous sense of touch, which enables them, even when deprived of sight, to direct their flight with security, by means of the delicate nerves of the wing. One tiny little bat, not much larger than the humble bee, and of a glossy black colour, is sometimes to be seen about Colombo. It is so familiar and gentle, that it will alight on the cloth during dinner, and manifests so little alarm, that it seldom makes any effort to escape, before a wine-glass can be inverted to secure it."—P. 137.

Here is a pleasant sketch of the cobra :—

"The cobra de cappello is the only one exhibited by the itinerant snake-charmers; and the accuracy of Davy's conjecture, that they control it, not by extracting its fangs, but by courageously availing themselves of its accustomed timidity and extreme reluctance to use its fatal weapons, received a painful confirmation during my residence in Ceylon, by the death of one of these performers, whom his audience had provoked to attempt some unaccustomed familiarity with the cobra; it bit him on the

wrist, and he expired the same evening. The hill near Kandy, on which the official residences of the Governor and Colonial Secretary have been built, is covered in many places with the deserted nests of the white ants (termites), and these are the favourite retreats of the sluggish and spiritless cobra, which watches from their apertures the toads and lizards, on which it preys. Here, when I have repeatedly come upon them, their only impulse was concealment; and on one occasion, when a cobra of considerable length could not escape sufficiently quickly, owing to the bank being nearly precipitous on both sides of the road, a few blows from my whip were sufficient to deprive it of life. There is a rare variety which the natives fancifully designate the "king of cobras;" it has the head and the interior half of the body of so light a colour that at a distance it seems like a silvery white. A gentleman who held a civil appointment at Kornegalle, had a servant who was bitten by a snake, and he informed me that on enlarging a hole near the foot of the tree under which the accident occurred, he unearthed a cobra of upwards of three feet long, and so purely white, as to induce him to believe that it was an albino. With the exception of the rat snake, the cobra de capello is the only serpent which seems from choice to frequent the vicinity of human dwellings, but it is doubtless attracted by the young of the domestic fowl, and by the moisture of the wells and drainage. The Singhalese remark that if one cobra be destroyed near a house, its companion is almost sure to be discovered immediately after,—a popular belief which I had an opportunity of verifying on more than one occasion. Once, when a snake of this description was killed in a bath of Government House at Colombo, its mate was found in the same spot the day after; and again, at my own stables, a cobra of five feet long, having fallen into the well, which was too deep to permit its escape, its companion of the same size was found the same morning in an adjoining drain. On this occasion the snake, which had been several hours in the well, swam with ease, raising its head and hood above water; and instances have repeatedly occurred of the cobra de capello voluntarily taking considerable excursions by sea. When the "Wellington," a government vessel employed in the conservancy of the pearl banks, was anchored about a quarter of a mile from land, in the bay of Koodremalé, a cobra was seen, about an hour before sunset, swimming vigorously towards the ship. It came within twelve yards, when the sailors assailed it with billets of wood and other missiles, and forced it to return to land. The following morning they discovered the track which it had left on the shore, and traced it along the sand till it disappeared in the jungle. On a later occasion, in the vicinity of the same spot,

when the "Wellington" was lying some distance from the shore, a cobra was found and killed on board, where it could only have gained access by climbing up the cable. It was first discovered by a sailor, who felt the cold chill as it glided over his foot."—P. 194. Again,—“The use of the Pamboo-Kaloo, or snake-stone, as a remedy in cases of wounds by venomous serpents, has probably been communicated to the Singhalese by the itinerant snake-charmers who resort to the island from the coast of Coromandel; and more than one well authenticated instance of its successful application has been told to me by persons who had been eye-witnesses to what they described. On one occasion, in March 1854, a friend of mine was riding, with some other civil officers of the government, along a jungle path in the vicinity of Bintenne, when they saw one of two Tamils, who were approaching them, suddenly dart into the forest and return, holding in both hands a cobra de capello, which he had seized by the head and tail. He called to his companion for assistance to place it in their covered basket, but in doing this he handled it so inexpertly that it seized him by the finger, and retained its hold for a few seconds, as if unable to retract its fangs. The blood flowed, and intense pain appeared to follow almost immediately; but, with all expedition, the friend of the sufferer undid his waistcloth, and took from it two snake-stones, each of the size of a small almond, intensely black and highly polished, though of an extremely light substance. These he applied one to each wound inflicted by the teeth of the serpent, to which the stones attached themselves closely, the blood that oozed from the bites being rapidly imbibed by the porous texture of the article applied. The stones adhered tenaciously for three or four minutes, the wounded man's companion in the meanwhile rubbing his arm downwards from the shoulder towards the fingers. At length the snake-stones dropped off of their own accord; the suffering appeared to have subsided; he twisted his fingers till the joints cracked, and went on his way without concern. Whilst this had been going on, another Indian of the party who had come up took from his bag a small piece of white wood, which resembled a root, and passed it gently near the head of the cobra, which the latter immediately inclined close to the ground; he then lifted the snake without hesitation, and coiled it into a circle at the bottom of his basket. The root by which he professed to be enabled to perform this operation with safety he called the *Naya-thalee Kalinga* (the root of the snake-plant), protected by which he professed his ability to approach any reptile with impunity. In another instance, in 1853, Mr Lavalliere, the district judge of Kandy, informed me that he saw a snake-charmer in the jungle, close by the town, search for a *cobra de capello*, and,

after disturbing it in its retreat, the man tried to secure it, but, in the attempt, he was bitten in the thigh till blood trickled from the wound. He instantly applied the *Pamboo-Kaloo*, which adhered closely for about ten minutes, during which time he passed the root which he held in his hand backwards and forwards above the stone, till the latter dropped to the ground. He assured Mr Lavalliere that all danger was then past. That gentleman obtained from him the snake-stone he had relied on, and saw him repeatedly afterwards in perfect health. The substances which were used on both these occasions are now in my possession. The roots employed by the several parties are not identical. One appears to be a bit of the stem of an *Aristolochia*; the other is so dried as to render it difficult to identify it, but it resembles the quadrangular stem of a jungle vine. Some species of *Aristolochia*, such as the *A. serpentaria* of North America, are supposed to act as a specific in the cure of snake-bites; and the *A. indica* is the plant to which the ichneumon is popularly believed to resort as an antidote when bitten. But it is probable that the use of any particular plant by the snake-charmers is a pretence, or rather a delusion, the reptile being overpowered by the resolute action of the operator, and not by the influence of any secondary appliance; the confidence inspired by the supposed talisman enabling its possessor to address himself fearlessly to his task, and thus to effect, by determination and will, what is popularly believed to be the result of charms and stupefaction. Still it is curious that, amongst the natives of Northern Africa, who lay hold of the *Cerastes* without fear or hesitation, their impunity is ascribed to the use of a plant with which they anoint themselves before touching the reptile; and Bruce says of the people of Sennar, that they acquire exemption from the fatal consequences of the bite by chewing a particular root, and washing themselves with an infusion of certain plants. He adds, that a portion of this root was given him, with a view to test its efficacy in his own person, but that he had not sufficient resolution to undergo the experiment. As to the snake-stone itself, I submitted one, the application of which I have been describing, to Mr Faraday, and he has communicated to me, as the result of his analysis, his belief that it is "a piece of charred bone which has been filled with blood, perhaps several times, and then carefully charred again. Evidence of this is afforded, as well by the apertures of cells or tubes on its surface, as by the fact that it yields and breaks under pressure, and exhibits an organic structure within. When heated slightly, water rises from it, and also a little ammonia; and, if heated still more highly in the air, carbon burns away, and a bulky white ash is left, retaining the shape

and size of the 'stone.' This ash, as is evident from inspection, cannot have belonged to any vegetable substance, for it is almost entirely composed of phosphate of lime." Mr Faraday adds, that "if the piece of matter has ever been employed as a spongy absorbent, it seems hardly fit for that purpose in its present state ; but who can say to what treatment it has been subjected since it was fit for use, or to what treatment the natives may submit it when expecting to have occasion to use it ?"—P. 197.

The following introduction to Sir James' notice of the insects of Ceylon affords a fair illustration of his style, which is always fresh, lively, and pleasant, and sometimes exceedingly attractive, especially when he throws his vigorous thought and well-trained fancy into descriptions of nature :—

"Owing to the combination of heat, moisture, and vegetation, the myriads of insects in Ceylon form one of the characteristic features of the island. In the solitude of the forests there is a perpetual music from their soothing and melodious hum, which frequently swells to a startling sound, as the cicada trills his sonorous drum on the sunny bark of some tall tree. At morning the dew hangs in diamond drops on the threads and gossamer which the spiders suspend across every pathway ; and above the pools dragon-flies, of more than metallic lustre, flash in the early sunbeams. The earth teems with countless ants, which emerge from beneath its surface, or make their devious highways to ascend to their nests in the branches. Lustrous beetles, with their golden elytra, bask on the leaves, whilst minuter species dash through the air in circles, which the ear can follow by the booming of their tiny wings. Butterflies, of large size and gorgeous colouring, flutter over the endless expanse of flowers, and frequently the extraordinary sight presents itself of flights of these delicate creatures, generally of a white or pale-yellow hue, apparently miles in breadth, and of such prodigious extension as to occupy hours, and even days, uninterruptedly in their passage—whence coming, no one knows : whither going, no one can tell. As day declines, the moths issue from their retreats, the crickets add their shrill voices to swell the din ; and when darkness descends, the eye is charmed with the millions of emerald lamps lighted up by the fire-flies, amidst the surrounding gloom."—P. 248.

But the living things are not all so attractive. Snakes and serpents, ceraspes and crocodiles, lizards and giant frogs, abound everywhere. They meet wanderers in the jungle, intrude themselves on notice in the open plains, bask in deceitful beauty on the sunny slopes of the hills, lurk in the neighbourhood of human dwellings, and even, in many cases, take without ceremony possession of a man's bed. This is all bad enough, and to Euro-

peans sufficiently irksome, before a few months' residence has taken the edge off their dislike to creeping and crawling things. But here is something even worse:—"Of all the plagues which beset the traveller in the rising grounds of Ceylon, the most detested are the land-leeches. They are not frequent in the plains, which are too hot and dry for them; but amongst the rank vegetation in the lower ranges of the hill country, which is kept damp by frequent showers, they are found in tormenting profusion. They are terrestrial, never visiting ponds or streams. In size they are about an inch in length, and as fine as a common knitting needle; but capable of distention till they equal a quill in thickness, and attain a length of nearly two inches. Their structure is so flexible, that they can insinuate themselves through the meshes of the finest stocking, not only seizing on the feet and ankles, but ascending to the back and throat, and fastening on the tenderest parts of the body. The coffee-planters, who live amongst these pests, are obliged, in order to exclude them, to envelope their legs in 'leech gaiters,' made of closely woven cloth. The natives smear their bodies with oil, tobacco-ashes, or lemon juice; the latter serving not only to stop the flow of blood, but to expedite the healing of the wounds. In moving, the land-leeches have the power of planting one extremity on the earth and raising the other perpendicularly to watch for their victim. Such is their vigilance and instinct, that on the approach of a passer-by to a spot which they infest, they may be seen amongst the grass and fallen leaves on the edge of a native path, poised erect, and preparing for their attack on man and horse. On descrying their prey, they advance rapidly by semicircular strides, fixing one end firmly and arching the other forwards, till by successive advances they can lay hold of the traveller's foot, when they disengage themselves from the ground and ascend his dress in search of an aperture to enter. In these encounters the individuals in the rear of a party of travellers in the jungle invariably fare worst, as the leeches, once warned of their approach, congregate with singular celerity. Their size is so insignificant, and the wound they make is so skilfully punctured, that both are generally imperceptible; and the first intimation of their onslaught is the trickling of the blood, or a chill feeling of the leech when it begins to hang heavily on the skin from being distended by its repast. Horses are driven wild by them, and stamp the ground in fury to shake them from their fetlocks, to which they hang in bloody tassels. The bare legs of the palanquin-bearers and coolies are a favourite resort; and, their hands being too much engaged to be spared to pull them off, the leeches hang like bunches of grapes round their ankles; and I have seen the blood literally flowing over the edge of a European's shoe

from their innumerable bites. In healthy constitutions the wounds, if not irritated, generally heal, occasioning no other inconvenience than a slight inflammation and itching; but in those with a bad state of body, the punctures, if rubbed, are liable to degenerate into ulcers, which may lead to the loss of the limb or life. Both Davy and Marshall mention, that during the marches of troops in the mountains, when the Kandyans were in rebellion, in 1818, the soldiers, and especially the Madras sepoy, with the pioneers and coolies, suffered so severely from this cause that numbers of them perished.

“One circumstance regarding these land-leeches is remarkable and unexplained: they are helpless without moisture; and in the hills, where they abound at all other times, they entirely disappear during long droughts, yet reappear instantaneously on the very first fall of rain; and in spots previously parched, where not one was visible an hour before, a single shower is sufficient to reproduce them in thousands, lurking beneath the decaying leaves, or striding with rapid movements across the gravel. Whence do they reappear? Do they, too, take a “summer sleep,” like the reptiles, mollusks, and tank fishes; or may they be, like the *Rotifera*, dried up and preserved for an indefinite period, resuming their vital activity on the mere recurrence of moisture?”—P. 305.

Sir James’ antiquarian lore, and his skill in clearing up old customs, come strongly out in the following pleasant gossip about geese:—

“At the entrance to the great wihara, at Anarajapoor, there is now lying on the ground a semicircular slab of granite, the ornaments of which are designed in excellent taste, and executed with singular skill; elephants, lions, horses, and oxen, forming the outer border; that within consisting of a row of the ‘hanza,’ or sacred goose,—a bird that is equally conspicuous on the vast tablet, one of the wonders of Pollanarua, before alluded to.

“Taken in connection with the proverbial contempt for the supposed stolidity of the *goose*, there is something still unexplained in the extraordinary honours paid to it by the ancients, and the veneration in which it is held to the present day by some of the Eastern nations. The figure that occurs so frequently on Buddhist monuments, is the Brahmanee goose (*Casarka cana*), which is not a native of Ceylon; but from time immemorial it has been an object of veneration there, and in all parts of India. Amongst the Buddhists especially, impressed as they are with the solemn obligation of solitary retirement for meditation, the hanza has attracted attention by its periodical migrations, which are supposed to be directed to the holy Lake of Manasa, in the mythical regions of the Himalaya. The poet Kalidas, in

his *Cloud Messenger*, speaks of the hanza as 'eager to set out for the sacred lake.' Hence, according to the *Rajavali*, the lion was pre-eminent amongst beasts, 'the *hanza* was king over all the feathered tribes.' In one of the Jatakas, which contains the legend of Buddha's apotheosis, his hair, when suspended in the sky, is described as resembling 'the beautiful Kala hanza.' The goose is, at the present day, the national emblem emblazoned on the standard of Burmah; and the brass weights of the Burmese are generally cut in the shape of the sacred bird, just as the Egyptians formed their weights of stone after the same model.

"Augustine, in his *Civitas Dei*, traces the respect for the goose, displayed by the Romans, to their gratitude for the safety of the capital, when the vigilance of this bird defeated the midnight attack by the Goths. The adulation of the citizens, he says, degenerated afterwards almost to Egyptian superstition, in the rites instituted in honour of their preservers on that occasion. But the very fact that the geese which saved the citadel were already sacred to Juno, and domesticated in her temple, demonstrates the error of Augustine, and shows that they had acquired mythological eminence before achieving political renown. It must be observed, too, that the birds which rendered that memorable service, were the ordinary white geese of Europe, and not the red goose of the Nile (the *χρηναλώπηξ* of Herodotus), which, ages before, had been enrolled amongst the animals held sacred in Egypt, and which formed the emblem of Seb, the father of Osiris. Horapollon, endeavouring to account for this predilection of the Egyptians (who employed the goose hieroglyphically to denote a *son*), ascribes it to their appreciation of the love evinced by it for its offspring, in exposing itself to divert the attention of the fowler from its young. This opinion was shared by the Greeks and the Romans. Aristotle praises its sagacity; Ælian dilates on the courage and cunning of the 'vulpanser,' and its singular attachment to man; and Ovid ranks the goose as superior to the dog in the scale of intelligence—

'Soliciti canes canibusve sagacior anser.'

—Ovid. *Met.* xi. 399.

The feeling appears to have spread westward at an early period. The ancient Britons, according to Cæsar, held it impious to eat the flesh of the goose; and the followers of the first Crusade, which issued from England, France, and Flanders, adored a goat and a goose, which they believed to be filled by the Holy Spirit.

"It is remarkable that the same word appears to designate the goose in the most remote quarters of the globe. The Pali term '*hanza*,' by which it was known to the Buddhists of Ceylon, is still the '*henza*' of the Burmese and the '*gangsā*' of the Malays; and is to be traced in the '*χη*' of the Greeks, the '*anser*' of

the Romans, the '*ganso*' of the Portuguese, the '*ansar*' of the Spaniards, the '*gans*' of the Germans (who, Pliny says, called the white geese *ganza*), the '*gao*' of the Swedes, and the '*gander*' of the English."—P. 487.

Our author devotes more than a hundred pages to a description of the sciences and social arts of the Singhalese, from the earliest to most recent times. This affords him frequent opportunity to mark progress or retrogression. Here, too, he is enabled to give bold relief to every philanthropic effort of the British since they obtained possession of the island. As he mentions one social feature and another which has yielded to the higher and more healthful civilization of their present rulers, and as he shows the happy change which has come over the administration of justice between man and man, it is not possible to resist the feeling that, if Britain has taken complete possession of the island, its inhabitants enjoy an amount of social blessing to which at every other period of their history, even from the conquest of Wijayo, they were entire strangers. Slavery and compulsory labour have been done away with; courts of justice, as free from partiality and oppression as those of Britain, have been established; a system of elementary education is gradually spreading like a net-work over the land; the pursuits of the agriculturist are patronized and encouraged; roads have been made, bridges built, and indeed everything has been, or is being, done which a paternal government could devise for the good of the people.

The Singhalese, like their neighbours on the Asiatic continent, appear to have been fond of such subtilities as those which, to this day, are characteristic of the Hindoo mind. Like them, too, in their intellectual fencing, the inhabitants of Ceylon very frequently hide great childishness of thought. Sir James gives an amusing illustration of this from early Singhalese history. Mahindo, the first apostle of Buddhism, is represented in the ancient chronicle as testing the wise king of the island:—

"Oh King! what is this tree called?"

"The Ambo."

"Besides this one, is there any other Ambo-tree?"

"There are many."

"Besides this Ambo, and those other Ambo-trees, are there any other trees on the earth?"

"Lord, there are many trees, but they are not Ambo-trees."

"Besides the other Ambo-trees, and the trees that are not Ambo, is there any other?"

"Gracious Lord, *this* Ambo-tree."

"Ruler of men, thou art wise."

"Hast thou any relations, oh King?"

"Lord, I have many."

"King, are there any persons not thy relations?"

"There are many who are not my relations."

"Besides thy relations, and those who are not thy relations, is there, or is there not, any other human being in existence?"

"Lord, *there is myself.*"

"Ruler of men, Sadhn! thou art wise."—P. 502.

Returning again to Sir James Tennent's description of the zoology of Ceylon, his notices of its ichthyology claim our attention. Some of its fishes have the singular habit of burying themselves deep down in the mud on the approach of the season of drought; and others are well known as travellers, which leave their pools at the dry season also, and shape their course through the grass to the nearest pool of water. These are like "the Doras of Guiana, which have been seen travelling overland during the dry season in search of their natural element, in such droves that the negroes have filled baskets with them during these terrestrial excursions." The travelling fish of Ceylon is closely allied to, if it be not the same as, the *Anabas scandens* of Cuvier. "This little creature issues boldly from its native pools and addresses itself to its toilsome march, generally at night or in the early morning, while the grass is still damp with the dew." Some of the fish of Ceylon climb, while others are musically inclined!

"On the occasion of another visit which I made to Batticaloa, in September 1848, I made some inquiries relative to a story which I had heard of musical sounds, said to be heard issuing from the bottom of the lake, at several places, both above and below the ferry opposite the old Dutch Fort; and which the natives suppose to proceed from some fish peculiar to the locality. The report was confirmed to me in all its particulars, and one of the spots whence the sounds proceed was pointed out between the pier and a rock which intersects the channel, two or three hundred yards to the eastward. They were said to be heard at night, and most distinctly when the moon was nearest the full, and they were described as resembling the faint sweet notes of an Æolian harp. I sent for some of the fishermen, who said they were perfectly aware of the fact; and that their fathers had always known of the existence of the musical sounds heard, they said, at the spot alluded to, but only during the dry season, and they cease when the lake is swollen by the freshes after the rain. They believed them to proceed from a shell, which is known by the Tamil name of (*oorie coolooros cradoe*, or) the 'crying shell,' a name in which the sound seems to have been adopted as an echo of the sense. I sent them in search of the shell; and they returned bringing me some living specimens of different shells,

chiefly *littorina* and *cerithium*. In the evening, when the moon had risen, I took a boat and accompanied the fishermen to the spot. We rowed about two hundred yards north-east of the jetty by the Fort gate; there was not a breath of wind, nor a ripple except that caused by the dip of our oars; and on coming to the point mentioned, I distinctly heard the sounds in question. They came up from the water like the gentle thrills of a musical chord, or the faint vibrations of a wine-glass when its rim is rubbed by a wet finger. It was not one sustained note, but a multitude of tiny sounds, each clear and distinct in itself; the sweetest treble mingling with the lowest bass. On applying the ear to the woodwork of the boat, the vibration was greatly increased in volume by conduction. The sounds varied considerably at different points, as we moved across the lake, as if the number of the animals from which they proceeded was greatest in particular spots; and occasionally we rowed out of the hearing of them altogether, until on returning to the original locality the sounds were at once renewed."

It was our intention to have given, with illustrative extracts, as much prominence to the botany of Ceylon as we have done to its zoology, but the space at our disposal forbids. We can, however, promise our botanical readers much pleasure in the work before us. The pages devoted to the coffee district of the island are full of information; but we can do no more than mention them, as we wish to glance for a little at that part of the present work which is taken up with notices of the elephant. The subject is a favourite one with Sir James, and he succeeds in making it the same to his readers. He thinks it necessary to make something like an apology in the Introduction, for the space devoted to the elephant. This was not needful. The notices of this noble animal,—of his haunts and habits, the modes of hunting him, and the like,—will be eagerly perused by all. Here is a description of an elephant *corral*, or enclosure into which wild herds are driven by the hunters:—

"In 1847, arrangements were made for one of the great elephant hunts for the supply of the Civil Engineer Department, and the spot fixed on was on the banks of the river Kinbul, about fifteen miles from Kornegalle. . . . In selecting a scene for a hunt, a position is chosen which lies on some old and frequented route of the animals, in their periodical migrations in search of forage and water; and the vicinity of a stream is indispensable, not only for the supply of the elephants during the time spent in inducing them to approach the enclosure, but to enable them to bathe and cool themselves throughout the process of training after capture.

"In constructing the corral itself, care is taken to avoid dis-

turbing the trees or the brushwood within the included space, and especially on the side by which the elephants are to approach, where it is essential to conceal the stockade as much as possible by the density of the foliage. . . . The space thus enclosed was about 500 feet in length, by half that width. At one end an entrance was left open, fitted with sliding bars, so prepared as to be capable of being instantly shut;—and from each angle of the end by which the elephants were to approach, two lines of the same strong fencing were continued on either side, and cautiously concealed by the trees; so that if, instead of entering by the open passage, the herd were to swerve to the right or left, they would find themselves suddenly stopped and forced to retrace their course to the gate. The preparations were completed by placing a stage for the Governor's party on a group of the nearest trees looking down into the enclosure, so that a view could be had of the entire proceeding, from the entrance of the herd to the leading out of the captive elephants. . . . The corral being thus prepared, the beaters address themselves to drive in the elephants. For this purpose, it is often necessary to fetch a circuit of many miles in order to surround a sufficient number; and the caution to be observed involves patience and delay, as it is essential to avoid alarming the elephants, which might otherwise rush in the wrong direction. . . . At last, the elephants are forced so close to the enclosure, that the investing cordon is united at either end with the wings of the corral,—the whole forming a circle of about two miles, within the area of which the herd is detained to wait the signal for the final drive. . . .

“Two months had been spent in these preparations; and they had been thus far completed, on the day when we arrived and took our places on the stage erected for us, overlooking the entrance to the corral. Close beneath us, a group of tame elephants, sent by the temples and the chiefs to assist in securing the wild ones, were picketed in the shade, and lazily fanning themselves with leaves. Three distinct herds, whose united numbers were variously represented at from forty to fifty elephants, were enclosed, and were at that moment concealed in the jungle, within a short distance of the stockade. Not a sound was permitted to be made; each person spoke to his neighbour in whispers; and such was the silence observed by the multitude of the watchers at their posts, that occasionally we could hear the rustling of the branches as some of the elephants stripped off their leaves.

“Suddenly the signal was made, and the stillness of the forest was broken by the shouts of the guard, the rolling of the drums and tomtoms, and the discharge of muskets; and, be-

ginning at the most distant side of the area, the elephants were urged forward towards the entrance into the corral.

“The watchers along the line kept silence only till the herd had passed them, and then, joining the cry in their rear, they drove them onward with redoubled shouts and noises. The tumult increased as the terrified rout drew near, swelling now on one side, now on the other, as the herd in their panic dashed from point to point in their endeavours to force the line, but were instantly driven back by screams, guns, and drums.

“At length the breaking of the branches, and the crackling of the brushwood, announced their close approach; and the leader, bursting from the jungle, rushed wildly forward to within twenty yards of the entrance, followed by the rest of the herd. Another moment, and they would have plunged into the open gate,—when suddenly they wheeled round, re-entered the jungle, and, in spite of the hunters, resumed their original position. The chief headman came forward, and accounted for the freak by saying that a wild pig—an animal which the elephants are said to dislike—had started out of the cover and run across the leader, who would otherwise have held on direct for the corral; and he intimated, that as the herd was now in the highest state of excitement,—and it was at all times much more difficult to effect a successful capture by daylight than by night, when the fires and flambeaux act with double effect,—it was the wish of the hunters to defer their final effort till the evening, when the darkness would lend a powerful aid to their exertions.

“After sunset the scene exhibited was of extraordinary interest; the low fires, which had apparently only smouldered in the sunlight, assumed their ruddy glow amidst the darkness, and threw their tinge over the groups collected round them; while the smoke rose in eddies through the rich foliage of the trees. The crowds of spectators maintained profound silence, and not a sound was perceptible beyond the hum of an insect. On a sudden the stillness was broken by the roll of a drum, followed by a discharge of musketry. This was the signal for the renewed assault, and the hunters entered the circle with shouts and clamour; dry leaves and sticks were flung upon the watchfires till they blazed aloft, and formed a line of flame on every side, except in the direction of the corral, which was studiously kept dark; and thither the terrified elephants betook themselves, followed by the yells and racket of their pursuers.

“They approached at a rapid pace, trampling down the brushwood and crushing the dry branches; the leader emerged in front of the corral, paused for an instant, stared wildly round, and then rushed headlong through the open gate, followed by the rest of the herd.

“As if by magic, the entire circuit of the corral, which to this moment had been kept in profound darkness, now blazed with a thousand lights; every hunter, on the instant that the elephants entered, rushing forward to the stockade with a torch kindled at the nearest watchfire.

“The elephants first dashed to the very extremity of the enclosure; and, being brought up by the powerful fence, started back to regain the gate, but found it closed. Their terror was sublime: they hurried round the corral at a rapid pace, but saw it now girt by fire on every side: they attempted to force the stockade, but were driven back by the guards with spears and flambeaux; and on whichever side they approached, they were repulsed with shouts and discharges of musketry. Collecting into one group, they would pause for a moment in apparent bewilderment, then burst off in another direction, as if it had suddenly occurred to them to try some point which they had before overlooked; but again repulsed, they slowly returned to their forlorn resting-place in the centre of the corral.”—*IL* 354.

The scene after the hunt is equally well-told, and full of interest:—

“When every wild elephant had been noosed and tied up, the scene presented was one truly Oriental. From one to two thousand natives, many of them in gaudy dresses and armed with spears, crowded about the enclosures. Their families had collected to see the spectacle: women, whose children clung like little bronzed Cupids by their side; and girls, many of them in the graceful costume of that part of the country—a scarf, which, after having been brought round the waist, is thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and side free and uncovered. At the foot of each tree was its captive elephant; some still struggling and writhing in feverish excitement, while others, in exhaustion and despair, lay motionless, except that from time to time they heaped fresh dust upon their heads. The mellow notes of a Kandyan flute, which was played at a little distance, had a striking effect upon one or more of them; they turned their heads in the direction from which the music came, expanded their broad ears, and were evidently soothed with the plaintive sound. The two little ones alone still roared for freedom; they stamped their feet, and blew clouds of dust over their shoulders, brandishing their little trunks aloft, and attacking every one who came within their reach. At first, the older ones, when secured, spurned every offer of food, trampled it under foot, and turned haughtily away. A few, however, as they became more composed, could not resist the temptation of the juicy stems of the plantain, but rolling them under foot, till they detached the layers, they raised them in their trunks, and

commenced chewing them listlessly. On the whole, whilst the sagacity, the composure, and docility of the decoys were such as to excite lively astonishment, it was not possible to withhold the highest admiration from the calm and dignified demeanour of the captives. Their whole bearing was at variance with the representations made by some of the 'sportsmen' who harass them, that they are treacherous, savage, and revengeful. When tormented by the guns of their persecutors, they, no doubt, display their powers and sagacity in efforts to retaliate or escape; but here their every movement was indicative of innocence and timidity. After a struggle, in which they evinced no disposition to violence or revenge, they submitted with the calmness of despair. Their attitudes were pitiable, their grief was most touching, and their low moaning went to the heart. It would not have been tolerable had they either been captured with unnecessary pain or reserved for ill-treatment afterwards."—P. 372.

Adam's Peak, and the famous sacred foot-print at the top, were visited by Sir James Tennent. As usual, he mixes up his graphic sketches of scenery with kindly gossip and historical lore. By the Brahmans the foot-print was held to be that of Siva, the Buddhists looked on it as that of Buddha, the Chinese as of Foë, the Gnostics as of Ieû, the primal man, and the Mahometans regarded it as that of Adam. "At the present day the Buddhists are the guardians of the Sri-pada, or sacred foot-mark; but around the object of common adoration the devotees of all the races meet, not in furious contention, like the Latins and Greeks at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but in pious appreciation of the one solitary object on which they can unite in peaceful worship." They are easily pleased. Were they less superstitious, they might possibly be more ready to quarrel. "The route taken to the mountain from the western side of the island, is generally from Colombo to Ratnapoora by land, and thence by jungle paths to the Peak; and, on the return, visitors usually descend the Kaluganga in boats to Caltura. The distance from the sea to the summit is about sixty-five miles, for two-thirds of which the road lies across the lowlands of the coast, traversing rice-lands and cocoa-nut groves, and passing by numerous villages, with their gardens of jak-trees, arecas, and plantains. After leaving Ratnapoora, the traveller proceeds by bridle-roads to climb the labyrinth of hills which cluster round the base of the sacred mountain. These form what is called the 'Wilderness of the Peak,' and are covered with forests frequented by elephants, wild boars, and leopards. There the track winds under over-arching trees, whose shade excludes the sun; across brawling rivers; through ravines so deep, that nothing but the sky is seen above; and thence the road reascends to heights from which views

of surpassing grandeur are obtained over the hills and plains below. In these moist regions the tormenting land-leeches swarm on the damp grass, and almost defy every precaution, however vigilant, against insidious attacks. . . . During the greater part of this upward journey, the summit of the mountain, the object of so much solicitude and toil, is seldom visible, being hidden by the overhanging cliffs; but, at last, on reaching a little patch of table-land at Diebetne, with its ruinous rest-house, the majestic cone is discerned towering in unsurpassed sublimity, but with an intervening space of three miles of such acclivity, that the Singhalese have conferred on it the appropriate name of *aukanagaou*, literally, 'the sky-league.' Here, descending into one of the many ravines, and crossing an enormous mass of rounded rock overflowed by perpetual streams, the ascent recommences by passages so steep as to be accessible only by means of steps hewn in the smooth stone. On approaching the highest altitude, vegetation suddenly ceases; and, at last, on reaching the base of the stupendous cone which forms the pinnacle of the peak, further progress is effected by aid of chains, securely riveted in the living rock. As the pillar-like crag rounds away at either side, the eye, if turned downwards, peers into a chasm of unseen depth; and so dizzy is the elevation, that the guides discourage a pause, lest a sudden gust of wind should sweep the adventurous climber from his giddy footing into the unfathomable gulfs below. An iron ladder, let into the face of a perpendicular cliff upwards of forty feet in height, lands the pilgrim on the tiny terrace which forms the apex of the mountain; and in the centre of this, on the crown of a mass of gneiss and hornblende, the sacred footstep is discovered, under a pagoda-like canopy, supported on slender columns, and open on all sides to the winds.

"The indentation in the rock is a natural hollow artificially enlarged, exhibiting the rude outline of a foot about five feet long, and of proportionate breadth; but it is a test of credulity, too gross even for fanaticism, to believe that the footstep is either human or divine. The worship addressed to it consists of offerings, chiefly flowers of the rhododendron, presented with genuflexions, invocations, and shouts of *Saadoo!* The ceremony concludes by the striking of an ancient bell, and a draught from the sacred spring, which runs within a few feet of the summit."
—II. 141.

Reference has been made already to the "creeping things" of Ceylon. They appear to be in the habit of taking all liberties with the dwellings of man. The sensation would not be of the most pleasant kind, which would be called up by discovering a snake with her young under our pillow, or by feeling the cold crawl of a lizard over an exposed leg.

“Serpents are numerous on the hills ; and as the house stood on a terrace formed out of one of its steepest sides, the cobra de capello and the green carawella frequently glided through the rooms on their way towards the grounds. During the residence of one of my predecessors in office, an invalid, who lay for some days on a sofa in the verandah, imagined more than once that she felt something move under the pillow ; and, on rising to have it examined, a snake was discovered with a brood of young, which, from their being born alive, were most probably venomous. A lady residing in the old palace adjoining, going to open her piano, was about to remove what she thought to be an ebony walking-stick that lay upon it, but was startled on finding that she had laid hold of a snake.

“One day, when the carriage had come to the door, and I was about to hand a lady in, a rat-snake uncoiled itself on the cushion, and glided leisurely down the steps. Those creatures, however, are perfectly harmless, and are encouraged by the horse-keepers to take up their abode about the offices and stable-yard, which they keep free of vermin. In colour they are brown, with a tinge of iridescent blue.

“Another less formidable intruder was the great black scorpion, as large as a little cray-fish, which sometimes, when disturbed in the daylight, made its way across the floor with its venomous tail arched forward, prepared to encounter any assailant.”—II. 205.

In this notice of Sir James Emerson Tennent's “Ceylon,” we have not been able to do more than refer to some of the leading topics in a work which, for the rich and varied information it contains, and for the great ability with which it has been written, is unequalled in recent books of travel. This is saying much ; but we are persuaded the estimate will be cordially accepted by every reader. We are glad to see that it has reached a third edition, and have no doubt but that this is only the beginning of its sale. As a monograph on Ceylon it is complete. From some knowledge of the literature of travel which treats of that island, and from acquaintance with several who have spent many years there, and who have read Sir James' work, we believe nothing has been left out which could be of value to British readers. The historian, the antiquary, the naturalist, the sportsman, the merchant, and the lover of travel-talk, has each in it something specially for him ; while the good sense, literary skill, sound information, and general ability, characteristic of every portion of the work, will make it attractive and interesting to all intelligent men.

ART. IX.—Works of GEORGE WILSON, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.S.S.A., Regius Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland, and Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.

1. *Chemistry, in Chambers' Educational Course.* 1850. Twenty-fourth Thousand.
2. *The Life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish.* Cavendish Society, 1851.
3. *Life of Dr John Reid.* Sutherland and Knox. 1852. Second Edition.
4. *Researches on Colour-Blindness.* Sutherland and Knox. 1855.
5. *The Five Gateways of Knowledge.* Macmillan and Co. 1856. Second Edition.
6. *Electricity and the Electric Telegraph.* Longmans. 1858. Second Edition.
7. *On Isomeric Transmutation.* 1844.
8. *Experimental Demonstrations of the Existence of Haloid Salts in Solution.* Transactions of British Association, 1839.
9. *On the Employment of Oxygen as a Means of Resuscitation in Asphyxia, and otherwise as a Remedial Agent.* Transactions Royal Scot. Soc. of Arts, 1845.
10. *Account of a Repetition of several of Dr Samuel Brown's Processes for the Conversion of Carbon into Silicon.* By GEORGE WILSON, M.D., and JOHN CROMBIE BROWN, Esq. Ditto, 1844.
11. *On a Simple Mode of constructing Skeleton Models to illustrate the Systems of Crystallography.* Transactions Royal Scot. Soc. of Arts, 1845.
12. *On Dr Wollaston's Argument from the Limitation of the Atmosphere as to the Finite Divisibility of Matter.* Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Edinburgh, 1845.
13. *On the Applicability of the Electro-Magnetic Bell to the Trial of Experiments on the Conduction of Sound, especially of Gases.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1846.
14. *On the Solubility of Fluoride of Calcium, etc.* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin., 1846.
15. *On some Phenomena of Capillary Attraction observed with Chloroform, Bisulphuret of Carbon, and other Liquids.* Ditto, 1848.
16. *On the Action of Dry Gases on Organic Colouring Matters, and its Relation to the Theory of Bleaching.* Do., 1848.
17. *A few Unpublished Particulars regarding the late Dr Black.* Do., 1849.

18. *On the Specific Gravity of Chloroform.* Monthly Journal of Medical Science, 1848.
19. *On the Argument for the Binary Theory of Salts.* Read before the Chemical Society, 1848.
20. *On the Extraction of Mannite from the Root of Dandelion.* Royal Society, Edin., 1849.
21. *On the Decomposition of Water by Platinum and the Black Oxide of Iron at a White Heat.* Journal of Chemical Society, 1847.
22. *On the possible Derivation of the Diamond from Anthracite.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, April 1850.
23. *On the Proportion of Fluoride of Calcium present in the Baltic.* (FORCHAMMER.) Edin. New Phil. Journal, April 1850.
24. *On the Crystallization of Bicarbonate of Ammonia in Spherical Masses.* Royal Society, 1851.
25. *Presence of Fluorine in Blood and Milk, etc.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1850.
26. *On Two New Processes for the Detection of Fluorine, when accompanied by Silica, etc.* Royal Society of Edin., 1852.
27. *On a supposed Meteoric Stone, alleged to have fallen in Hampshire in Sept. 1852.* Ditto.
28. *On the Organs in which Lead accumulates in the Horse, in Cases of Slow Poisoning by that Metal.* 1852.
29. *On Nitric Acid as a Source of the Nitrogen found in Plants.* Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Edin., 1853.
30. *Recent Scientific Ballooning.* British Quarterly Review, Jan. 1854.
31. *On the Extent to which the Received Theory of Vision requires us to regard the Eye as a Camera Obscura.* Transactions of the Royal Society of Edin., 1855.
32. *On the Artificial Preparation of Sea Water for the Aquarium.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, 1855.
33. *Chemical Final Causes.* Edin. University Essays, 1856.
34. *On the Transmission of the Actinic Rays of Light through the Eye, and their Relation to the Yellow Spot of the Retina.* Royal Society, April 1856.
35. *On M. J. Nickle's Claim to be the Discoverer of Fluorine in the Blood.* Philosophical Magazine, March 1857.
36. *On the Production of Photographs on Fluorescent Surfaces.* Journal of Photographic Society, 1857.
37. *On the Recent Vindication of the Priority of Cavendish as the Discoverer of the Composition of Water.* Royal Society, April 1859.
38. *On Dryness, Darkness, and Coldness, as means of preserving Photographs from Fading.* Journal of the Photographic Society, 1859.

39. *On the Fruits of the Cucurbitaceæ and Crescentiaceæ.* Edin. New Phil. Journal, Oct. 1859.
40. *What is Technology?* Nov. 7th, 1855.
41. *On the Physical Sciences which form the Basis of Technology.* Nov. 1856.
42. *The Objects of Technology and Industrial Museums.* Feb. 1856.
43. *The Relation of Ornamental to Industrial Art.* 1856.
44. *On the Chemistry of Building Materials.* Nov. 1854.
45. *The Progress of the Telegraph, being the Introductory Lecture on Technology for 1858-59.*
46. *On Pharmacy as a Branch of Technology.* April 1856. Pharmaceutical Journal.
47. *On the Relations of Technology to Agriculture.* Jan. 16th, 1856. Transactions of the Society.
48. *On the Early History of the Air-Pump in England.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, April 1849.
49. *On the Electric Fishes as the Earliest Electric Machines employed by Mankind.* Dublin Meeting, 1857.
50. *The Industrial Museum of Scotland in its Relation to Commercial Enterprise.* 1857.
51. *Address as President, Royal Scottish Society of Arts.* Nov. 1856. Transactions of the Society.
52. *Address as President, Royal Scottish Society of Arts.* Nov. 1857.
53. *Paper, Pens, and Ink.* Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1859.
54. *Sketch of the Life and Works of Wollaston.* British Quarterly Review. August 1846.
55. *Sketch of the Life and Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle.* British Quarterly Review, Feb. 1849.
56. *Sketch of James Wilson of Woodville.* Edin. New Philosophical Journal, July 1856.
57. *Biographical Notice of the late Professor Edward Forbes.* Royal Society, April 1858.
58. *Life and Discoveries of Dalton.* British Quarterly Review, Feb. 1845.
59. *On the alleged Antagonism between Poetry and Chemistry.* Nov. 7th, 1845.
60. *Introductory Address delivered at the Opening of the Medical School, Surgeons' Hall, Edin.* Nov. 1850.
61. *On the Character of God as inferred from the Study of Human Anatomy.* Address to Medical Students. A. and C. Black. 1856.
62. *On the Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession.* Edinburgh, 1849.

63. *The Grievance of the University Tests.* A Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, Secretary of State for the Home Department. 1852.
64. *Anæsthetics in Surgery, from a Patient's Point of View.* A Letter to Dr Simpson, published in his *Obstetric Memoirs*, Vol. II.
65. *To the Stethoscope. A Poem.* Blackwood's Magazine, March 1847.
66. *The Wings of the Dove and Eagle. A Poem.* Blackwood's Magazine.
67. *Verses in reference to Prof. Ed. Forbes.* Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1855.
68. *Lines on the Atlantic Cable.* Blackwood's Magazine, 1858.

PURPOSING to give a Biographical Sketch of the late Professor George Wilson, we have placed at the head of this article a list of his various publications. These extend over a wide range of literature and science, and several of them have already been noticed in this Journal. He was a man of exquisite literary power and fancy, and his writings are deservedly popular. By his death, the University of Edinburgh has been deprived of one of its bright ornaments, and Chemistry has lost one of its most felicitous and pleasing expounders.

Dr Wilson was born in Edinburgh, on 21st February 1818; and was thus, at his death, in the forty-first year of his age. "His parents were highly respectable, though not in such an elevated station as to diminish the credit due to his own exertions in attaining the position which he ultimately reached; but it deserves to be noticed, that he may be included in the number of distinguished men who have been in a great degree indebted for the development of their talents to the maternal character and influence."¹

His father, Mr Archibald Wilson, was a wine merchant in Edinburgh, and died about sixteen years ago. His mother, Janet Aitken, who is still living, was the youngest daughter of a land-surveyor in Greenock. She is a lady of great intelligence and piety, and she devoted much attention to the education of her children. There were eleven of the family; but of these only three now remain,—a son, Dr Daniel Wilson, the well-known author of "*The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*," at present Professor of English Literature and History in the University of Toronto,—and two daughters. From his childhood, George was distinguished by many noble qualities—great truthfulness, self-sacrifice, a delicate sense of honour, and generous feelings.

¹ Lord Neaves' Opening Address to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, December 5, 1859.

Studious, and with a marked love for books, he gave early promise of great mental ability.

In 1822 he commenced his studies in a private school, and in 1828 he entered as a pupil of the High School, under Mr Benjamin Mackay, an able classical teacher. He was always among the first five in the class, and was remarkable for his *general knowledge*—a quality which was exhibited during life, and which seemed afterwards to fit him specially for the situation he occupied in the University. So warm were his affections, and such his power of attracting others, that from his boyhood onwards no one was more generally beloved. While at school, in 1828–29, he and his brothers formed among their companions a “Juvenile Society for the Advancement of Knowledge.” They met once a-week in his father’s house, when papers were read on natural history, mechanics, astronomy, etc. Minutes of their proceedings were kept by his brother Daniel. His mother presided over the youthful assembly, and usually wound up the evening by giving a verse from Proverbs.

Wilson remained at the High School until he was fifteen. On leaving it he selected Medicine as his object of study, and commenced by becoming an apprentice in the laboratory of the Royal Infirmary, where he remained for four years. The suffering and distress which he witnessed during this period, made an indelible impression on his very sensitive nature, and had a saddening effect on his mind. Many are the stories which might be told illustrative of his sympathy with the patients, and his eager desire to relieve them. In his opening Address to the Society of Arts on November 23, 1857, in referring to apprenticeships, he says,—“Ah me! when I recall some of the enforced companions of my apprentice days, I feel that I would make the greatest sacrifices rather than permit a youth dear to me to encounter similar temptations.”

He entered the University of Edinburgh in 1834, passed as surgeon in 1838, took his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1839, and wrote a thesis “On the Certain Existence of Haloid Salts of the Electro-Negative Metals in Solution.” After taking his degree, chemistry became his favourite pursuit. He had studied the subject assiduously under Dr Hope and Mr Kenneth Kemp; and in 1836–37 he had been engaged for eighteen months as chemical assistant in Dr Christison’s laboratory, which was at that time the best school of analytical chemistry in the University. His first lectures on chemistry were given to private audiences, in the drawing-room of his father’s house, in 1837. In a MS. journal kept by him, we find the following entries:—“September 20th, 1838”—“I meet with scarcely one lady in ten or fifty, who has sufficiently cultivated

her natural intellectual powers." . . . "This winter shall see me do my utmost to suggest an improvement among my own small circle."

"May 1839. Following out the proposal to amend the subjects of ladies' conversation and study, I assembled some of them in my father's house, and delivered a course of prelections on chemistry, especially the chemistry of nature. This was in the winter of 1837-38, so that I was then not nineteen. The majority of my audience were older than myself by a year or two. I was greatly praised and encouraged, most kindly listened to, and assisted in many ways, especially by J. M'G., a generous, unselfish, happy fellow, without whose aid I should have come on very poorly. This course, which began in October, was first interrupted by the illness of my sister, and afterwards by the mournful indisposition of my cousin C.; so that only ten or twelve lectures were given.

"I place here the names of those who smiled on a juvenile attempt, both because I would keep on record the titles of those persons, who gave rise to many a happy thought, and that, as I hope to address other audiences, I may not lose the recollection of my first, which was more kind, generous, and forgiving towards me than any future audience can be."

Subsequently to this Dr Wilson went to London, and entered the laboratory of University College, under the superintendence of Professor Graham, now Master of the Mint. There, with Dr Lyon Playfair, Mr James Young of Glasgow, Dr Livingstone, the African traveller, and other zealous students, he carried on his chemical pursuits for a period of six months.

During his attendance at the University, he took an active part in all the doings of students, and joined in many of the *jeux d'esprits* which were in vogue at the time. He sent contributions to the University periodicals which were then established. In the University *Maga* for Tuesday, 23d February 1838, there is a paper by him, with the initials B. I. (meaning Bottle Imp), on "The Consulting Room and College Philosophers." He refers to the various classes of students who frequent the room, and, in speaking of medical students, says: "We draw attention to a *species*, individuals of which are to be found at every table. They are known by their care-worn, anxious looks, and by having a huge volume of folio anatomical plates before them, and a Dublin Dissector lying hard by. You peep over their shoulder, and find them tracing the course of the Vidian nerve, the relations of the external carotid, or the like; and you know that before the eyes of each floats, like the mirage of the desert, a japanned tin case, which, when attempted to be grasped, fades, like Macbeth's visionary dagger, into viewless air. Reader!

these unhappy mortals are aspirants to the name and honours of Surgeon."¹

He began to lecture publicly on chemistry in Edinburgh in 1840. About this time, however, his health began to suffer, apparently in consequence of excessive exertion during a pedestrian excursion in the Highlands with a cousin. His first course of lectures was arranged when he was confined to bed, and he was scarcely convalescent when he commenced the session of November 1840. His health continued broken after this. An attack of rheumatism was followed by disease of the ankle-joint, which ultimately called for amputation. This was performed in January 1843, by his friend, and afterwards his colleague, Professor Syme. His case is thus described in Mr Syme's "Contributions to the Pathology and Practice of Surgery," 1848:—"A medical gentleman, about twenty-five years of age, after suffering from general rheumatism, was, twelve months ago,² attacked with severe pain in the left ankle, accompanied with swelling and inability of using the limb. Various remedies were used without benefit. An abscess opened in the course of the summer, and continued to discharge from a sinus behind the ankle and heel. Six weeks ago I saw him with Mr Goodsir. He was much reduced in strength, and greatly emaciated, obtaining no rest except through the use of opiates, and evidently sinking under his protracted sufferings." Amputation seemed to offer the only hope of relief, and Mr Syme proposed disarticulation. Accordingly, he performed this operation; and as the articulating surfaces of the joint were everywhere divested of cartilage, rough and carious, instead of removing the malleolar projections separately, he exposed the bone sufficiently to saw off both together, with a thin lamina of the tibia connecting them. This was the first instance in which Professor Syme amputated through the ankle-joint for disease of the joint. It is therefore interesting in the annals of surgery. The case proceeded favourably. Dr Wilson, on 9th June 1846, wrote to Professor Syme in these terms:—"You will remember that I lost my foot in January 1843. The stump healed rapidly,

¹ He wrote a paper for the same periodical, "On the Natural History Museum," which was sent to Edward Forbes, the editor, but was not published. In it, after some amusing remarks on the etymology of the word Museum, he proceeds to comment on the mode in which some of the quadrupeds in the Museum are stuffed. He found that the lower lip of an elephant, in the collection, was made up of a piece of cloth, painted black on the outside and red within. He had read of canvas-backed ducks, but never of canvas-lipped elephants; and he proposes to designate the species "*Elephas linteolabiatu*s." A rhinoceros also attracted his notice, on account of a piece of wood supplying the place of a skull, and projecting into the mouth. To this animal he applies the name of "*Rhinocero xylocephalus*." It was this paper which called the attention of the editor to Wilson:

² The account was written 1843, and appeared in the April number of the *Edinburgh Monthly Medical Journal*.

and in six weeks had all closed except one small aperture, from which a slight watery discharge continued to come till the month of June, when it suddenly ceased, and complete cicatrization occurred. Since that period I have experienced no pain or uneasy sensation of any kind in the stump, nor any tenderness, making standing or walking irksome or unpleasant. . . . I can lean the weight of my body on the naked stump without inconvenience. . . . The artificial foot I wear within an ordinary half-boot, is made of light wood, with a spring across the part corresponding to the roots of the toes. This spring, however, is of no use, as the rigidity of the boot enclosing it prevents its acting. The foot might be made of one piece of wood. At the heel, it is hollowed into a concavity corresponding to the shape of the stump, but rising up before and behind into two prolongations, which, seen in section, would resemble the horns of a crescent. The foot is cased in chamois leather. . . . I have stood for six hours (not consecutively) daily, for months together, without any inconvenience; and I wear the artificial foot, without intermission, from morning till bed-time." John Goodsir was the only assistant at the operation. The feelings which Dr Wilson experienced previous to the operation, and during its performance, are graphically portrayed by him in a letter on "the Anæsthetics of Surgery," which he addressed to Professor Simpson, and which is published in Simpson's *Obstetric Works*, edited by Drs Priestley and Storrer, Vol. II., p. 796. He contrasts the condition of patients in his day, before the use of chloroform, with their state at the present time:—

"Several years ago," he says, "I was required to prepare, on very short warning, for the loss of a limb by amputation. A painful disease, which for a time had seemed likely to yield to the remedies employed, suddenly became greatly aggravated, and I was informed by two surgeons of the highest skill, who were consulted on my case, that I must choose between death and the sacrifice of a limb,—and that my choice must be promptly made, for my strength was fast sinking under pain, sleeplessness, and exhaustion. I at once agreed to submit to the operation, but asked a week to prepare for it; not with the slightest expectation that my disease would take a favourable turn in the interval, or that the anticipated horrors of the operation would become less appalling by reflection upon them; but simply because it was so probable that the operation would be followed by a fatal issue, that I wished to prepare for death, and what lies beyond it, whilst my faculties were clear and my emotions were comparatively undisturbed. For I knew well that if the operation was speedily followed by death, I should be in a condition, during the interval, in the last degree unfavourable to making preparation for the great change."

During the interval, he diligently and prayerfully studied the Bible, and at the end of a week the operation was performed.

There were no anæsthetics in those days, and the operation was a very painful and somewhat tedious one. Not being gifted with great physical courage, he was one of those to whom cutting, bruising, burning, or any similar physical injury, even to a small extent, was a source of suffering never willingly endured, and always anticipated with more or less apprehension. He states that he could never forget the black whirlwind of emotion, the horror of great darkness, and the sense of desertion by God and man, bordering almost upon despair, which swept through his mind and overwhelmed his heart. Chloroform would have been the greatest boon to him. From his relations he concealed the impending operation, fearing that the expression of their grief would shake his resolution. They were not aware of what had happened until the surgeons made it known to them. "During the operation," he continues, "in spite of the pain it occasioned, my senses were preternaturally acute; I watched all that the surgeons did with fascinated intensity. I still recall with unwelcome vividness the spreading out of the instruments, the twisting of the tourniquet, the first incision, the fingering of the sawed bone, the sponge pressed on the flap, the tying of the blood-vessels, the stitching of the skin, and the bloody dismembered limb lying on the floor." He then dwells on the value of anæsthetics, and concludes thus:—"The sum, you will perceive, of what I have been urging is, that the *unconsciousness* of the patient secured by anæsthetics, is scarcely less important than the painlessness with which they permit injuries to be inflicted on him. . . . I plead, therefore, for the administration of anæsthetics. I have thanked God many a time that He has put it into your heart to devise so simple and so safe a way of lessening pain. As for the fear entertained by some, that the moral good which accrues from suffering, and is intended by the Ruler of All to be secured by it, will be lost if agony is evaded by sufferers having recourse to anæsthetics,—we may surely leave that to the disposal of Him who does all things well."

His friend Goodsir visited him most assiduously. They were both keen medical students, and had been associated together in that scientific brotherhood which was established mainly by the late Professor Edward Forbes, under the name of the "Oineromathic." A bond of fellowship had been thus formed among many of the votaries of science at the Edinburgh School, which operated in no small degree on their after career. Forbes was an older student than Wilson, and had attained eminence as a rising naturalist before their acquaintance began. He was a genius in science who had the wonderful power of attracting followers, and of stimulating to exertion. Forbes'

influence told in no small degree on the mind of Wilson, who afterwards undertook to write his Biography. This work occupied his leisure hours ever since the lamented death of his friend; but we fear that little more than half the task has been completed. In a MS. note-book, the chapters of the Life of Forbes are sketched out thus:—

1. Isle of Man. 2. Boyhood and School Life. 3. London Artist Life. 4. The University of Edinburgh. 5. The Student Life of E. F. 6. The Sea Naturalist. 7. The Mediterranean Cruise. 8. The London Chair of Botany. 9. The Geological Survey. 10. The Edinburgh Class of Natural History. 11. The Artist and Litterateur. 12. The End. 13. Epilogue.—Of these the first five chapters are ready for the printer, and the sixth seems also to be finished, though not copied out. As the materials have all been accumulated, it is earnestly hoped that the work may be completed by other hands.

Up to manhood the vigour and elasticity of his health was unusual; but from the year 1842 to the end of his career, a thorn in the flesh never ceased to buffet him. It was during this illness that his attention was specially directed to matters of eternal moment. He had been religiously brought up amidst the hallowing influences of domestic piety, and had always shown a great respect for religion; but he does not appear to have closed with the Gospel offer, and to have had settled peace, until this epoch of his life. “A student of God’s works, and not ignorant of His Word, he as yet stood only in the outer court of the temple of Divine truth; the veil had yet to be parted that hung between him and the mysteries of its inner shrine; and there needed a power to be put forth to draw him with meet reverence and truthful confidence into the presence of Him who is there revealed.”¹ He now realized deeply his personal need of a Saviour. The bed of affliction was made to him a blessing. The chastening of the Lord was for his profit. There happened at that time to be a student at the Divinity Hall who became acquainted with Dr Wilson, and was a constant visitor at his house. This was the present Rev. Dr Cairns of Berwick. He became acquainted with Wilson at a Non-intrusion meeting in the Assembly Rooms of Edinburgh, in the spring of 1839. He writes thus:—“I was introduced by his cousin, my intimate friend, Mr James M’Gibbon Russell, a most distinguished student of philosophy, who died in 1844, before completing his studies for the ministry. I had known Mr Russell from 1837, and about the time that he introduced his cousin to me I began to visit at the house in Gayfield Square.” The friendship which sprung up between Dr Cairns and himself was of the warmest

¹ Rev. Dr Alexander’s Sermon on Wilson’s Death, p. 17.

kind, and continued throughout the remainder of life. Their fellowship was cemented by holier ties than any of a mere earthly nature. Dr Wilson always regarded Dr Cairns as his spiritual father, whose counsels encouraged him, and whose ministrations at the hour of death helped to cheer his spirit. What he owed to God's discipline during his life was ever gratefully present to his mind.

In a letter to his brother Daniel, in 1843, he remarks on "Trench's Sermons" and on "Maurice's Work," and alludes to his own spiritual experience:—

"We shall discuss," he says, "Maurice first, then the Puseyites, and finally we shall say a word about ourselves. Now, you must understand that I can offer you no *criticism* of the 'kingdom of Christ.' To do that would demand an amount of classical, metaphysical, theological, historical, and political acquirements such as I have not, and never will possess. . . . Though I have learned much from his volume, and admired much, I have sympathized with very little of it." After giving some critical remarks, he goes on to say:—"I have been greatly pleased with the account of Quakerism, and the comments on Unitarianism; still more with the decided way in which the Professor sets his face against Carlyle's nonsense. You know how much I admire the great Thomas, as an original thinker and a noble poet. I hold him, however, as a most unsafe, nay, to many minds, pernicious spiritual guide. I have seen several imaginative young men of my acquaintance led away by him. Samuel Brown's first lay sermon was a specimen of the cloudy religion his interpreters would substitute for the clear revelation of the Bible; and that dogma, of each age needing a new revelation of truth, may be true in a high sense, but is a dangerous doctrine in the hands of speculative, fanciful young men. I have been quite grieved with the conclusions which many have derived from the works of Carlyle, and am pleased, therefore, to see them opposed; for the men (of religious feeling at least) who read Carlyle will read Maurice also. There are many other passages I have admired and profited by, but I cannot conceal from you that the general impression the book has made upon me has been unfavourable. It so completely contradicts my individual religious experience, and is so opposed to all I have learned from the Bible, that I cannot believe it to be true. What does Maurice mean by saying that 'the individual prayer is not the highest and most essential prayer, but rather is *no prayer at all*;' or, 'the idea of prayer and the idea of a church can never be separated?' 'I will never believe such a statement. I cast it from me, not without a strong sense of indignation at the narrowing of God's promises which it proclaims. When I was recently struggling in 'a great fight of afflictions,' soul and body racked and anguished, my life hanging in the balance, and eternity in prospect, I prayed to God for light and help, and my prayer was heard and answered—my solitary individual prayer, offered up without idea of church, or idea of anything but that God had promised to listen to

every needy prayer, and to help all who believe on Christ Jesus. Will I, think you, sacrifice my sense of pardon and acceptance, realized in most trying circumstances, to any doctrine, however supported by secular evidence, which would deny its reality, and contradict what I dare not, cannot disavow, even if I wished to do it?"

His recovery from his severe illness was tedious, and he was rendered unfit for public duty for some time. His father died very suddenly in April 1843, and this added not a little to his sufferings. The family were at this time pressed hard by troubles in various ways.

He was a member of Dr W. Lindsay Alexander's congregation. In his letter to Mr Walpole, on the Grievances of the University Tests, he thus writes:—"To prevent any misunderstanding, let me further state that I am a member of a Congregational church. There are two sections of Congregationalists, Independents and Baptists, who differ as to the mode, the subjects, and the significance of baptism, but agree in other respects, in reference to doctrine and Church government. I am a Baptist; but regarding a difference with respect to baptism as not a valid ground of separation between Christians who are at one in other matters, I am a member of a church, the majority of whom, including their minister, the Rev. Dr W. L. Alexander, are Independents."

The commencement of Dr Wilson's career as a lecturer was thus also that of his ill health. His weak body seemed often to be sinking into the dust, while his noble spirit ignored its fetters, and seemed to rise above the feebleness of the flesh. For fifteen years he continued to teach as a private lecturer, and he acquired eminence and celebrity. During all this time he struggled with many difficulties; but in the midst of them all he exhibited a Christian equanimity of temper. Ill health and the *res augustæ domi* only tended to wean his affections from earthly things, and to centre them in heaven. In 1844 he was appointed by the Directors of the School of Arts their lecturer on chemistry; and in the same year, with the sanction of the Highland and Agricultural Society, he became lecturer in the Veterinary College of Edinburgh. Between 1844 and 1852 he continued to deliver regularly nine lectures on chemistry every week during the six winter months, and at a later period of his history he even delivered thirteen. For many years the Friday was welcomed by him for the opportunity it gave him of blistering, in order to fit him for the recurring Monday's work. He often lectured with a blister or an issue on his chest.

Dr Wilson had a peculiar power of making science popular, and describing intricate subjects in such a way as to make them plain to a common audience. His inventive powers in illustrat-

ing his lectures were remarkable. His graceful diction and æsthetic taste, combined with his play of fancy and of genial wit, gave peculiar attractions to his prelections, and crowded audiences hung on his lips whenever he appeared in public. In the Academic Hall, the Philosophical Institution, the learned society, and in the miserable lecture-room in the Cowgate or the Canongate, he was equally at home and equally successful.

The attention which he devoted to economical science, and to the applications of chemistry, pointed him out as the man best qualified to occupy the situation of Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland. In the autumn of the same year he was chosen by the Crown to fill the newly-instituted chair of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.

The duties of this unendowed chair he fulfilled with the greatest ability and success. Although the class was not demanded for any academic honours, and was not included in any curriculum of study (except that of the Highland Society), still the talents of the Professor secured a large attendance. At the time of his death (although the entrance was not completed) the number of pupils was eighty-four, embracing students from all the Faculties and many amateurs. Nothing could more plainly indicate the value put on his lectures. In his inaugural lecture he considers the subject, *What is Technology?* and he thus writes: "Technology is the sum or complement of all the sciences which either are or may be made applicable to the industrial labours or utilitarian necessities of man. While the subject has a connection with various subjects already taught in the University, it steers a course distinct from all, has a province of its own, and will not, when properly handled, interfere with the duties of any other professor." Dr Wilson was particularly desirous that he should not tread needlessly on the domain of other professors, and he was very sensitive on this matter. At the same time he felt that there must of necessity be a certain overlapping of courses. Thus he remarks, "Every professor of the Faculty of Medicine is continually discussing, to a greater or less extent, the subject specially taught from all the other medical chairs. Anatomy, Chemistry, Physiology, and Pathology are more or less expounded by them all. The Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy must largely consider the same phenomena and laws. Light, heat, electricity, magnetism, actinism, are included within the domain otherwise peculiar to each; and it must be left greatly to the judgment of each professor, and to the mutual arrangement among themselves to determine how much or how little of these common subjects any one will appropriate."¹

The full course of technology embraced three sessions, in each

¹ Inaugural Lecture, Nov. 7, 1855.

of which certain of the industrial arts were made the subject of lecture, which were not discussed in the other two. The course was divided into Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Technology. Under the first were included the relation of the atmosphere, the ocean and tributary waters, and the earth, to technology; and among special subjects, fuel, building material, glass and glass-making, pottery, earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, metallotechny, electrotechny, and magnetotechny. Under the second, or Vegetable Technology, were considered: saccharo-amylaceous substances, sugar-making, albuminous substances and fermentations, distillation, wood and wood-fibres, textile tissues, bleaching, dyeing, calico-printing, paper-making, scriptorial or graphic industrial arts, caoutchouc, gutta-percha, and the resins, fats, and oils. Under the third section, or Animal Technology, were included the mechanical application and chemical products of bones, ivory, horns, hoofs, tortoise-shell, shells, and corals; skins, tanning, fish-scales; hair, fur, wool, bristles, quills and feathers, animal refuse.

The lectures were fully illustrated by experiments and drawings, and by specimens from the natural history collections and the Industrial Museum. Occasion was taken throughout the course to visit various manufactures.

The Museum of the University had been handed over to the General Industrial Museum, on the condition that the Professor of Natural History should have the full use of the specimens for instructional purposes. It was also in contemplation to hand over other Museums, such as those of Comparative Anatomy and of Agriculture, under similar conditions. It seemed, therefore, to the Government proper to put the Director of the Museum in immediate connection with the University by means of the Professorship of Technology, allowing him to lecture on the varied applications of science to the industrial arts, without interfering with the elementary departments of science, which are taught by separate professors. The salary of the Director was at first L.300, and subsequently L.400 a-year. Dr Wilson was now placed in a position which seemed to be most congenial to his taste, and his prospects of usefulness and of comparative ease were brightened.

“It was fondly hoped,” says Lord Neaves, “that in this new position, in the midst of friends and fellow-citizens who loved and appreciated him, and in the bosom of his own affectionate family, his constitution might gain strength, and that he might live to develop more fully, and, perhaps, in some new and original shape, the talents and genius of which he was possessed. But such was not the destiny appointed for him. He was sometimes, perhaps, too careless of consequences, where the call of supposed duty was heard, or where an

opening of usefulness was afforded; and in the midst of much ill-health, and many warnings of danger, he continued to exert himself in a manner that would have been more appropriate in one of robuster frame. But his pleasure lay in the exercise of his intellectual faculties, in the advancement of science, and in availing himself of every opportunity to do good or show kindness; and it is probable that the pious resignation with which he long contemplated his precarious condition, and the state of preparation which he constantly endeavoured to maintain against the approach of death, may have led him to fear that event less, and to despise precautions for his own safety which his friends would have wished him to adopt. His ardent spirit could not rest. He set about making collections for the Museum, visited manufactories, corresponded with foreign countries, and took active steps in getting parties in power to make arrangements for the site and building of the new Museum. The delay in the latter particularly caused him much anxiety and annoyance. It was only about a fortnight before his death that Mr Matheson informed him of the expected realisation of his wishes. He continued to labour in the accumulation of specimens of industrial art in all departments, and the temporary premises in College Street and Argyle Square were filled with them at the time of his death. These, when deposited in the New Hall, will prove a lasting memorial of his zeal, activity, and taste. The treasures which he amassed will advance technology and commemorate his name, but, alas, the arrangement of them will be committed to other hands. How prophetically does he speak in a lecture, on this very Museum, where he says:—"I can but sow the seed; I am honoured to do this much; but "one soweth and another reapeth," and I am not so selfish or thoughtless as to wish it otherwise. We must be content to pluck the first fruits, and leave the full harvest to be gathered by those that follow."

In 1858, when Dr Gregory died, many members of the Town Council, as patrons of the University, looked to Wilson to succeed him; and had he come forward, there seems no reason to doubt that he would have been elected. He declined, however, to stand. He was always ready to oblige his friends. When the Professor of Botany gave a popular course, he kindly aided him, by giving in the class-room, at the Botanic Garden, lectures on the chemistry of vegetation, which were of a most attractive character; and he also revised the part of the botanical class-book in which the subject is treated. When Mr John Wilson, the Professor of Agriculture, was prevented from lecturing by ill health, he again gave his willing assistance, along with some of his colleagues, in conducting the course. A similar trait will be afterwards noticed in connection with the session of 1859-60.

Besides occupying these important positions in the University and in the Museum, Wilson was also an active member of many societies, and contributed papers to their Transactions, as will be

seen by referring to the list of his publications. He was twice elected a member of Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh; he was a member of the Council of the Chemical Society of London; a member of the Chemical Committee of the Highland and Agricultural Society, and one of the examiners for the Agricultural Diploma; an honorary member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain; and he had been twice president of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts, and for some time editor of its "Transactions." The last paper which he read in public, was that to the Botanical Society, in July last, at the Botanic Garden, "On the Fruits of Cucurbitaceæ and Crescentiaceæ as Models of various Articles of Industrial Use." The paper was fully illustrated by Museum specimens, and has appeared in the "Transactions" of the Society.

A growing holiness, sweetness, and patience, had been markedly visible in Dr Wilson of late years. In times of sickness and dangerous illness, there was ever a serene calmness and cheerfulness, that seemed greatly to aid recovery. His patient endurance of suffering was remarkable. Patience wrought experience, and experience hope—even that hope which maketh not ashamed. He was always ready for his great change. About six months ago, when saying good-bye on a morning visit to a friend, he said, "I am trying to live every day, so that I may be ready to go on an hour's notice." To another he used the remarkable expression, "I am resigned to live."

In September last he attended the meeting of the British Association at Aberdeen, and took an active part in the proceedings. The duties which he there undertook, under symptoms of great debility, were not such as to prepare him for the arduous work of the winter. The news of Professor Kelland's accident having reached him at Aberdeen, he expressed a kind and warm sympathy; and knowing that the accident had prevented his colleague from attending the meeting, he sent him an account of the proceedings, with the view of cheering him in his loneliness:—

Rev. Prof. Kelland.

ELM COTTAGE, EDINBURGH,
September 25, 1859.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE,—Along with your other friends here, I heard with the greatest sorrow of your accident this day fortnight, and, as usual, rumours made the calamity worse even than it was; and I could learn no particulars till I saw Christison and Forbes at Aberdeen some days later. Knowing what a broken limb and an injured leg are, I can very heartily sympathise with you in your sufferings and confinement, and do not utter idle words when *I wish* you a quick and entire recovery. A sincere wish is a prayer to God, and as such, besides more formal prayer, I offer it to Him, that you may be sustained patiently to bear the weary days and nights which for a

season are appointed you, and have a happy issue out of it all. Your serene, hopeful spirit will stand you in good stead now, and you know where to look for sustainment of hope and patience.

I write you mainly to ask if I can do anything for you, and to beg that you will not hesitate to command me to the utmost. It will be a great pleasure to serve you in any way. Meanwhile, I note down a point or two about the British Association at Aberdeen, which may not be uninteresting.

We had a numerous meeting. Great are the attractions of a Prince, and had he remained throughout the week we should certainly have had to hold our meetings *al fresco*, and to *bivouack* in the open air. Wisely, however, he gave but one day to the sections, and the stir moderated thereafter. His address was given in a modest, courteous, gentlemanly way. It was, I believe, entirely his own, and in matter and manner pleased all reasonable people. . . . I did not hear Sir R. Murchison's lecture. The gift of the Brisbane medal at its close greatly delighted him. He related to me in private that he very highly prized it; and it was very satisfactory to find that the younger geologists did not grudge him an honour which they thought he had amply and incontestably won, as the greatest recent contributor to Scottish geology. Dr Robinson's lecture was perhaps scarcely worthy of him, but, as I know from experience, it is an immensely difficult thing to explain in a few words to a popular audience the construction of an electric coil machine. The experiments were in the highest degree successful and beautiful. With Gassiot, the skilful experimental observer, and Ladd, the instrument maker, everything went well, and the magnificence as mere spectacles of some of the phenomena shown, especially those of fluorescence and phosphorescence, was such as to evoke from me, grave and sober though I am, a cry of delight; and I do not doubt that youngsters who saw these things with fresh, unsated eyes, will be roused by them to studies which by and by will enable them to push us old professors from our chairs.

Our Edinburgh men mustered strong—Allman, Balfour, Bennett, Christison, Laycock, Blackie, Shank More, Robertson, Playfair, Forbes, and myself, were present. We only wanted you to make up the dozen, and all lamented your absence. . . . There were few strangers. The continental men believed Aberdeen to be in the *arctic* circle, and were afraid to come. Liebig could not come, because England did not help Austria in the Italian war; but he has since, I regret to see, met with an accident like your own. Agassiz would have come if it had been a week earlier.

We had a Red Lion dinner on the Monday, when Owen presided, and about sixty men from all the sections sat down.¹ We broke up very early, but not before Blackie had astonished them with one of

¹ These dinners were commenced at Birmingham by E. Forbes, one of the members of Section D; and the party having met at an inn with the sign of the Red Lion, that name was afterwards given to the party. At each meeting of the British Association since that time a Red Lion dinner has taken place. The mode of cheering speeches indicates the Leonine character of the party.

his songs. I welcome these dinners for the opportunity they afford for seeing men you have long known by report, and wish to know better. I was beside De la Rue, who told me all about his sun and Jupiter photographs, and near Grant, the historian of astronomy, who tells me that a new and improved edition of his history will soon appear. Faraday seemed unusually well, but disappeared early. Lloyd and Sir W. Hamilton of Dublin were active throughout.

The Abbé Moigno was in every section, and had papers for nearly all. Some were very curious, others of small importance; but being delivered in very fluent, and, in truth, eloquent French, they were all listened to, though, I fear, by some solely on the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle. But I tire you; indeed, I am far too critical. I spent a very happy and instructive week, and came back a lowlier man. These meetings ought to make one humble. I hope they made me so. I only add, that I had a friendly discussion recently with Sir J. Herschel, by letter, as to the statistics of colour-blindness. He shakes his head at my high per-centage; I have in consequence got L.10 from the British Association, and will have to work again on the matter.

In replying to this letter, Professor Kelland accepted Wilson's kind offer of service, and requested him to deliver an introductory lecture to the class of Mathematics. This request was a most unexpected one, but with his usual kindness he at once assented, and performed the duty entrusted to him. In this lecture he noticed the bearings of various sciences on the business of life, and gave a comprehensive history of the mode in which science had been prosecuted in the Edinburgh University.

His feeble health at the commencement of the Session 1859 was ill calculated to fit him for the arduous duties he had undertaken, and there seemed to be in his own mind a feeling that he was not likely to survive long.

In the month of October he wrote to Professor Goodsir the following note, in which he evidently alludes to the uncertain tenure of his life:—

ELM COTTAGE, October 21, 1859.

Professor Goodsir.

MY DEAR SIR,—You did quite right about the Electrical Fishes. I intended to say to Mr Baillie when I saw him again, as I hope to do to-morrow, the dead one was to count as mine, and the living ones go to you.¹ I shall do myself the pleasure of looking in on the survivors some early day.

When at Burntisland this summer, I had several conversations with Mr Kirke, who has formally engaged to procure for me, free of expense, two living Gymnoti next summer. I intend one of them for

¹ He alludes to three specimens of *Malapterurus Beninensis* which had been brought over alive by the Rev. Zerub Baillie from Calabar, one of which was intended for Dr Wilson, but unfortunately it died soon after its arrival in Edinburgh.

you, and mention this, that as they cannot arrive till I suppose mid summer, you may, should I be out of the way, claim it. My precarious health makes me avoid looking forward to a period comparatively so distant, and I should not like you to miss getting the *Gymnotus*.

“You would perhaps at your leisure suggest what precaution should be taken in transporting the eel. Mr Kirke is sure the Dutch captains might be trusted, but is not so certain of the English ones.—
Yours very truly, “GEORGE WILSON.”

In the last few days of his life his serenity was more obvious than at any previous time. So well was it known that, living or dying, he was the Lord's, that the anxieties of a death-bed season were as much lightened as is possible in this life. His death was more like a child going to sleep than anything else.

Ten days before his death, when calling on a friend who had been laid aside by a severe accident, he said—“I can say from experience it has been good for me to be afflicted.” When under severe illness at one time, it was his earnest prayer that God would give him work to do for His own glory and the good of others. How this prayer has been answered has been abundantly testified.

He commenced his lectures in November 1859 with high prospects of success. His introductory lecture was characterised by his usual felicitous illustrations, and the class-room was crowded to the door.

His last illness began from exposure to cold and wet in a manufactory in the west, on the morning of Friday, 4th November. He had gone there to acquaint himself with the particulars of a Court of Session case relating to the dyeing mauve-coloured silk. On the morning of Friday, 18th November, he complained of a pain in his side, but he treated it as a pleurodynic attack, and went to lecture as usual. He was, however, much exhausted; and in spite of this he continued to write letters, receive visitors, and make business calls, and he even ventured to give a second lecture in the afternoon. This seemed to prostrate him completely, and he had to apologise to the class for taking a seat in place of standing during the lecture as usual. When he reached home he was scarcely able to get up stairs to bed, from whence he never rose.

On Monday morning he dictated the following letter to Dr Balfour, being the last of his letters:—

“ELM COTTAGE, *Monday Morning* (21 Nov. 1859).

“MY DEAR BALFOUR,—A sudden and unexpected attack of pleurisy, with accompanying inflammation of part of the lung, came on on Friday, and, as you may suppose, lays me aside from lecturing, much to my distress, at the very beginning of the session.

“It would be a very great favour if you could lecture for me this

week, beginning on Tuesday. My present topic is the amylaceous group, including starch, gum, sugar, and cellulose, and falls quite in your way. My assistant will see that the carriage goes down every day to bring you up with diagrams and specimens, and four assistants will be at your service every day. I trust you will be able to do me this service; but if you cannot, please inform the bearer, that I may make other arrangements.'

After that, class business and other secular matters did not trouble him, his thoughts being wholly occupied on eternity.

On the morning of Tuesday, 22d November, there appeared to be a slight alleviation of symptoms, but it was a temporary rally. Ere long it was evident that he was sinking. He was peaceful and happy, when he breathed his last.

The respect and affection with which he was regarded were well shown in the public funeral, which was attended by Professors of the University, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, members of the Royal Society, Royal Scottish Society of Arts, Royal Physical Society, Botanical Society, Philosophical Institution, School of Arts, Merchant Company, Chamber of Commerce. His friends, the Rev. Dr Alexander and the Rev. Dr Cairns, officiated on the occasion. His remains were interred in the Old Calton Burying-ground on 28th November, and his funeral sermon¹ was preached by Dr Alexander, in the Music Hall, to an overwhelming audience, on 4th December—the text being, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," Rev. xiv. 13.

While Wilson's lectures threw a genial light on the facts of science, his writings contributed not less to extend and popularise them. Everything he touched became instinct with life, and was impressed upon the mind of the hearer or reader by associations of the most pleasing and lasting nature. His collected writings will undoubtedly be an important contribution to literature.

Biographical memoirs were among the earliest productions of his pen. In this department of literature he shone with marked lustre. At the request of the Cavendish Society, he wrote the life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish, including extracts from his more scientific papers. It is an admirable biography, "full of life, of picturesque touches, and of realizations of the man and of his times." It contains a critical inquiry into the claims of all the alleged discoverers of the composition of water. On this subject Dr Wilson made a communication in April 1859 to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in which he completely established Cavendish's claim to the discovery. In the conclusion of the paper he dwells on the brightened moral aspect of the water controversy, and remarks: "From De Luc's 'Idées' all

¹ The sermon has been published by Messrs A. & C. Black.

trace of charge against the fair-dealing of Cavendish has vanished. Lavoisier is found making full, if somewhat tardy, amends for any wrong he did the English philosopher; and as De Luc and Lavoisier testify that Cavendish had reached his famous discovery in 1782, the most uncharitable must cease suspecting that he borrowed or stole it from Watt, who had it not to offer any one till 1783." He rejoiced in being thus able to vindicate Cavendish's claims, and at the same time he treats the opponents in that true spirit of love which is kind, and which rejoices not in iniquity, but rejoices in the truth.

His life of John Reid, Professor of Medicine in St Andrews, "is a vivid and memorable presentation to the world of the true lineaments, manner of life, and inmost thought, and heroic sufferings, as well as of the noble scientific achievements of that strong, truthful, courageous, and altogether admirable man and true discoverer,—a genuine follower of John Hunter." In his account of Reid's physiological discoveries relative to the nervous system, he exhibits in a remarkable manner his power of rendering the abstruse facts of science popular, and of putting them within the reach of ordinary readers. In his delineation, also, of the spiritual life of his friend, he speaks as one who from personal experience could tell of the great things which the Lord had done for his own soul. The work brings out in a clear and striking manner the happy combination of physiological eminence with high Christian attainments.

In his little treatise on "The Five Gateways of Knowledge," Wilson treats of the organs of the senses, in their intellectual and æsthetical relations, as "the loopholes through which the spirit gazes out upon the world, and the world gazes in upon the spirit,—porches which the longing, unsatisfied soul would often gladly make wider, that beautiful material nature might come into it more fully and freely; and fenced doors, which the sated and dissatisfied spirit would, if it had the power, often shut and bar altogether." The work "is a prose poem, a hymn of the finest utterance and fancy—the white light of science diffracted through the crystalline prism of his mind into the coloured glasses of the spectrum—truth dressed in the iridescent hues of the rainbow, and not the less, but all the more, true."

His volume on Colour-Blindness, or that affection of the eye which renders it insensible to certain colours, is a most complete one. He exhausts the subject, and brings together a collection of most valuable and interesting facts relative to the prevalence of chromato-pseudopsis, and to its bearing on the æsthetic and economic arts in which colours are employed. It is a highly popular and readable production, written in his usual easy, flowing, and simple style, and partaking of the healthy, happy tone

of the author's mind. His remarks on the colour-blindness on the part of signal-men at railway stations and on shipboard, called the attention of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts specially to the subject, and induced them to place a sum of money at Dr Wilson's disposal, for the purpose of carrying on his investigations. His merits in this department of research have been already fully noticed in the *North British Review*.

Wilson's last paper, on "Paper, Pens, and Ink," in the first number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, displays both the brightness and vivacity of his mind; and the concluding paragraph appears now in a peculiar light, when we consider the immortality of the writer. We quote them with pleasure:—

"When Paper, Pen, and Ink have made the tour of the world, and have carried everywhere the acknowledgment of brotherhood between people and people, and man and man, and the Song of Bethlehem, fulfilled to the full, has enlightened every intellect and softened every heart, their great mission will be ended. And let us not complain that our writing materials are one and all so frail and perishable, for God Himself has been content to write His will on the frailest things. Even His choicest graphic media are temporal and perishable. The stars of heaven are in our eyes the emblems of eternity, and they are the letters in God's alphabet of the universe, and we have counted them everlasting. Great astronomers of old have told us that the sidereal system could not stop, but must for ever go on printing in light its cyclical record of the firmament. But in our own day, and amongst ourselves, has arisen a philosopher (Professor William Thomson) to show us, as a result simply of physical forces working as we observe them do, that the lettered firmament of heaven will one day see all its scattered stars fall, like the ruined type-setting of a printer, into one mingled mass. Already the most distant stars, like the outermost sentinels of a flock of birds, have heard the signal of sunset and return, and have begun to gather closer together, and turn their faces homewards. Millions of years must elapse before that home is reached and the end comes, but that end is sure. God alone is eternal, and they who, through His gift, are partakers of His immortality.

"It is wonderful to find a patient mechanical philosopher, looking only to what his mathematics can educe from the phenomena of physical science, using words which, without exaggeration, are exactly equivalent to these:—'Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of Thy hands: they shall perish, but Thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail.'

"If God's Paper, Pen, and Ink are thus perishable, shall we complain that ours do not endure? It is the writer that shall be immortal, not the writing."

It was not merely in scientific matters that George Wilson shone. His appearance in public, whether as a speaker or a writer, was of a varied and diversified character. He was always ready to aid in any philanthropic scheme; and he gladly embraced any opportunity of advancing the cause of the Gospel. Not long ago he advocated the cause of the Bible in India; and in connection with the Medical Missionary Society, he pointed out to students the relation which science bears to religion. In all his prelections there was a high-toned religious feeling, founded on a true Christian faith,—a faith which animated him through the trials of life, and supported him in the hour of death.

How beautifully, in his paper on “The Sacredness of Medicine as a Profession,” does he point out the benevolent, moral, and Christian character of medicine:—

“We should all be medical missionaries,” he says, “whether we practise among the rich or the poor, the wise or the ignorant; among nominal Christians or undoubted Pagans. Therefore I adjure you to remember that the head of our profession is CHRIST. He left all men an example that they should follow His steps; but he left it specially to us. It is well that the statues of Hippocrates and Æsculapius should stand outside of our College of Physicians, but the living image of our Saviour should be enshrined in our hearts. The symbol of our vocation is the serpent; but it should be thought of not merely as a classical emblem, but as recalling the words of Him who said, “Be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.” May none of us be ashamed to call Him Lord! May we all confess Him before men, that He may confess us before the angels in heaven!”

In his paper on the Character of God, as inferred from the study of Human Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology, or in other words, as learned from the study of physical life and death, he inquires how far the study of Biology displays the wisdom, power, and benevolence of the Creator; and he concludes thus:—

“The image of the earthly will be fully understood only when it has changed into the image of the heavenly; and the chapter on morphology, which we shall read for the first time in the immortal law, will be found to supply the key to all that was inexplicable in the morphology and teleology of this mortal state. Christ calls us to be partakers of this blessed change. For us He died, rose, and revived. For us He ever liveth to make intercession; and when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory.”

In bringing this sketch to a close, we cannot help remarking how mysterious are the ways of God, in removing from among us one so well fitted to advance the cause of truth. He has been taken away in the midst of his usefulness, and his sun has gone down while it is yet day. We must bow in humble submission

to the will of Him who doeth all things well, and in infinite wisdom and love. Wilson's kind and social manner, his mellifluous and graceful eloquence, his graphic illustrations, and his holy Christian deportment, will long be remembered by all who came into contact with him; and his name will be handed down to future generations, associated with all that is noble in science and literature, and, at the same time, holy in life and conversation.

"The effort of his life," Dr Cairns remarks, "was to render science at once more human and more divine. His heart was strung throughout in sympathy with the touching prayers of the *Novum Organon*, that all science may become a healing art; and his last public office was regarded by him with special affection, as ministering to industrial progress and happiness. He sought, however, not less to link science with religion; and that not so much with the cold and comparatively unsatisfactory results of natural theology, as with the warmth and life of the Christian faith. No scientific writer of our day has so habitually and lovingly quoted the Bible, from his essay on Dalton, whom he represents as proving that God literally 'weighs the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance,' down to his last paper, which closes with remarking the identity of Professor Thomson's astronomical proof of the evanescence of the heavens with the words of the 102d Psalm. He hoped to live to write a '*Religio Chemici*,' corresponding to Sir Thomas Browne's '*Religio Medici*,' and embracing amongst other topics of discussion the doctrine of the resurrection."¹

On this subject he read a communication to the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, in which he partially developed his Chemico-Physiological views on this weighty topic and displayed much originality of thought as well as beauty of conception. We may, it is to be hoped, look for some extracts from this paper in the extended biography which is ere long to be published.

"To have moved," adds Dr Cairns, "amidst the altitudes and solitudes of science with a humble and loving heart; to have spoken out words on the sacredness of medicine as a profession and scientific life in general, more lofty than have almost been heard even from the pulpit, and to have illustrated them in practice; to have enforced the subjection of all knowledge to one Name, the highest in earth and heaven; to have conquered by faith in a life-long struggle with pain and suffering; and to have wrought out the work of the day placidly and devoutly till the night came;—these, in any, and especially in the leaders of science, are processes and results greater than can be described in the transactions of any society, or preserved in any museum."

¹ *Macmillan's Magazine* for January 1860.

ART. X.—*Ichnology of New England. A Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, especially its Fossil Footmarks, made to the Government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.* By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Professor in Amherst College. Boston: William White, Printer to the State. 1858.

“It happened one day about noon,” wrote the author of the life and adventures of that immortal hero, Robinson Crusoe, “going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man’s naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen on the sand. I stood as one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition. . . . How it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine.” The whole passage in which the imaginary discovery is recorded, affords a fine illustration of that graphic power of description for which the work stands unrivalled. Longfellow’s “Footprints on the Sands of Time” is tame, when set alongside of it. The “listening and looking;” the “going up the shore and down the shore;” the feeling that it “all might be a fancy;” the “no room for that, for *there* was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part,” are all inimitably true to nature, and to the “strange, unaccountable whimsies which come into thoughts by the way.” The first time we read the account of the ornithichnites of the Connecticut valley, the feelings ascribed to the hero in the fiction were forcibly recalled to memory, though nearly thirty years had passed since we had read the footprint scene. But the creations of fiction are surpassed by the facts of science; and the student of natural science is often led to walk calmly amidst wonders, of which even an imagination like that of Dante or of Milton would not have dared to dream. In 1802 an American boy turned up with his plough, at South Hadley, in the valley of the Connecticut river, a slab of sandstone, well marked by what seemed to be the footmarks of birds. The discovery took a strong hold of the imagination of the people. Had the waters of the flood rolled wildly over these sandstone slopes? Was the top soil only the result of very recent changes? Might not the surface of the sandstones, at the time of the deluge, have been so soft as to receive easily the marks of a bird’s foot, as we see the sand on our shores marked, after the tide has been at the highest, with the footmarks of the sea-birds which have followed the retiring waters? May not the footprints be those of the birds which left the ark, after the dark waves had rolled into the ocean, or lost themselves in the valleys down which the rivers wander? And if so, may not these impressions be actually the traces with

which "Noah's raven" has written the fact of his historical standing on the great earth itself? The popular questionings caught at the last suggestion, and the footprints on the Connecticut sandstones, were set down as those of Noah's raven!

The discovery remained much longer in the regions of popular ignorance and superstition than could have been expected at the time. A race of scientific men had begun to appear in Britain and in America, who were not likely to allow such phenomena to continue without being closely looked into. They afforded tempting material for theorizing on the order of time in which different forms of life were introduced on the globe, and for assorting the discoveries so as to harmonize with existing views regarding the deluge, etc. Yet twenty-six years passed without much attention having been directed to them. In 1828, the late Dr Duncan of Ruthwell, a man who stood far ahead of the class to which he belonged in scientific acquirements and in general knowledge, while equal to the most earnest of that class in the work of his profession, once more drew the notice of geologists to these fossil tracks, in connection with the sandstones of Corncocklemuir. Dr Duncan described the Corncockle tracks with great ability and clearness to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1828. The discovery was now set in a light in Britain which was sure very soon to attract attention. Dr Buckland, then in the prime of those great talents of which he was spared to make such good use in the cause of science and in the service of Christ, gave a prominence to the Dumfriesshire discoveries, which they could not have so well got in any other way, by devoting some space to them in his "Bridgewater Treatise." Quoting from Dr Duncan, in regard to the position of the tracks, Buckland suggested an element of great interest, and one fitted to awaken a multitude of such feelings as those so graphically described by Defoe, when his hero lighted on the footprint in the desert island. The fact of the existence of animals, every trace of whose remains have perished, was not only established, but the duration of their existence on the globe was clearly hinted at. "Dr Duncan states," says Buckland, "that the strata which bear these impressions lie on each other, like volumes on the shelf of a library when all inclining to one side; that the quarry has been worked to the depth of forty-five feet from the top of the rock; throughout the whole of this depth similar impressions have been found, not on a single stratum only, but on many successive strata; *i.e.* after removing a large slab which contained footprints, they found perhaps the very next stratum, at the distance of a few feet, or it might be less than an inch, exhibiting a similar phenomenon. Hence it follows, that the process by which the impressions were made on

the sand, and subsequently buried, was repeated at successive intervals.”¹

Meanwhile another able and accurate observer had entered the field. Sir William Jardine brought his habits of discrimination as an ornithologist to bear upon the fossil tracks of Dumfriesshire; and he has embodied his observations in a monograph, to which we would call the attention of our readers. It is full of interest, and marked by much ability.

As our desire is to give our readers an outline of Professor Hitchcock's labours in ichnology, we cannot follow the history of this branch of science in Britain, except in a very general way. We have indicated its rise, and have named those who, because of the time at which they appeared in the field, deserve to be remembered as having first seen the value of the discovery, in connection with some of the most important cosmical and palæontological questions. After 1836, many other observers appeared, whose labours have both laid the foundation of, and supplied the materials for, that magnificent structure which our greatest living palæontologist has built up in his recent memoir.²

“The existence of birds,” says Owen, “at the triassic period in geology, or at the time of the formation of sandstones, which are certainly intermediate between the lias and the coal, is indicated by abundant evidences of footprints impressed upon those sandstones which extend through a great part of the valley of the Connecticut river, in Connecticut and Massachusetts, North America.

“The footprints of birds are peculiar, and more readily distinguishable than those of most other animals. Birds tread on the toes only; these are articulated to a single metatarsal bone, at right angles equally to it; and they diverge more from each other, and are less connected with each other, than in other animals, except as regards the web-footed order of birds. Not more than three toes are directed forward:³ the fourth, when it exists, is directed backward, is shorter, usually rises higher from the metatarsal, and takes less share in sustaining the superincumbent weight. No two toes of the same foot in any bird have the same number of joints. There is a constant numerical progression in the number of phalanges (toe-joints), from the innermost to the outermost toe. When the back toe exists, it is the innermost of the four toes, and it has two phalanges, the next has three, the third or middle of the front toes has four, and the outermost has five phalanges. When the back toe is wanting, as in some waders, and most wingless birds, the toes have three, four, and five phalanges respectively. When the number of toes is reduced to two, as in the ostrich, their phalanges are respectively four and five in number; thus

¹ See Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*, edited by his Son. Two vols. London: Routledge, 1858. In No. 59 of this Journal, we called attention to the merits of this edition.

² Palæontology, by Professor Owen. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. New edition.

³ Save in the Swift.

showing those toes to answer to the two outermost toes in tridactyle and tetradactyle birds.

“ The same numerical progression characterises the two phalanges in most lizards, from the innermost to the fourth; but a fifth toe exists in them, which has one phalange less than the fourth toe. It is the fifth toe which is wanting in every bird. In some GALLINACEA, one or two (*Pavo bicalcaratus*) spurs are superadded to the metatarsus; but this peculiar weapon is not the stunted homologue of a toe. Dr Deane, and Mr Marsh of Greenfield, United States, first noticed, in 1835, impressions resembling the feet of birds, in the sandstone rocks near that town. Dr Hitchcock, president of Amherst College, United States, whose attention was called to these impressions, first made public the fact, and submitted to a scientific ordeal his interpretations of those impressions, as having been produced by the feet of living birds; and he gave them the name of *Ornithichnites*.

“ It was a startling announcement, and a conclusion that must have had strong evidence to support it, since one of the kinds of the tracks had been made by a pair of feet, each leaving a print twenty inches in length. Under the term *Ornithichnites giganteus*, however, Dr Hitchcock did not shrink from announcing to the geological world the fact of the existence, during the period of the deposition of the red sandstones of the valley of the Connecticut, of a bird which must have been at least four times larger than the ostrich. The impressions succeeded each other at regular intervals; they were of two kinds, but differing only as a right and left foot, and alternating with each other, the left foot a little to the left, and the right foot a little to the right, of the mid-line between the series of tracks. Each footprint exhibits three toes, diverging as they extend forwards. The distance between the tips of the inside and outside toes of the same foot was twelve inches. Each toe was terminated by a short strong claw projecting from the mid toe, a little on the inner side of its axis, from the other two toes, a little on the outer side of theirs. The end of the metatarsal bone, to which those toes were articulated, rested on a two-lobed cushion, which sloped upwards behind. The inner toe showed distinctly two phalangeal divisions, the middle toe three, the outer toe four. And since, in living birds, the penultimate and ungual phalanges usually leave only a single impression, the inference was just, that the toes of this large foot had been characterised by the same progressively-increasing number of phalanges, from the inner to the outer one, as in birds. And, as in birds also, the toe with the greatest number of joints was not the longest; it measured, *e.g.*, twelve and a half inches; the middle toe from the same base-line measured sixteen inches; the outer toe twelve inches. Some of the impressions of this huge tridactylous footstep were so well preserved, as to demonstrate the papillose and striated character of the integument covering the cushions on the under side of the foot. Such a structure is very similar to that in the ostrich. The average extent of stride, as shown by the distance between the impressions, was between three and four feet; the same limb was therefore carried out

each step from six to seven feet forward in the ordinary rate of progression.

These footprints, although the largest that have been observed on the Connecticut sandstones, are the most numerous. The gigantic brontozoum, as Professor Hitchcock proposes to term the species, 'must have been,' he writes, 'the giant rulers of the valley. Their gregarious character appears from the fact, that at some localities we find parallel rows of tracks a few feet distance from one another.'"

The red sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, thus fruitful in the fossil tracks of birds, supplies many traces of other groups of the animal kingdom. The Vertebrata are represented by seven groups, forty-four genera, and ninety-three species. The Invertebrata lay claim to two great groups, sixteen genera, and twenty-nine species; making, in all, one hundred and twenty-two species of Lithichnozoa, whose tracks on these primeval sandstones are all that remain to tell that, in other ages and under climatal conditions wholly different from present ones, they had passed away life's brief span. The time which must have elapsed after they departed from the scene of being, yet before the appearance of man on the earth, must have been immense. The period which has elapsed since Adam conversed with his Maker amidst the groves of Eden, is as yesterday, compared with the time at which the sun saw the last living things which have left their footprints on the Connecticut Sandstones. What a world of life had peopled that valley, when man's only place was in the depths of that Eternal Mind, which, before the time when the foundations of the earth were laid, anticipated the epoch of Adam, and even from everlasting rejoiced in the habitable parts of the earth! ¹

Taking a closer glance at the classification of the Connecticut Lithichnozoa, we find the line of life run from the Marsupialoid animals, through pachydactylous, or thick-toed Birds, leptodactylous, or narrow-toed birds, on to Annelidans; passing thus in its range the curious group of Ornithoid Lizards and Batrachians, lying between the true *Licerta* and *Batrachia*, which are largely represented, the *Chelonia*, *Pisces*, *Crustacea*, and *Insecta*.

The organic remains of the Connecticut sandstone are so numerous, that it requires not a strong imagination to picture the scene down on which the sun shone, and the rains descended, and over which the winds swept at the time, between which and our day lie great ages of unimagined duration. Swimming the estuary waters, countless *Lepidoides* tempted more formidable fishers than man to venture from the shore in search of them; for, in neighbouring marshes the huge *Grallatores*, whose footprints have been presented to us, found a home, and turtles,

¹ Proverbs viii.

lizards, and Batrachian reptiles swarmed around. The vegetation was in keeping with the forms of animal life. Equisetaceæ shot their jointed stems up out of the marshes, Cycadites hung their pinnated fronds out in shining beauty in the sunlight; the intertwining Club Mosses yielded the green covering, up out of which the arborescent forms of vegetation sprung; while the drooping characteristic fern, *Clathropteris rectiusculus*, with here and there a half-decayed leaf, revealing its beautiful reticulations, stood out in dark green patches on the edges of a life-full pool.¹ True, there was no eye of man to be satisfied with their beauty; but they stood forth in glory under the eye of the great Creator, who rejoices in all His works! “Is it not truly wonderful,” says Hugh Miller, “that in this late age of the world, in which the invention of the poets seems to content itself with humbler and lowlier flights than of old, we should thus find the facts of Geology fully rivalling, in the strange and the outré, the wildest fancies of the Romancers who flourished in the Middle Ages? I have already referred to flying dragons,—real existences of the Oolitic period, that were quite as extraordinary of type, if not altogether so huge of bulk, as those with which the Seven Champions of Christendom used to do battle; and here are we introduced to birds of the Liassic Ages that were scarce less gigantic than the roc of Sinbad the Sailor. They are fraught with strange meanings, these footprints of the Connecticut. They tell of a time far removed into the by-past eternity, when great birds frequented by myriads the shores of a nameless lake, to wade into its shallows in quest of mail-covered fishes of the ancient type, or long extinct molluscs; while reptiles equally gigantic, and of still stranger proportions, haunted the neighbouring swamps and savannahs; and when the same sun that shone on the tall moving forms beside the waters, and threw their long shadows across the red sands, lighted up the glades of deep forests, all of whose fantastic productions—tree, bush, and herb—have, even in their very species, long since passed away.”

Much light has been let in upon the characteristic strata, in which the organic remains, suggestive of all this, lie embedded. In the work before us, Professor Hitchcock gives us information of great value. Sir Charles Lyell has also turned his attention to it, while Professor Rogers has brought to its examination a skill in judging of mineral peculiarities, talents as a field geologist, and varied attainments in palæontology, which are not often found united in one man.

His great work on the “Geology of Pennsylvania” affords

¹ Geology of Pennsylvania. By Professor H. D. Rogers. Vol. II. Part II. Page 694.

abundant evidence of all this,—a work to which we would direct our readers, as containing not only a most elaborate examination of the Geology of Pennsylvania, but also as full of information on American geology generally. Written, as this magnificent work is, from the point of view both of pure science and of industrial pursuits, it teems with facts of great interest to the man of science, and to the engineer also, in what might be called the economical bearings of palæontology. Breadth of view, patient research, and great acuteness, are seen on every page; while its illustrations of characteristic scenery, and of surface geology, its numerous sections, and its figures of organic remains, greatly increase its value and attractiveness. We are led to notice it thus, from the help it has afforded us in understanding the position of the Connecticut Sandstones, their relation to other American strata, and because, more than any other work we are acquainted with, it contains abundant material for the assistance of any student who may have a taste for one of the most interesting forms of geological study,—that, namely, which seeks to realize a system of probable synchronism between the strata of countries locally far remote from each other.

The American geologists have always an eye to the economical as well as the purely scientific bearings of their pursuits. “I have spoken of this subject,” says Professor Hitchcock in the *Ichnology*, “as if it had no bearings of consequence upon the economical interests of the state. But, in this case, there is an unexpected application of this sort, which certainly deserves attention. In describing the footmarks, it has been an important point to determine precisely where the rock in which they occur belongs, in the series of geological formations. The Connecticut River sandstone has proved one of the most difficult of rocks to identify with those whose position is settled in Europe and elsewhere. It was early regarded as old as the old red sandstone, or at least the coal formation. Subsequently, a part of it at least was proved to be as new as the trias, or new red sandstone. But the more recent researches and discoveries of John and W. C. Redfield, of Prof. W. B. Rogers, and Edward Hitchcock, jun., have produced the conviction, that at least the higher beds of this formation—those containing the footmarks, the fishes, and the ferns—are as new as the lower part of the jurassic or oolite series,—say the lias. The lower beds may be older; and there seems to be thickness enough to embrace several rocks below the lias. So long as the rock was regarded as the old red, or the new red, sandstone, the idea of finding workable coal in it was given up. But if it be liassic, as many now regard a part of it, it is identified with the rock in Eastern Virginia, containing beds of bituminous coal of great value; and we may very reasonably

resume our researches after this valuable substance in the Connecticut Valley, with some hope of success."

This reference to the economical bearings is, however, by the way. It is time we were looking more closely at the merits of the work itself. It would be difficult to determine the value of the contribution to the literature of science which Prof. Hitchcock has made in preparing and publishing the "Ichnology." The author is mainly known in Britain by his physico-theological works. His popular fame rests chiefly on them; but much of their influence, all of it, indeed, of a solid and lasting kind, is the result of the confidence which men of science repose in his scientific attainments. The testimony of Professor Owen, already quoted, is enough to show this. That the confidence is well deserved, a glance at the list of Papers on Ichnology alone, named along with the writings of others on the same subject at the beginning of this volume, sufficiently bears witness. In addition to these, we have such works as that on "Surface Geology," and the one now under review. We have reason to know that this volume has been prepared amidst many trials from failing health, and that its author regards it as his last important effort in a department which he has made peculiarly his own, and with which his name will ever be associated. It bears not the slightest trace of failing strength, but comes from its author in his old age, as clear in its reasoning, as powerful in its riches of thought, and as vigorous in style, as it could have done had it been sent forth from his hands in the mid-time of his days. It lies in gracefulness and strength on the monument which he has, in his writings, raised for himself; and we even hope that it may not yet be the last stone he is to add to that building. As it is, the monument is already, like that of the Latin poet, "more lasting than brass."

The Report, as the title-page bears, was made to "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts." It is published at the expense of the State, and affords another to the many previously existing illustrations of the zeal of American statesmen in the cause of science, and of their princely liberality in promoting it. John Bull would get no harm, and he would bestow a great boon on science, were he to take a leaf out of brother Jonathan's book, and be as ready as several of these American "Commonwealths" are, in fostering and directing scientific enterprise, and in coming forward just at the right time with material assistance. It is worth while to copy from the State "*Resolves*" of 1857 and 1858 the following emphatic deliverances:—

"*Resolved*, That Professor Hitchcock's Geological Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, with drawings and maps connected therewith, be printed, under the direction of the committee for

the library ; that a sufficient number be printed, and one copy furnished to each member of the executive and legislative departments of the government for the present political year, and one copy to each town and city in the Commonwealth. 1857."

"*Resolved*, That one thousand copies of Professor Hitchcock's Geological Report on the Sandstone of the Connecticut Valley, authorized to be printed by chap. 83 of the Resolves of 1857, be printed at the expense of the Commonwealth, under the direction of the committee of the library ; and that, in addition to the distribution already authorized, one hundred copies of said Report be given to Professor Hitchcock, three copies to the State Library, and twelve copies to the trustees of the State Library, to be used for the purpose of international exchanges. 1858."

The difficulties which met Professor Hitchcock in the investigations, which have been crowned with complete success, were very great. Strong faith in his own resources, much acuteness of observation, and varied stores of knowledge in collateral branches of natural science, were needed in order to overcome them. His first descriptions of the fossil tracks were called in question by most of his contemporaries, many of whom denied that a footprint could afford a reliable basis for ascertaining the character of the creature which had left it, when no single bone even of the animal itself remained ; while some of the New York Geologists were sure the impressions had been made by fucoids. Then the position of the sandstones on the scale of rocks was to be determined ; and here even greater variety of opinion prevailed. The progress of investigation seemed, however, to be towards the truth as to this point, even so early as 1833. Up to that period, such American geologists as Maclure, Eaton, Silliman, and Cleveland, regarded the sandstone as Old Red.

"In my report on the geology of Massachusetts in 1833," says Hitchcock, "I presented reasons for supposing these upper beds to be the equivalent of the new red sandstone of Europe, while the lower beds were left unnamed. In my final report, in 1841, I took essentially the same ground. The strongest argument for this opinion was based upon what is called the heterocercal character of the fishes found in these rocks,—such fish not having been discovered above the new red sandstone. I did not profess to be a good judge of this matter ; but Mr John Redfield, of New York, who had shown great skill on this subject, made me the following statement, just before I published my report, and I of course acquiesced in it:—'In my paper,' says he, 'upon the genus *Catopterus*, I stated that, in AGASSIZ's arrangement, it would come under the *homocercal* division of his family *Lepidoides*. This statement was made with a great deal of hesitation ; and I now feel disposed to qualify it somewhat. The fact is, that this genus seems to occupy a sort of intermediate position between the two divisions ; neither being exactly equilobed, like the *homocerci*, nor yet having the decided heterocercal character

which belongs to those genera which AGASSIZ has placed in that division. But from the strong analogies which, in other respects, it bears to the heterocercal fishes, I am inclined to think it should go among them.'

"Assuming this opinion as to the heterocercal character of these fishes to be correct, and also that of Professor AGASSIZ as to the place on the rock series where such fishes disappear, and the homocerques take their place, and the conclusion could not be avoided, that our sandstone was the trias, or new red. Mr REDFIELD, however, had, some years earlier, suggested, from the character of the *Catopterus*, that this sandstone 'might have a higher situation in the series than that assigned to it by geologists,' because analogous fish had not been found below the lias. From a recent paper by his father, the late WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, Esq., read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in August 1856, it appears that both those gentlemen are of opinion that such is the case, judging alone from the fish. And when we consider the great attention they have given to the subject, and how admirable a collection of fossil fishes they have to judge from, their views cannot but command great respect. Yet, in the language of Sir PHILIP EGERTON, 'although this character, derived from the organization of the caudal fin, is one of great value and significance in the determination of various fossil genera of fossil fishes, it is nevertheless necessary, in drawing general conclusions, to be careful not to assign to it more importance than it is strictly entitled to; for we find, by the comparison of several genera, that it is not one of those well-defined trenchant characters which can be affirmed to exist or not, as the case may be, but that it is variable in amount, passing from extreme *heterocercy* to absolute *homocercy* by a sliding scale so gradual, that it is (at all events in fossil examples) most difficult to define a positive line of demarcation between the two forms.' In the Connecticut river fossil fishes, so balanced are these characters that the same observer will place them in different classes at different times; and though, as we have seen, the soundest opinion locates them in the jurassic series, we need other evidence to confirm this conclusion. Such evidence we have in recent discoveries.

"Belts of sandstone, analogous in appearance to that of the Connecticut, cross the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. One of these belts in Virginia, and another in North Carolina, contains thick beds of bituminous coal. Many years ago, Professor Wm. B. Rogers made it very probable that the Virginia deposit should be referred to the lower part of the oolitic or jurassic series, like the coal formations of Whitby and Scarborough in Yorkshire, England. For he found in the Virginia rocks specimens of *Equisetum*, *Zamites*, and *Lycopodites*, among the fossil plants, and two species of *Posidonomya* and two of *Cypris* among the shells. These fossils have not yet, indeed, been found in the Connecticut river sandstone; but there is such a general resemblance between the Virginia and Connecticut rocks, as to lead Professor ROGERS to regard them as probably identical.

"Still more decisive as to the jurassic, or rather perhaps liassic character of the upper part of the Connecticut river sandstone, are the discoveries of EDWARD HITCHCOCK, Jr., M.D., in the strata of Mount Tom, in Easthampton. He has found there a species of *Clathropteris* (*C. rectiusculus*), a peculiar fern found in Europe, only in the lower part of the lias and upper part of the trias. It occurs not far from the middle of the sandstone of the valley, measuring its perpendicular thickness. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that the rock above this point corresponds to the lias, or lower part of the jurassic series."—P. 6.

The whole of this part of Professor Hitchcock's able volume, but especially that devoted to trap agency, the mode in which it has been intercalated among the sandstones, its influence on the position and even lithological character of the great stratified masses into which it seems to have, at various times, been protruded, and the like, afford ample evidence of his great ability as a field geologist. But, without dwelling on these features, let us see how he looks at the position in which the footprints chiefly occur:—

"It appears that all of them, with the exceptions named above, occur on the upper side of the trap, and in the lower part of that division of the formation that consists of shales and fissile sandstones. That seems to have been a period peculiarly favourable, either to the development of life, or to the preservation of its remains; the latter probably is the most plausible supposition. My own opinion is, that the thick-bedded sandstone below the trap was deposited in much deeper water, and therefore we find in it scarcely anything but fucoids. But near the close of the period of its formation, a tilting process commenced, which brought up a portion of the rock to the surface, and gave a footing for animals and plants, and then sprang up the gigantic *clathropteris*, and animals (*Brontozoum giganteum*, *validum* and *Sillimanium*) began to tread the shores. Next the trap was erupted, which extended the area of land, and afforded a congenial resort for animals of all sizes, from the huge *Brontozoum giganteum* and *Otozoum Moodii*, down to almost microscopic myriapods and insects. The fauna of that period, as shown by tracks alone, must have been unusually full, as we shall see when we come to describe the footmarks, embracing more than one hundred species."—P. 20.

The Professor vindicates, with characteristic ability, his reason for holding that the footprints of animals afford sufficient grounds for determining to what family or class of animals those which have made them must have belonged. Next to the teeth, the footprints afford the best means of determining the individual animal. Who would mistake the human foot for that of any other animal? or the feet of quadrupeds for those of birds? or those of birds for the feet of reptiles? "Among the mammalia, who would confound the feet of the ruminantia with those of the carnivora or marsupialia; or among birds, the feet of the *grallæ* with those of the *passeres* or *palmipedes*; or the feet of the kan-

garoo, or platypus, with those of the tiger or the hog; or those of the *Struthis rhea* with those of the eagle or albatross?" Passing from the feet to the tracks made by them, we are told that—

"Bipeds leave tracts nearly equi-distant, except when slackening or accelerating their pace; nearly in a right line if the animal's legs are long, but deviating more or less from the line of direction to the right and left, according as the leg is longer or shorter, and the body wide or narrow. The more the tracks deviate from the line of direction, which I call the median line, and the greater the angle which the axis of the foot makes with that line outward, the stronger the presumption that the animal was a quadruped. The right and left foot can be distinguished by the following marks:—In the pachydactylous, or thick-toed animals, by the number of phalangeal impressions, which are usually different on the different toes. In four-toed animals, one of whose toes points backward, by the hind toe, which is always on the inside of the foot. I used to suppose that in bipeds, more frequently than in quadrupeds, the toes turn inwards towards the line of direction; but the exceptions are too numerous to allow of any rule to be deduced from this circumstance. The inner front toe in bipeds is usually shortest; yet it is sometimes difficult to determine which is the shortest in fossil impressions. But even when the above characters show a regular alternation of the right and left foot, we sometimes find that the animal was a quadruped, as will be shown in speaking of the tracks of that class. The simplest and plainest case of the footmarks of a quadruped, is where the animal leaves two rows of tracks, some distance apart; the impressions in each row showing two tracks close together, or even interfering, and then a much longer interval before another two are reached. This is a common mode of progression with quadrupeds, and is well exhibited usually in the tracks of a horse; but some animals—the cat and dog for instance—frequently bring the hind foot so exactly into the place vacated by the fore one, that often it is necessary to examine quite a row of tracks before discovering the double impression. The character of the foot in such cases will often distinguish the tracks of a quadruped from those of a biped. If there be a solid or divided hoof, or if the foot have five, or even four toes, the presumption is very strong that the animal is a quadruped. If, however, some of the feet have only three toes, it will not do to infer that they were not made by a quadruped; for some such, both living and fossil, had only three, either on the hind or fore foot."—P. 26.

Having adduced other weighty facts, all pointing in the same direction, Professor Hitchcock adds: "The evidence, then, seems already strong and rapidly accumulating, that at least a part of the sandstone of the Connecticut valley is as recent as the lias, and possibly some beds even more recent. But does this conclusion and the preceding reasoning apply to all the sandstone of the valley, or only to certain beds? This question I have been trying to solve for several years. In order to do it, I found it necessary to obtain several reliable measured sections across the

valley ; a work which none of us, who for so long a time have been trying to fix the place of the sandstone, had ever attempted." (!) Five such sections were made by the Professor and his students, and the district was carefully mapped out. With the aid of these he proceeded to draw such inferences respecting the rocks as seemed to warrant a distinct theory in regard to their lithological character and position. He found veins of greenstone, amygdaloid, and volcanic grit, traversing the sandstone longitudinally, trending in a north-easterly direction, and lying in the form of interstratified masses. The dip of the rocks is from 5° to 50° . In the northern basin the sandstone underlies the trap, and is west or north-west of it.

"Immediately above the trap—that is, on its east side—the rocks are quite different ; consisting of interstratified red and black shales, volcanic grit, micaceous sandstones, red, grey, and white, and compact fetid blue and grey limestone. Still higher up—that is, farther east—we have a recurrence of coarser sandstones, becoming in some places thick-bedded, and resembling those below the trap, but generally distinguishable by the eye. Still farther east, on the very margin of the valley, we find a coarse conglomerate in a few places, of quite peculiar character. It is made up chiefly of fragments of slaty rocks, argillaceous and silicious, such as we find in places farther north, among the metamorphic strata. The fragments are sometimes several feet in diameter, and the stratification of the rock is very obscure. It looks, in fact, like a consolidated mass of drift. Now it is in the shales and sandstones, lying immediately above the trap, that we find organic remains,—the fishes, the tracks, and the plants. Those rocks, then, if our reasoning is correct, are of jurassic or liassic age ; but the reasoning does not apply to that thick deposit below the trap ; for in those rocks I have never detected any organic relic save fucoids, and perhaps a few trunks of trees, some six or eight inches diameter. This rock, then, may be older than the lias, and it has great thickness. And so the remarkable conglomerate along the eastern margin of the valley may be a distinct and more recent deposit than the jurassic, since organic remains, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two species of footmarks, have not been found in it. We see, then, that from lithological characters alone, we should be justified in regarding this sandstone as belonging to two, and perhaps three, geological formations ; and since the organic remains supposed to be jurassic scarcely extend below the trap, we may reasonably assign the inferior beds to an older formation ;—what one, remains to be determined."—P. 11.

Has the Connecticut valley sandstone been deposited as it now lies ; or are there evidences of upheaval, of disturbing forces having once acted with great power on the once horizontal strata ? These questions Professor Hitchcock answers in a way, to the study of which we would direct those who are mad on the theory

that the present forces going on unnoticed in nature, are sufficient to account for all the phenomena of position and of superposition.

“The opinion,” he says, “has been advanced by several able geologists, that the strata of this sandstone, both in New England and New Jersey, were deposited in their present inclined position, and not subsequently elevated. That some part of the dip may have been thus produced, may, perhaps, be admitted, as in all other sedimentary deposits. But the following reasons seem to me insuperable against the opinion, that these sandstone strata have not been tilted up subsequent to their deposition:—1. If the strata had been deposited over the floor of the estuary, they must have conformed to the inequalities of the surface, and this, being composed of hypozoic or metamorphic rocks, must have been quite uneven, so that the inclination would have been in all directions, and not so uniformly to the south-east. 2. The materials composing the deposit correspond better with the rocks now found up the valley, north of the sandstone, than with those on the east or west sides. 3. Since the hills on both sides of the valley rise sometimes as much as one thousand feet, if the deposition had begun on the west side, as it must have done to have an easterly slope, the same inclination could not have been continued to the very foot of the eastern hills, since these must have been above the ocean; or if beneath, they must have prevented the waves from silting up the valley from that direction. If the sides of the valley were above the waters, as seems almost certain, the materials must have been carried into the estuary by the tributaries from both sides, as well as from the north. And as the estuary must have opened to the south, the silting up must have been from that direction. Probably, however, the current that came from the north, down what is now the Connecticut Valley, had more to do than the ocean with spreading out the materials over the bottom. 4. The prevailing dip of the sandstone in New Jersey (the equivalent, doubtless, of that along the Connecticut) is opposite to that in Massachusetts and Connecticut. If the ocean deposited the former with a westerly dip, is it credible that on the same coast, a few hundred miles distant, it should place the latter with a contrary dip? It looks rather as if an anticlinal axis, or elevation between them, had been concerned in the tilting up of both. 5. The most perfect and delicate footmarks are found on this sandstone, on slopes from 10° to 40° . At Turner’s Falls you will see the finest of them, where the dip is 40° , running in all directions, and yet showing no marks of distortion, as if the animal walked on an inclined surface. Now, in the first place, no animal could walk over a slope so high but with difficulty, and certainly not without impressing one part of its foot much deeper than others. I have occasionally seen cases where the heel sunk twice as deep as the toes; but this would require a dip of only some 10° to 15° , whereas, at the Falls, and at Mr FIELD’s quarries, where the dip is nearly 35° , the imprints are so evenly made as to indicate that the animals moved over a horizontal surface.”—P. 15.

Thirty characteristics, based on the principles of comparative

anatomy and zoology, are stated as affording reliable grounds for determining the nature of an animal by its track; and from these it is concluded, and we think on good grounds, that it might be confidently decided whether the animal is vertebrate or invertebrate, biped, quadruped, or multiped; to which of the great classes of the vertebrata or the invertebrata it may belong, and, with some probability, to what order, genus, or species. "In making out the groups, I have brought those together whose tracks exhibit certain predominant analogous features; but in several cases I have made these groups intermediate between existing classes. In all cases I have subdivided the groups into genera, and these into species. I can only say this is the best result I can reach after twenty-three years' study of these footmarks. But my own progress, as I look back on my experience, admonishes me that more satisfactory conclusions will doubtless reward future ichnologists. I feel as if I had only commenced the work. Would that those who come after me could know how great have been the difficulties I have encountered, and how hard it has been to grope my way without guides through the thick darkness that has rested on this subject." After this the Professor proceeds to an exact scientific characterisation of the different forms. This part of the work is distinguished by great ability, and bears testimony to the possession of a knowledge in comparative anatomy and in zoology both extensive and accurate. He then gives, at the close of these determinations, a popular account of the footmark animals. Take the following from this part of the work:—

"First comes that huge giant, *Brontozoum giganteum*, with a foot 18 inches long, and embracing an area 13 inches square within its outlines. Its stride was from 30 to 60 inches, and its legs were so long that it went forward nearly on a straight line. The great resemblance between the general character of the foot and those of the Cassowary and Rhea, or South American Ostrich, and especially the number of the phalanges in the toes, corresponding exactly to those of birds, make it extremely probable that this was the great *courser* of sandstone days. In my Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts, I have gone into a calculation to show the probable height and weight of such a bird. I will not here repeat the details; but the result was that the animal must have been 12 feet high, and have weighed from 400 to 800 pounds. The ostrich, the largest living bird, stands between seven and eight feet in height, and weighs sometimes 100 pounds; and the length of its step in walking is 26 inches. The great extinct birds of New Zealand and Madagascar must have been nearly or quite as large as the *Brontozoum*. The recently discovered fossil bird *Gastornis Parisiensis*, in the tertiary rocks near Paris, was 'at least as large as an ostrich;' yet it appears that these enormous birds passed over the surface in flocks, as their rows of tracks near

the railroad in the south-east part of Northampton show. They were doubtless wingless (apterous) birds, like the ostrich, *dinornis*, and *æpyornis*."—P. 178.

The other forms of life described by Professor Hitchcock are not less remarkable. To these, however, we can do no more than refer our readers, who, we are sure, after following the author throughout his graphic yet scientifically accurate descriptions, will cordially sympathise with his concluding words:—

"Such was the Fauna of sandstone days in the Connecticut Valley. What a wonderful menagerie! Who would believe that such a register lay buried in the strata? To open the leaves, to unroll the papyrus, has been an intensely interesting though difficult work, having all the excitement and marvellous developments of romance. And yet the volume is only partly read. Many a new page, I fancy, will yet be opened, and many a new key obtained to the hieroglyphic record. I am thankful that I have been allowed to see so much by prying between the folded leaves. At first men supposed that the strange and gigantic races which I had described, were mere creatures of imagination, like the gorgons and chimeras of the ancient poets. But now that hundreds of their footprints, as fresh and distinct as if yesterday impressed upon the mud, arrest the attention of the sceptic on the ample slabs of our cabinets, he might as reasonably doubt his own corporeal existence as that of these enormous and peculiar races.

And how marvellous the changes which this valley has undergone in its inhabitants! Nor was it a change without reason. We are apt to speak of these ancient races as monstrous, so unlike existing organisms as to belong to another and quite a different system of life. But they were only wise and benevolent adaptations to the changing condition of our globe. One common type runs through all the present and the past systems of life, modified only to meet exigencies, and identifying the same infinitely wise and benevolent Being as the Author of all. And what an interesting evidence of His providential care of the creatures He has made, do these modifications of structure and function present! Did the same unvarying forms of organization meet us in every variety of climate and condition, we might well doubt whether the Author of Nature was also a Providential Father. But His parental care shines forth illustriously in these anomalous forms of sandstone days, and awakens the delightful confidence that in like manner He will consult and provide for the wants of individuals.

The ancient Flora of the Connecticut Valley was probably as peculiar as its Fauna. Gladly would I also develop its vegetable wonders; and, indeed, I am not without numerous specimens for such a work. But if the ichnology of the sandstone is difficult, still more so, as it seems to me, is its fossil botany. Before attempting such a work, I feel that some years of careful study would be a prerequisite; a larger number probably than one can hope for, whose sun is so near the horizon as mine. But other suns have already arisen or will arise,

whose brighter light shall bring into view the peculiar vegetable forms of American oolitic times."—P. 190.

We have studied the Ichnology with much care, and we can freely congratulate Professor Hitchcock in having contributed such a monograph to the literature of science. Had he done nothing more than this, he would have gained for himself a name honoured wherever science is cultivated. Accepting the figure used in reference to himself at the close of our last extract, we watch the sun on the horizon, and hope that He who has control over it, may detain it long "among the golden clouds of even." It draws, in such a work as the Ichnology, so much brightness after it, as to tempt us to look above the author to Him to whose service his life has been devoted, and, adapting the words of the poet, to say—

"Those hues that mark the sun's decline,
So soft, so radiant, Lord, are thine."

Professor Hitchcock has not, however, been permitted to bear away his laurels, without other hands making an attempt to grasp them. The experience which might almost be said to be common to all who strike out new thoughts, or bend their working energies into new paths, has been his. Rival claims to priority in scientifically investigating and describing the footprints have been made. About fourteen years ago, Dr James Deane of Greenfield laid claim to precedence in these points; and since his death, which took place while the present Report was being prepared, some of his over-zealous admirers have renewed those claims, which most men of science had held were set aside during the original discussion. The controversy is one which admits of an easy settlement; and, after studying it without bias, we have not the least doubt but that, in the pages devoted to it in the present Report, Dr Hitchcock has settled it. Dr Deane had accidentally found some specimens of tracks "lying upon the side-ways at Greenfield," and had informed the author, who commissioned the finder to purchase them for him. They fell under the eye of science when Dr Hitchcock obtained them. Had they been left to Dr Deane alone, they would have been lying on the "side-ways" still. Professor Hitchcock set to work at once, and for six years, during all which time Dr Deane was silent, he worked constantly at the footprints. He had published descriptions of thirty-two species, with twenty-five plates, before Dr Deane had published anything on the subject. Professor Hitchcock claims to have been "the first to investigate and describe them, as a matter of science." The claim, we beg to assure him, was long ago admitted by British naturalists. The opinion of Professor Owen, which we have quoted above, should be decisive on this point.

ART. XI.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Handbook of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. By Mrs WILLIAM FISON. Inscribed by permission to Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, G.C. St. S., President of R. G. S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, etc., etc. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859.

Handbook of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. By Mrs WILLIAM FISON. Inscribed by permission to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham, F.R.S. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859.

THESE volumes are very much alike in colour, form, size, and style. Their contents are arranged in the same manner, and the same line of thought is followed in stating the objects for which the two Associations have been formed. What Boswell was to Johnson, Mrs Fison has striven to be to the British Association, and to its vigorous offspring, "The Association for the Promotion of Social Science." She has succeeded in her endeavours. A woman of culture and much intelligence, she has followed with great interest the rise and progress of those annual gatherings, which are regarded with interest by the most eminent men of Europe and America.¹ The questions in Natural Science, in Physics, and in Sociology, which fall to be considered at the yearly meetings, are of the most important kind. The author of the *Handbooks* is so fully alive to this, that her admiration sometimes passes bounds, and her praise becomes too like adulation. She sees only perfection in the organization and the objects of the Associations, whose able chronicler she has become. Perhaps, had she been in the place of one called to take active concern in the business of the meetings, she might have discovered a good many things capable of improvement, and might have felt that the principle of association, in order to scientific and social progress, demands a development ahead of present attainments,—a development which, while it should not interfere with existing Associations, would give a direction to thought and action in the fields already occupied, which would tend to the highest interests of the human race.

Many men of eminence in science have recently begun to feel, that the present advanced state of their favourite pursuits makes it important that opportunities should be given of meeting together, on a broader platform than that necessarily which is occupied by scientific Associations in France, Germany, America, and in this country.

Might not a general Scientific Congress be assembled annually, in one of the great capitals of Europe, with the view of extending its sphere still further, as soon as possible?

To this Congress might be invited the representatives of all the Sciences from all nations. All persons who are members of known

¹ The history of the "British Association" has been so fully sketched in No. XXVII. of this Journal, that we are not required to follow Mrs Fison's interesting outline.

scientific bodies (such as Royal Societies, Imperial Academies), or who are professors, *doctores legentes, docentes intra extraque muros*, authors of scientific works, students who have obtained the first prizes in their faculties, and all men who can produce a scientific manuscript of their own composition, containing original observations approved of by some professor or author of high standing, might become members by merely signifying their approval of the Congress.

The meetings might be held annually, during one week in the month of August, in capitals, which by their Museums, Libraries, Botanical and Zoological Gardens, Observatories, Hospitals, and other Institutions, offer the greatest external aids to science.

General meetings might be daily devoted to the advancement of science, by the highest inductive generalizations, and by the most extensive deductions,—so that every new fact should occupy a definite position in its relation to other scientific facts previously known.

In the general meetings, all communications could be made *vivâ voce*, in the most concise manner consistent with clearness; while all laudatory giving of thanks, etc., should be strictly forbidden.

The communications might not exceed fifteen or twenty minutes each, unless at the urgent request of a majority of the meeting. Translations of these communications, to members not acquainted with the language of the speaker, need not be given in the general meeting, but could be deferred to the minor sectional assemblies in the afternoon and evening,—in which the votaries of different sciences from various nations might be requested to unite for reading concise papers on scientific subjects, and for discussion. These sectional meetings, being devoted to particular discoveries in special branches of science, the daily general meetings would advance science chiefly in its unity and totality.

The men who have been able to advance particular sciences, did not confine their attention to one branch of the tree of knowledge, but endeavoured to comprehend its totality. Such were Aristotle, Leibnitz, Humboldt, etc. The general meetings would assist students to follow the example of the great masters of intellectual generalization, in beholding the links between physics and metaphysics; *natura naturata et natura naturans*.

The Handbook of the British Association praises the efforts made to give concentration and unity to physical phenomena, which had been before regarded as having no relation to each other. La Place had said: *Les phénomènes de la nature ne sont que les résultats d'un petit nombre de lois*. Lord Bacon wrote in the *Novum Organum*: "Only let mankind regain their rights over nature assigned to them by the gift of God; that power obtained, its exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion."

If we consider the pre-eminence sometimes attained by men, who come into contact with the intelligence of more than one country, it appears to us, that a general scientific congress, annually repeated, would call forth more such men of peace and science as Leibnitz, Cuvier,

and Humboldt. Cuvier was born within the Germanic empire, and studied at Stuttgart before he became professor in France. Humboldt might have been a very well informed nobleman if he had remained on his estates; but he obtained his mental grasp by coming in contact with the intelligence of different nations. Leibnitz would have been, like his father, a very learned professor at Leipzig; but he was led on to his cosmic efforts for science and for peace by his acquaintance with France and England. Many more illustrations might be given.

In order to carry out our plan, it would be necessary to obtain the approbation of men high in station, who, like His Royal Highness Prince Albert, have shown themselves men of progress, notwithstanding their political differences,—*e.g.*, the Emperors of Russia, France, and Turkey; the Regent and the Prince Royal of Prussia; the Kings of the Netherlands, Holland, Sardinia, Denmark, Sweden, Hanover, Bavaria, and Würtemberg; the Grand Dukes of Baden and Saxe-Gotha; the Presidents of Switzerland and the United States, etc. The favour and encouragement given by them might take the form of free passages on railroads and steamers to the capital chosen, the grant of a place for the meetings, and ready admittance to museums, libraries, hospitals, observatories, etc., etc. No other organization would be required, so that the money element would be kept out of view, as there would be no grants to bestow and no salaries to pay.

It would be the aim to cultivate as before, and still more so, the permanent intellectual and scientific growth through Universities, Royal Societies, Imperial Academies, Institute de France, British and National Associations, etc., in order to be enabled to enjoy also its annual inflorescence at the congress now proposed.

To such of our readers as wish to become acquainted with the history of the British Association, and with that of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, we commend Mrs Fison's lucid and well written manuals.

Obras Completas de Fernan Caballero. 13 Tomis. Madrid: Mellado. 1857-59.

SOME years ago a distinguished critic remarked, that in Spain, so far as prose fiction was concerned, "native talent and invention appeared to be at an end." Such predictions are dangerous even if applied at home, but are tenfold perilous when used in reference to a foreign literature. The writer, whose works are before us, has proved herself superior to any Italian novelist of this century, equal to any German, and inferior only to the very best of the writers of fiction in this country and in France.

The reputation of this lady (the name Fernan Caballero is merely a *nom de plume*) has arisen within the last few years. Her name does not occur in the most recent book on Spanish literature (Brinkmeier Hist. d. Span. Lit. d. 19 Jahrh.). Partially translated into French, her works are scarcely known in this country. Her very name will probably be strange to numbers of our readers. This injustice, however, we hope will not be of long continuance; we trust that what

translation has done for Conscience and Auerbach, will, by the same medium, be, ere long, effected for the Andalusian novelist.

In former times, the prose fiction of Spain chiefly manifested two tendencies,—first the pastoral, and afterwards the picaresco. Both have long since ceased to be accredited forms of literary composition. After the era of mere French imitation had passed away, and a measure of acquaintance with English and German literature was diffused among the literary men of Spain, there was in the peninsula a short period of historical novel writing. Martinez de la Rosa, de la Escosura, and others, followed this career, without any marked success.

Fernan Caballero has taken up a thoroughly original position. No echo of foreign literary impressions, she is true to her own land; no reflection of former literary periods, she is true to her own age. The Spain, and especially the Andalusian Spain of the present time, in town and country life, in the various *strata* of society, rich and poor, travelled and home-bred, polished and uncultivated,—such forms the staple of her stories. Where, as in one of her shorter tales, she takes her characters away from the land of their birth to England, she is vague and unlife-like in her delineations. Contemporary Spain, with its traditions of the contest against Napoleon, its reminiscences of the Constitution of 1820 and of the Carlist war, its very distinctive and powerfully marked national character, is the object of Caballero's descriptions. There is perhaps too much of laudation of Spain,—rather, however, as a matter terminating in itself, than in connection with vituperation or underrating of other countries. We cannot name any intellectual qualification of a novelist in which the authoress is deficient. One of her volumes is called *Cuadros de Costumbres* (Pictures of Manners), and she elsewhere intimates that this name might be given to them all. But no one must from this suppose that her works are merely or mainly a succession of sketches; there is always a well-managed story. Besides the art of narrative, she has great vigour of description—she is varied and vivid in dialogue—her mastery over the pathetic is remarkable—and she is possessed of much power of humour. She is not afraid to speak strongly against the cruelty of the national amusement of the bull-fight. With reference to another Peninsular specialty, more generally annoying than the one just mentioned to tourists, she remarks, “Innovation, which has assailed Spanish politics, literature, and even fashion, has not yet ventured to interfere with our—cookery!”

The works of Caballero may be recommended as original, varied, always interesting, morally pure. As specimens of her skill in sustaining her characters in difficult circumstances, the tales “Simon Verde” and “Lucos Gardia” may be mentioned. The difficulty in the former is material, in the latter moral. “Una en Otra” is a skilful combination of the circumstances of average life in good society, with the sanguinarily eventful history of a family on which the ancient Household Fate of Thebes or Mycenæ might be supposed to have fallen.

La Bretagne Ancienne. Par M. PITRÉ CHEVALIER. Paris: Didier et Co. 1859. Pp. 560.

THIS is a splendid volume. Besides carefully executed maps, it is illustrated by upwards of two hundred engravings on steel and wood, by Tony Johannot, and other French artists of merit. The scenery, antiquities, costumes, and other distinctive characteristics of Bretagne, are thus skilfully brought before the view.

But the book of M. Pitré Chevalier does not rest for its claims to appreciation mainly on its illustrations, however numerous or well executed. There is no flimsiness of text to be pardoned in connection with richness of embellishment. The author, himself a Breton, has made a labour at once of love and of skill out of the toil of years. The book is replete with an enthusiasm for his native province, zealous but not indiscreet, loving but not exaggerating.

The ancient Celtic and Druidical period occupies the first chapter, and the Roman era the second of the volume. The author then traces the history of the independence of Bretagne under its counts or dukes, for its sovereigns were so named indifferently. They were but the heads of a confederacy of nobles, and the too limited power they possessed, if advantageous in peace, was generally injurious to national interests in times of war. The Breton independence was, with some few intervals, maintained against the Franks and the Northmen. The Church, as well as the State, possessed its independence, its bishops assembling in synod under the presidency of the Archbishop of Dol. While vividly narrating the story of medieval Bretagne, M. Pitré Chevalier makes ample use of the legends, in prose and verse, with which that local history abounds, relating to

“ Ghost, fiend, and angel, fairy, witch, and sprite.”

In Breton legend, Count Gradlon occupies the same central place as King Arthur does in the corresponding fictions of British bards. A strong affinity connected the Britons of this island and of Armorica. Amid the pressure of invasion, each dominion was a place of refuge for the endangered patriots of the other. The hated name of Saxon (Saxon) was handed down in Bretagne as a generic epithet applied to all invaders.

Under the Plantagenet Kings the history of Bretagne is closely connected with that of England. For about thirty years, and under two princes, Geoffrey II. and Arthur I., the ducal crown of Bretagne was worn by Plantagenets. After the murder of the latter by his uncle, King John, his half-sister Alix carried by marriage to Peter of Dreux the dukedom into a cadet branch of the royal family of France. After existing for three hundred years independent in this family, Bretagne, through the marriage of the Duchess Anne to Charles VIII., and then to Louis XII., became united to France. All further hazard of separation was created by the union of Francis I. to Claude, eldest daughter of Louis and Anne. In 1532 the incorporation with France was finally effected.

M. Pitré Chevalier gives full accounts of all eminent persons connected with Bretagne, whether in civil or ecclesiastical story. Robert

d'Arbressil and Abelard, as well as the Hoels and Alains, Conans and Geoffreys, whose rule was famed through war or distinguished in peace. The seventh chapter, of more than sixty pages long, gives a most elaborate estimate of feudalism in the form which it assumed in Bretagne. Throughout the volume the reader finds ample information respecting the remains of the various successive eras—Druidical, Roman, and Breton-Medieval.

A brief account is given in two concluding chapters of what Bretagne has had to suffer in the contests between Leaguer and Huguenot, Chouan and Republican, as well as of the progress which in more peaceful times the province has made since it became an integral part of France. The authors who have shed lustre on the province, whether like Le Sage and Guinguené, Lamennais and Chateaubriand, Souvestre and Brizieux, of wide general reputation, or enjoying only a sectional or local fame, are carefully enumerated by M. Pitré Chevalier. He has produced a most interesting volume, which is doubtless certain of local appreciation, but is also deserving of a more general reception.

Histoire des Jesuites. Composee sur Documents Authentiques en Partie Inedits. Par L'ABBE GUETTEE. Tom. I. et II. Paris: Librairie Huet, 1859. Pp. 507 et 580.

THE Abbé Guettée, in his very brief preface, states, that the history of the Jesuits has hitherto been written either by enemies or by partisans. He promises an impartial narrative. The work is one of great research. Much labour has been bestowed on both the more prominent and the more obscure portions of the story. A writer of decided Gallican views, Guettée is a strenuous opponent of Ultramontanism in every form. As the Jesuits have been continuous supporters of Ultramontanism, their views find no favour with him.

He gives an elaborate and faithful picture of the state of the Romish communion when Jesuitism arose, describing well the youthful ardour of Protestantism, the decrepit state of the previously existing religious orders, and the dissatisfaction with the Roman Curia, which pervaded the most learned and virtuous of those who still adhered to Catholicism. Jesuitism, in its adding to the three religious vows that of implicit obedience to the Pope, was the very agency which the Curia needed in this crisis of peril.

The narrative of M. Guettée is solid, grave, full, little interrupted by reflection, never passing into rhetoric,—varying its usual calm course only when the extravagant miracles ascribed by subsequent writers to Loyola, Xavier, and others, lead to the expression of a quiet and polished irony. He has well shown the extent, varied grounds, and persistent nature of the opposition given to the Order, by Universities, French Parliaments, honourable Romish theologians, and Catholic laymen of moderate views and tolerant sentiments. The selfish nature and astute method of the support given by the Jesuits, from their Generals downwards, to all abuses, papal, royal, priestly, noble, is proved by a very large induction of facts.

It must be remarked, however, that France occupies an undue share in the history. The transactions of Jesuitism there so prolongedly occupy M. Guettée's attention, that their operations in other parts of Europe, and in their foreign missions, are not stated at sufficient length.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the last chapter of the first volume, in which we have a delineation of Jesuitism during its first century, by friends and foes. It thus concludes:—"The Jesuits affect to say, that they have been severely judged only by the Jansenists. One may judge whether it is good faith that directs them in their affirmations."

The two volumes before us treat of the Order in its progress and glory. The third and concluding volume will narrate its decline and ruin.

M. Guettée has produced a valuable book, worthy of being carefully read by all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the aspect in which the "Society of Jesus" appears to a cultivated and candid advocate of Gallicanism.

A Philological System Delineated; or, the Japhetic Languages derived from the Hebrew. By the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, Minister at Lairg. Edin.: Johnstone, Hunter, and Co. Pp. 59.

THE object of this treatise is sufficiently indicated by its title. The author, rejecting the Sanscrit theory of the origin of the European languages, reverts to the old opinion that Hebrew is the stock from which they have been all derived. In proof of this, he adduces divers weighty considerations, and not only furnishes select examples of words from Latin, Greek, and Celtic, in which the words adduced have a striking resemblance, both in form and sense, to the Hebrew vocables with which they are compared; but endeavours to show, that between the Hebrew and these languages there is "an affinity adjusted by rule or method," even in words where the affinity is not at first sight so obvious, which proves their Hebrew origin. On this subject he lays down four distinct propositions, to this effect, that "the Japhetic languages have been derived from the Hebrew, first, by an increase of letters; secondly, by a commutation of letters; thirdly, by a transposition of letters; and, fourthly, by a decrease of letters." In unfolding his theory, he has availed himself largely of the light that may be derived from Chaldee. Previous philologists, who maintained the Hebrew origin of languages, greatly overlooked this; and hence one grand cause of the failure of their attempts to make out their theory. By his laying hold of the Chaldee element, Mr Macpherson has taken an important step in the right direction. We are inclined to agree with him in the main in regard to the principles laid down under the two first heads. As to the other two, we are satisfied that he carries the principles of the transposition and rejection of letters to an excess that cannot be justified; and, on the whole, though his theory is good, and he has enunciated important principles, in many cases he has not done justice to these very principles, by the examples he has chosen to illustrate them.

But though our author and philologists in general have hitherto

failed to demonstrate, by the evidence of existing languages, the Hebrew origin of these languages, it ought not to be lightly assumed that that origin may not yet be proved. On the supposition that a language substantially the same as Hebrew was the original speech of mankind, which few Hebrew scholars will be found seriously to question, the Divine statement in Genesis, chap. xi. 7, in regard to the confusion of tongues, is of great significance, as bearing on this question, and worthy of being deeply pondered. "The whole earth"—so runs that statement in the original—"was of one *lip*, and of one *words*;" and God said, "Let us go down, and there confound their *lip*, that they may not understand one another's *lip*;" and it was so. This was the whole that took place at Babel. The *lip*—the pronunciation—was confounded; nothing else was. There is not a hint that their memories were confounded, as many have supposed; it was only the organs of speech that were so. But the effect of that confounding of the *lip* was such, that though they spoke the same words as before, the words could not be understood by the different parties affected; they became utterly unintelligible to one another. Thus, by so insignificant a means, according to the Divine simplicity that characterises all the works of God, was a very great effect produced. Now, if that was the case then, may not that be the case at this day? With regard to the English language at least, which we have studied for years with the Hebrew Lexicon at our elbow, we have found nothing inconsistent with this theory, but everything very remarkably to confirm it. Making allowance for what is idiomatic, and what is the result of the composition of words, which is not held to affect the identity of any language, we have been shut up to the conclusion, that the only thing which prevents the words we daily speak from being recognised as Hebrew words, is just that which hindered the Babel-builders from understanding the words of their neighbours, once so familiar to them,—the change of the *lip*, the difference of pronunciation,—a difference which has necessarily affected the orthography in writing. In our limited space, we cannot possibly enter into the different principles which regulate the pronunciation (though these are comparatively few); but let one only be looked at, and it will be seen how great an effect may result from a single, and that a very simple cause. The principle to which we refer is this, that what in Hebrew is pronounced in two syllables, in English is almost always contracted into one. Thus the Hebrew *rahak*, "to flee away," becomes *rhak*, or the English, *rack*, "the clouds that fly before the wind." In like manner, *shekel*, "to weigh," becomes *shkel* or *scale*, in which anything is weighed. *Shekel* also signifies, to weigh in the mind, and thus, "to learn." Hence the result of learning is *skill*, and a place for learning, *school*. Then there is *bahal*, "to loathe," which in the Hiphil is *bahil*, "to cause loathing," and which contracted becomes *bhil*; whence our English word *bile*, which is well known to cause sickness, when it flows into the stomach. But *bhil* is also pronounced *vhil*; and hence the epithet *vile* applied to anything morally loathsome. To instance only one more: the Hebrew word for the barn-

floor is *garan*, which was also applied (as the literal rendering of Job xxxix. 12 proves) to the *corn* that was thrashed on it. That word, contracted in one way, becomes *gran* (or grain), and hence *gran-ary*; and in another, *garn*, whence *garn-er*. Thus, by so simple a change, have Hebrew words been thoroughly disguised. This principle runs through our whole language. Innumerable English words, dealt with in this way, will be seen at once to be pure Hebrew.

Now, let the reader take it only as a hypothesis, that English is substantially Hebrew, and deal with its words as such, and he will be surprised to find how much of his own language can be accounted for by the commonest rules of Hebrew grammar, without any particular knowledge of the principles that regulate the conversion of letters. On inquiry, he will find that the formation of nouns from verbs, by prefixing the usual formatives, is as common in English as in Hebrew. For example, from *ol*, "to ascend," with *mem* prefixed, comes *m-ol*, whence *mole*, that raises the earth in hillocks, and also *mole*, "a mound." From *op*, "to go round or whirl," with *mem* prefixed, comes *m-op*, whence "mop," that is, whirled about, to free it from the water in it. From the same word *op*, "to whirl," with *tav* prefixed, comes *t-op*, and from that, the boys' spinning "top." *Op*, legitimately pronounced, is also *Hup*, which in Hiphil is *Huip*, "to cause to whirl;" and thus it appears, that the top, and the whip that makes it spin, are correlative terms. Then, again, what is more familiar to every Hebrew scholar than the feminine noun in the construct state? That construct form of the feminine noun pervades the whole English language, though not used in the way of apposition. Thus *Gua* in Chaldee signifies "the intestines" (see Stockius); and this in the feminine construct becomes *Gut*. *Mak* signifies "to putrefy," of which the feminine construct is *Makot*, whence "maggot," that lives and riots in putrefaction. From *Hneh*, a legitimate pronunciation of *anah*, "to plough," comes, in the feminine construct, *Hnout*, or *Hneht*. We question if any other language at all can give any sense to the Scotch word "Nawt," or the English "Neat cattle." But the use of oxen for the plough, viewed in connection with the Hebrew, explains all. The application of Hebrew rules to the interpretation of English words, only modified by Chaldee pronunciation, explains the minutest particles, the prefixes and the affixes of our tongue, whose radical sense, with the aid of Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, Saxon, and Celtic to boot, is, to a large extent, only guessed at by philologers. It clears up also the most puzzling anomalies of the language. For instance, what conceivable connection does there seem to be between the *gum* that exudes from a tree, and the *gums* in which our teeth are set? Let the Hebrew Lexicon be consulted, and there it will be found that *gum* signifies "to unite," and then we see the link of connection between "gum Arabic," that is used as a glue, and the "gum" that "unites" the teeth together. Then what connection can any Indo-European language show between a *cuff* on the face, and the *cuff* of a coat? But here, again, Hebrew comes to our help. From it we find that *kaph*, "the hand," which is also *kuph*, comes from *kuph*, to bend back;

and then it is manifest how a blow with the *hand* is called a "cuff," and how the part of the coat-sleeve at the hand, which is also folded back, is known by the same name. There are also many words in English, which are the same in form, but different in sense; and nothing but the Hebrew can show how they come to have that different sense. Thus "choke" signifies both to "be parched with thirst," and to "strangle." Have these two meanings any connection? None whatever. To "choke" with thirst, comes from *Tzokh*, "to be dried up;" while "choke," to strangle, comes from *Tzoq*, "to straiten, to press." In Johnson's Dictionary, we have *neif* interpreted as signifying a "fist," and also a "bad woman." What shall we say to such diverse senses? The former comes from the Hebrew *neph*, "to brandish;" the latter from *naph* or *neph*, to "commit adultery."

Now, this is only a slight, a very slight glance at the *prima facie* evidence on this subject. Let the Hebrew scholar only pursue the hints we have thrown out, and, perhaps, he may find that there is more evidence for our statement than he thought, viz., that the only thing that has hitherto hindered us from perceiving that the "words" of our language remain substantially the same as when our fathers brought them from Babel, is the "confusion of the *lip*."

Mr Macpherson has made scarcely any reference to the English language at all. Nevertheless, in spite of the deductions we have made, we commend his work to the attention of the reader, as going in the right direction, and as containing, in a compendious form, an exhibition of principles of no slight importance to the accurate knowledge of the history of language.

Geology of Clydesdale and Arran. By JAMES BRYCE, M.A., LL.D., F.G.S. London and Glasgow: Griffin and Co.

To write a good book on Geology is a more difficult task than our author seems to think. A good book on geology should contain many facts, new or old, and few theories of any age: this work has very few new facts, and a great many old theories. Dr Bryce has quoted a remark of Professor Phillips, that "every geologist who visits Arran is tempted to write about it." Unfortunately he yielded to the temptation. He rather should have taken "Punch's" advice "to those about to marry,"—"Don't." In religion, the more faith we have, the better and happier Christians we become; but in geology, the more faith the more wretched geologists we are. Geology to a true geologist is, after all, like a quaint definition of Hume's philosophy, "a doubtful solution of doubtful doubts." Dr Bryce, however, never doubts nor hesitates, but *pronounces* dogmatically; and as one in regard to geology, "not to the manner born." Could geology be made so easy a science as it seems in our author's hands, it would soon cease to interest. All the phenomena would be understood, the game up and no *quarry*! The first portion of this work, devoted to the geology of Clydesdale, is but a *resumé* of the work of others, not very intelligibly stated, because perhaps not quite understood. Dr Bryce is a convert to the ancient sea-margin theory; and from the observations of others he attempts to prove that within the human

period the sea had a much larger share of Clydesdale than it now can claim, and that the fine lands now held in liferent by Lord Eglinton and Mr Campbell of Blythwood were, in the days of the stone era, or some other, in possession of the Clyde in fee simple. Let us look at some of his facts and theories. Of the estuary and fluviatile formation of the Clyde, Dr Bryce remarks: "The deposit has been tranquilly formed throughout, long periods of repose having been but rarely interrupted by floods. Ancient canoes have been found in various parts of it, deeply imbedded in the sand and loam, one at either end of the area, and a great many on the banks of the river at Glasgow, some at heights 10 or 12 feet above the highest level reached by the greatest floods on record in the Clyde." Then quoting Mr Buchanan, the Glasgow archæologist, who says, "Within the last eighty years no less than sixteen of these (canoes) interesting remains of aboriginal workmanship have been found in and near Glasgow. They are all, with one exception, formed of single oak trees,—in some instances, by the action of fire, in others, by tools evidently blunt, probably of stone, and therefore referable to a period so remote as to have preceded the knowledge of the use of iron. The first known instance was in 1780. The canoe lay under the foundations of the Old St Enoch's Church, at a depth of 25 feet from the surface—that is, about the level of low water in the river below Argyle Street—and within it was a stone hatchet of polished greenstone, in good preservation. The second, in 1781, while excavating the foundation of the Tontine, at the Cross; the surface being here 22 feet above high water. A third, in 1824, in Stockwell Street, in a deep cutting opposite the mouth of Jackson Street. The fourth was found in 1825, in a cutting for a sewer in London Street, on the site of the 'Old Trades' Land.' The canoe was vertical, the prow uppermost, and a number of shells were inside. The next discovery was made in 1846, when the improvements in the river began to be actively carried out. Eleven canoes were discovered in a short period. Of these, five were found on the lands of Springfield, opposite the lower portion of the harbour; five more on the property of Clydehaugh, west of Springfield; and one in the grounds of Bankton adjoining Clydehaugh. The ten were in groups together, 19 feet below the surface, and above 100 yards south from the *old* river-bank, which was then where the middle of the stream now is. The twelfth canoe was brought up by the dredging machine on the north side of the river, a few yards west from Point House where the Kelvin enters. The Erskine specimen was found in 1854. A collection of these canoes is now preserved (query, suffered to go to decay) in a building in the College grounds." Having quoted this paragraph, Dr Bryce says, "The conclusion is forced upon us by these facts, that the entire area was at a remote time covered by an estuary connected with the sea by a narrow strait near Erskine, where the hills on either side press close upon the stream; whose limits reached inland almost as far as Johnstone and Paisley, narrowed upwards by the projecting Ibrox and Polloxshields ridges, but again widening out so as to wash the base of the Cathkin and Cathcart hills, and sweeping round north-east in a wide bay, so as

to cover the space now occupied by the Glasgow Green and suburbs of Bridgeton. . . . How remote, then, must be the time when the quiet waters of the estuary laved the hill-sides now covered by busy thoroughfares; and a race, whose other memorials are lost, navigated in these rude canoes the broader waters of the river whose narrowed stream now floats the largest ships, and brings to our doors the choicest products of the globe." This is pretty writing, yet solemn nonsense. The first canoe was found at a depth of "25 feet below the surface—that is, about the level of low water in the river below Argyle Street." What does this prove, but that this first Clyde boat-builder had felled the nearest tree to the river, and was busy with its excavation when he was driven off by some more "rude barbarians," and left his stone hatchet lying in the bottom? The other canoes, found at higher levels, only prove that, the wood failing near the river, these first Clyde boatmen went higher up the bank to suitable trees, and were forced to leave their boats unlaunched. But let us for a moment grant Dr Bryce's hypothesis, that the river was then higher and slowly subsided;—what are we to make of the canoe found in a vertical position, with its prow uppermost and a number of shells inside? Does not this prove a catastrophe, and remove the other cases from being proofs of the river having occupied a higher level than at present? Dr Bryce goes on citing many instances of shells having been found at various altitudes above the present level of the Clyde, all tending to prove that it occupied a higher position than at present. He says, "At Johnstone, near Paisley, a case is mentioned by Mr Smith, in which sea shells, bones of fishes and sea-birds, claws of crabs and sea-weed, were found at about 80 feet elevation. The brick-fields about Glasgow and Paisley abound in these shells; in the neighbourhood of Jordanhill, the beds are 80 feet above the river." We have a handful of these shells now before us from the Glasgow and Paisley beds. They are very instructive, but they teach the very opposite of Dr Bryce's doctrine. They are all attached by the umbonal ligature, showing that they were not dead and tost about ere they reached a resting-place in the Paisley bed; and further, they are all crushed, showing that a vast and sudden force had lifted them from their native abodes, and cast them high and dry ashore. Such a mighty wave of the sea accomplished similar phenomena in the reign of Alexander the Third; and a former and more mighty one may have raised these beds, and upset the canoe with its prow upwards, to puzzle Dr Bryce, and find him an excuse to become an author.

We have said that Dr Bryce has no difficulties when he accounts for the phenomena of geology. Thus he assumes and teaches that all the trap-dykes in Arran are due to igneous fusion; that they are all composed of rude columnar prisms lying horizontal, that is, at right angles to the beds which they intersect. He also sees perfect evidence of all those beds having been fused at their junction with the hot intruding trap. Now, had not Plutonism been his creed, he might have seen, that while some of the dykes afforded ample evidence of the probability of igneous fusion, others as unequivocally bore testimony to their aqueous origin. We have looked in vain for any indica-

tions of igneous fusion on the granite of Goatfell, at the junction of three well-defined trap-dykes which traverse the mountain between the base at Brodick and the summit. In proof of the singular perversity with which a mind choke full of plutonic theories regards the phenomena of trap-dykes, our author points in triumph to the fact—so frequently seen along all the shores of Arran—of the sandstones or other sedimentary beds being hardened by the heat of the intruding trap, and thus standing up sharp and high above the portions farther removed from the influence of the heat. Now, we grant at once that heat hardens most rocks. Our fire-worshipping forefathers knew this, when they built their temples on the high places consecrated to Baal, and vitrified together the blocks, which to this day retain their vitreous lustre and their strong adhesion. But if the heat hardened the sandstone at its junction with the trap, how did it not more harden and vitrify the dyke which, according to Dr Bryce, was the vitrifier? Unfortunately for his theory, in every case where the sandstone stands up on either side of his vitrifying dyke, we find the dyke degraded several feet below the sandstone, confessing as it were its impotency to the waves, because it had given, in the fervency of its young heat, all its strength to the embracing sandstone! Now, in the cases where we find the dyke weathered or water-worn beneath the sandstone which it intersects, we are satisfied that what the dyke gave to the sandstone was not heat, but a larger amount of oxide of iron than it contained before, thus rendering it most eminently durable. The matter of the dyke was not an igneous, but an aqueous deposit.

With regard to those dykes which stand high above the surrounding strata, we are inclined to regard them as of igneous origin; and if Dr Bryce had not been led astray by his unfortunate leaning to the worship of Baal, he would have seen that the most perfect igneous dyke, so well described by Jameson, between Tormore and King's Cove, was distinctly stratified in the opposite plane to all the other dykes in Arran. This famous historical pitch-stone vein or dyke has excited the admiration of all geologists. It is further interesting to us now, as proving how different and how false conclusions are ever drawn from phenomena, when they are put on the rack and made to give answers to questions which must only please the querist. Jameson, the Wernerian, held it as decidedly of aqueous origin, because it was stratified and overlooked all the others; and now Dr Bryce, because it is stratified and he a Huttonian, overlooks it—the only one which could support his view better than all the others put together!

There is only one other point to which we would call the reader's attention; and that is, to the frequent description of granite outbursts, of which our author is exceedingly fond. At page 75, he says of the well-known junction between the slate and granite in Glen Sannox—“A few hundred yards above the Barytes Mill a narrow band of slate crosses the river at right angles, between the granite on one side, and the old red sandstone on the other. The slate is very much altered by the close proximity of the granite; it has, in fact, the structure and aspect of Lydian stone or basalt; and the sandstone also has a highly metamorphic structure, firmly adhering to the slate,

and intermingling and interlacing with it, as if the slate had been forcibly injected among the strata of conglomerate in a melted state. This interesting junction seems to have escaped notice till observed by us in the summer of 1856. Something analogous, though less striking, is seen towards the junction in the burn of the White Water above Corrie, where a gradual passage takes place from slate to sandstone,—clearly the effect of metamorphosis, by the heat to which both were subjected. The facts clearly show the posteriority of the granite outburst to the deposit of the old conglomerate, and that the entire slate stratum on the east or Corrie side was in a plastic state, under the influence of the intense heat which fused the granite.”

In another place, Dr Bryce is puzzled at not finding evidences of igneous action where dykes permeate the granite. At page 100 he states: “These dykes are from 18 inches to 2 feet broad, and are separated by a granite band 8 or 10 feet in breadth; elliptic masses of granite, of which the largest we observed was about 18 inches by 9, are enclosed in the trap, but very little altered. The alteration, indeed, is nowhere remarkable; the granite being in some places coarse, in others fine-grained, along the planes of contact. Specimens of both may be obtained of both rocks firmly adhering.”

Let us carefully examine these two paragraphs. In the first, he says that the narrow band of slate in Glen Sannox has been changed into “the structure and aspect of Lydian stone or basalt, and forcibly injected among the strata of conglomerate in a melted state.” It is here assumed that Lydian stone and basalt are ever of igneous origin—a position scarcely tenable since the writings of the late Professor Fleming. We should be happy to show Dr Bryce Lydian stone and basalt, the first on Salisbury Crags, and the latter on Arthur Seat, before which the hottest Plutonist would become cool and reasonable.

In the next sentence, where he states that “this interesting junction was reserved for him to discover in 1856,” we beg to inform him that we were aware of its existence in the year 1837 from the lectures and writings of Jameson; and we made a special visit to Glen Sannox, in company with a few geological friends, to find it, and had no difficulty in finding it, in the year 1839. One thing we certainly did not find or believe, that we saw any evidence of the fusion of the slate—a fact which we left for Dr Bryce to discover in 1856.

In the latter sentence of the first paragraph above quoted, he dogmatizes on the slates becoming plastic under the influence of “the intense heat which fused the granite;” and, in the second paragraph, fails to see any change caused by the intense heat at the junction of the granite and the trap. Now, the theory of granite being a fused formation, has not been held as tenable since Fleming showed that it was composed of three simple minerals, each composed of chemically combining constituents—a condition of no fused mass as yet examined by any chemist; and further, the bottom has been knocked out of the theory by Mr Bryson, of Edinburgh, having shown that every crystal of quartz found in any granite hitherto examined contains fluid cavities. These two stubborn facts overthrow all our author’s fine-spun theories of “outbursts,” and “fused slates,” and singed conglomerates.

When he fails to see any change caused by the great heat at the junction of the granite and the trap, his eyes have served him better than his head. If he had thought for a moment, or asked himself what change could be expected on the granite (an immense *fused* mass, according to him) by the posterior intrusion of a fused trap-dyke, he would have come to the reasonable conclusion, that no change could be possible, or at least probable.

Handbook of Geological Terms. By DAVID PAGE, F.G.S. Edinburgh : William Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

A WORK of this kind was greatly needed. If the different branches of natural science are to get a well-defined place in modern education, the obstacles to this, which at the outset meet the scholar, in the current nomenclature of science, must be removed. It is vain to propose that scientific men should express their thoughts in popular phraseology, and to expect that they will come down from their high platform, and mingle without distinction among the crowd. This is not likely ever to be; and, besides, the expediency of it is doubtful. When one witnesses the results of attempts in popular literature to do this, the question, "*cui bono?*" may very fairly be put. Science has certainly not gained much thereby; and as far as style and the English language go, the expression, "English undefiled," has ceased to have any meaning. If the end of education were simply to communicate to the young the results of scientific study, there might be some apology for the outcry against the terminology of science, though even in this case a necessity would lie on the teacher to use terms needing themselves to be defined. But the aim is far higher. It is to *draw out* the faculties, no doubt; but it is, moreover, in doing this, to give the pupil a taste for the researches themselves, which bear fruit in such results, and to fit them not only for intelligently following investigations, but for making them also.

Mr Page has discerned the true place of natural science in relation to education. He has seen the hindrance in the way, and has come forward to remove it, as regards that branch of science which he has specially made the work of his life. His able "*Manuals of Geology*" have already made him favourably known; and, we are persuaded, the "*Handbook*" now under notice will not be thought less worthy of public attention. Mr Page has not tried to bring science down to the multitude, and, by inexact terms and roundabout phrases, to commend it to the crowd. His effort has rather been to elevate the popular mind, and to bring it up to an intelligent appreciation of scientific studies, by a full, clear, and, in the main, remarkably accurate definition of the terms used in the literature of science. He has put the key into the hands of intelligent youths, by which, with as little labour as is needed for mere literary studies, they may open the gate into regions in which everywhere they will meet with objects suggestive of great thoughts of the majesty and grandeur of the all-glorious Creator. But if the labour be lightened by Mr Page's definitions, it is not done away with. With the "*Handbook*" for reference, a man who knows no other language than English, may be

enabled to read such a work, for example, as *Siluria*; but the painstaking and toil needed, in order to retain distinct impressions of the meaning of the scientific terms used, must always be considerable. There is, however, a great advantage in tempting the young into regions where they are willing to master difficulties, and in beguiling them into studies which, as in the case of geology, afford means for disciplining intellect, and for training in patient research, not to be had even in the fields of classical learning. The "Handbook" is, as a whole, truly admirable, and does its author very great credit. It will be found most helpful to the young geologist; and those even who have worked long in the field, may find it useful to have it among their books. We very cordially recommend it.

The Book of Ecclesiastes: Its Meaning and its Lessons. By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D.D. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son. 1859.

THE matter of which this volume is made up was originally preached to Dr Buchanan's congregation, in the usual course of public worship on Sabbath. It was thus prepared for the instruction of a mixed congregation, to the great majority of whom anything like philological discussion would have been worse than wearisome. To an expositor of scholarly habits, exegetical skill, and given to historical criticism, the Book of Ecclesiastes presents a noble field for the exercise of all these accomplishments. But while the exhibition of them in the pulpit would have been sheer pedantry, we think the author might, with much advantage to his subject and himself, have given us a taste of his skill in these topics in an occasional note, now that he has made a book of his discourses. Take, for example, the question of the authorship of Ecclesiastes, or of its canonical authority. We have no doubt but that Dr Buchanan takes the right view of the former, when he says, "The words of the Preacher are the words of Solomon;" and that in the pulpit it would have been out of place even to refer to the attempts which have frequently been made to cast doubt on the latter, by finding a parallel between this book and the *jeune* "Wisdom of Solomon." Yet his work would have had attractions to scholars, had the views of Professor M. Stuart, as to the authorship, age, and peculiar dogmas of Ecclesiastes, been looked at from Dr Buchanan's point of view. Though we believe Professor Stuart wholly wrong in his statements, as to there being internal evidence that the writer of the book must have been acquainted with philosophic views which had no place among men till a period long posterior to the time of Solomon, we would not have found fault with Dr Buchanan had he devoted a note to his view of this, more especially as there are many symptoms of this superficial, but very wise-looking, mode of criticism becoming more general than it has hitherto been.

But this is a very slight defect. We have stated it because it is the only one we can adduce in a book of many excellencies. Dr Buchanan regards Ecclesiastes as having been written by Solomon towards the close of his life, when the memories of the period of his deep declension from the Lord God of his father David were ever

creeping, like shadows of terrible evil, up into the midst of that quietness and assurance which were once more consciously his, as a recovered backslider,—a soul brought again to stand amidst the light of that love of God which was so precious to him in early years; or, as it is put by Pictet, “on ne sauroit lire ce livre sans y reconoitre que c’est l’ouvrage de ce roy, revenu de tous ses égaremens, et convaincu de la vanité de tous les plaisirs qu’il avoit goutez.” In proceeding to deal with the book from this point of view, the author is fully aware of the difficulty of the task, and of the varied information required to do it even scant justice. “We shall see,” he says, “a purpose and a plan, not only in all those high intellectual endowments and immense and multifarious acquirements by which Solomon was distinguished, but even in those dark and disastrous aberrations in which, for a season, he was permitted to go astray. Not by his wisdom only, but by his folly too, was God preparing him to be at once a beacon and a guide. The Holy Spirit has, in this book, made use both of all his excellencies and of all his errors, for the warning and for the instruction of the world. It is this very circumstance that makes it a task so difficult fully to set forth what these words of the Preacher, the son of David, King of Jerusalem, contain.” Dr Buchanan carries the state of mind manifested in these words with him throughout the exposition. There are no rash assertions intruded on the reader, in the place of views naturally deducible from the text; and no conjuring up of imaginary difficulties, in order to exhibit skill in explaining them. As many as are acquainted with the literature which has gathered around this portion of Scripture cannot fail to be struck with the tact displayed by the author, in keeping the attention of his readers fixed on views “profitable for instruction in righteousness,” and in leaving out of sight the multitude of antagonistic statements which tend only to distraction.

The Discourses contain all the characteristics which make a popular exposition of any portion of Scripture excellent. The style is pointed and clear; treasures of varied information are brought to the illustration of the text; great breadth of view characterizes the theology of the work; while the mode in which the principles of Christian morality are brought out in it, is such as to warrant the belief that it will be extensively useful.

1. *The Ulster Revival and its Physiological Accidents.* By Rev. J. M’COSH, LL.D. Belfast: Aitchison. 1859.
2. *The Ulster Revival.* By Rev. C. SEAVER, Incumbent of St John’s, Belfast. Belfast: Phillips and Son. 1859.
3. *Restoration and Revival.* By Rev. J. SMALL, Bervie. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.
4. *The Work and the Counter-Work; or, the Revival in Belfast, with an Explanation of the Physical Phenomena.* By EDWARD A. STOPFORD, Archdeacon of Meath. 5th Ed. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1859.
5. *The Revivals and the Church.* By JOHN BRUCE, D.D. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

6. *Personal Visit to the Chief Scenes of the Religious Revivals in the North of Ireland.* By JAMES GRANT. London: John Snow.
7. *Revivals in Ireland: Facts, Documents, and Correspondence.* By JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. London: John Snow.
8. *A Visit to the Scenes of Revival in Ireland: The Origin, Progress, and Characteristics of the Work of 1859.* By JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE, D.D., LL.D. London: John Snow.
9. *The Ulster Revival in its Religious Features and Physiological Accidents: being Papers read at the Evangelical Alliance in Belfast, Sept. 1859.* With a Preface by Rev. EDWARD STEANE, D.D. London: James Nisbet and Co.
10. *The Revival: or, What I Saw in Ireland.* By the Rev. JOHN BAILLIE. London: Nisbet and Co.
11. *The Revival Movement.* By MAJOR PHILIP BOLTON. London: Houlston and Wright.

AMONG the noteworthy fruits of that religious movement to which so much attention has recently been devoted in this country, in Ireland, and in America, not the least interesting is the peculiar phase of literature which has sprung up in consequence of it. The books and pamphlets whose titles are quoted above form only a tithe of the plentiful harvest. We have chosen several for notice out of nearly a hundred. And if we add to these the leading articles of newspapers—from the *Times* and dashing *Saturday Review* to the *Provincial Broad-sheet*—the notices in Medical Journals, and the newspaper letters whose name is Legion, we will be ready to acknowledge that public attention has been very thoroughly called to the work. All this must have impressed even those at a distance from the scenes of special influence with the conviction that there must be something extraordinary associated with it. We have looked into very many accounts of the revivals, and have found much in these of great interest, not only to all who accept the Scriptures as the Word of God, but to the physician, the philanthropist, and the student of psychology also. It would demand much more space than in a short notice can be given to them to illustrate these remarks. Accordingly, instead of going into physiological and psychological questions, it occurred to us that it might be useful to those who will undoubtedly give more attention to such aspects than has yet been given, to look at these religious movements in the light of Scripture and of modern ecclesiastical history.

Strong, overmastering emotion has been recently characteristic of these revivals. Is there aught analogous to this feature in Holy Writ? Most minds familiar with the Bible will no doubt answer this question affirmatively, and point to one passage in particular as supplying a forcible illustration: “I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look upon Me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born.” (Zech. xii. 10.) We suppose the *literal* fulfilment of this word is to be partly sought in the incident at the crucifixion, when “one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side.” (John xix. 34.) But be it so or no,

the state of mind is that which will ever characterise those who look profoundly at personal sin, shortcoming from the requirements of law, and transgression against an eternally loving and gracious Saviour. This is not simply the point of view of doctrine—it is, moreover, that of prevailing personal experience. It will, more or less manifestly then, find its illustration in the experience of every one who learns to “close with God and give the world the slip.” But let us suppose that this should at any time take place on a large scale; that is, that not only one here and another there should be brought under these strong spiritual impressions, but tens or hundreds should be so at one time. What would be the results? The work would be more apparent. It would thus attract much more attention, and the feelings and their fruits would be intensified by the contagious influence of predominating emotion. What would have been the effect had a hundred monks been brought at the same time under such experiences as those which Luther had, when he got a glimpse of himself in the light of the holiness and grace of God? and what would have been the effect in Bedfordshire had five hundred been around Bunyan, influenced as he was when he lived through the remarkable experience so graphically described in his “Grace Abounding?” The movement in either case would have been as the rolling in of a full flood, and not merely the falling of a shower of spiritual blessings, as it was while each stood alone as directly influenced by the Spirit of God in the use of the Word. The spiritual force seems to lose some of its energy when it again comes through the one quickened. In all Paul’s labours he saw no fruit of his ministry marked by such features, and hastening to such results in good-doing, as was the case with himself. But when the times of refreshing come with power, when Sinai is shaken by the tread of the God of Israel, and the goings in gracious majesty are heard by multitudes, it is not to be questioned but that there are readier opportunities to abuse the gift and grace. Multitudes under the contagious influence of prevailing feeling, but destitute of any true work on their own souls, hasten to mix up their superstitions with it, and run to excesses which cause the work to be evil spoken of in the world. All this should be taken into account in judging the recent work in Ireland.

Such periods as those now referred to have frequently occurred in the history of the Church. Without alluding to subordinate movements, we may mention those recorded in Joshua v., 2 Chron. xxix., Ezra ix., x., Acts ii. These are so well known, that we need not point out the peculiar phases of spiritual experience illustrated in each, or, at any great length, those features common to all. No one can peruse them without acknowledging the presence of such outstanding marks as, (1.) A deep and overwhelming sense of sin, associated in the mind of those influenced with confessions of past neglect, and of present vileness and unworthiness in the sight of God; (2.) Not only strong mental emotion, but even physical influence also—as weeping; as so affected bodily, that, in one of the instances at least, the beholders spoke of the revived as if they were under the influence of strong drink; and (3.) A spirit of thanksgiving when led into peace,

and made to stand consciously in the light of the Lord's countenance. This thanksgiving took, in each case, the form of praise with the lips, and, higher still, the distinct exhibition of gratitude in leaving off sinful ways, in a course of life bearing witness to great zeal for the truth, and great love for the service of God.

Now, if we follow those seasons of refreshing into the history of the Church in post-apostolic times, we will be called at every point to witness the same fruits. To go no farther back than that great revival-work, the reformation from Popery, we find that all the nations of the West were called, in a greater or less degree, to behold the like results. But turning aside from this, and looking at the ways of the Great Head of the Church with the Presbyterian Churches of Britain and America, we have many remarkably apposite illustrations of the views we have just stated. If we take the beginning of the seventeenth century as our starting-point, we are met with manifestations which must have been strikingly similar to those which have been occurring in Ireland. The very name—"the *Stewarton Sickness*"—which was given to the work in Ayrshire in 1625, suggests this. That then, as now, the influence of the soul, moved to its depths by emotions confessedly the strongest under which the spiritual nature of man can come, wholly overmastered the body, and cast it to the ground, there can be no doubt. As little can there be any doubt but that "the sickness" was contagious; and that many who had not seen their sins in the light of the Saviour's love, and in the brightness of the righteousness and holiness of a gracious and just God, were affected in a way like that experienced by those truly taught of the Spirit. Every man and woman of weak will, and strong emotional nature; every one with a natural tendency to *hysteria*, and to other corresponding forms of disease, would come under the reflex influence of the true work. Nothing is more common in times of religious excitement. The prophecy has been ever strangely true: "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; *and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob.*" (Isa. xiv.) Multitudes who had no sympathy with the Divine thoughts under which a true people had come, were led to cast in their lot with them. In the awakening, like Saul, they get "another spirit," though not a new one, and, doubtless, the indiscriminating would reckon them truly changed. Thus was it when Israel came up out of Egypt; thus when, in the days of Esther, the Lord gave His people "light and gladness;" for we are told that "many of the people of the land became Jews, for the fear of the Jews fell upon them" (Esth. viii.); and thus it has been under our own eyes in the present time.

Continuing our historial references, we come to the well-known Shotts work, in 1630,—the time to which John Livingstone refers so touchingly in his Autobiography, as, "the day in all my life wherein I got most presence of God in public, on a Monday after our communion, preaching in the church-yard of the Shotts, the 21st of June 1630." In 1742 we are called to notice the remarkable movement at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, etc., which is interesting as bringing out a state

of matters very like that which we have heard so much of recently ; for then, as now, the awakening appears to have begun in America. The account of the work in America, by President Edwards, is well known. In looking over Edwards' "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England," we have thought, once and again, that if the "Thoughts" were republished with a few slight alterations, they would tend, more than all the pamphlets which have recently been written, to set men's minds at rest in regard to the awakening, and to convince them that no new thing had happened under the sun.

Following the historical outline, we reach 1839, with the goings of the Spirit of God at Kilsyth, Dundee, Perth, Blairgowrie, Kelso, etc. And now we are called to witness similar, and even more wonderful phases of Divine influence, in America, in Ireland, and, as yet, partially in Scotland.

The books and pamphlets named at the head of this notice deal mainly with the work in Ireland. Their authors agree in regarding the movement as, in the main, a good one. Some of them see no extravagances in it, but accept, with a credulity almost enviable, extravagances which would have put other men on their guard. They believe that the blind have literally been receiving sight, and the dumb speech, etc. Others are more discriminating, and, like Archdeacon Stopford, trace most of the purely physical influences to a diseased state of the nervous system. While there is much truth, and much sound common sense in the Archdeacon's views, we think the *hysteria* theory is carried too far. And while we cordially sympathize with his strong condemnation of those who, in order to mere effect, so preach as to bring young persons, mainly females, under influences which prostrate the whole physical organization, we feel strongly that, where intense mental emotion is, the body will, more or less, bear witness to this. Apart altogether from religious truth, this might be largely illustrated from the history of physiology.

Mr Baillie's pamphlet contains much which other observers appear to have overlooked.

Dr M'Cosh's address is devoted to a statement of the grounds on which he holds the Ulster revival to be a work of God. He looks the physiological peculiarities broadly in the face, and traces those physical effects, which bulk so largely in the eyes of men, to the influence of absorbing emotion. As might have been anticipated from the author of "The Method of the Divine Government," the views here brought out are characterized by great clearness and breadth, and are in complete harmony with Scripture.

Dr Steane has collected the addresses on the revivals, delivered before the Evangelical Alliance, at its meeting in Belfast last year, and has published them, with a sensible preface, written by himself. The addresses were delivered by the Bishop of Down and Connor, Rev. Ch. Leaver, Rev. Mr Canning, and Dr M'Cosh—two of them Episcopalians and two Presbyterians. Dr M'Cosh's address we have already characterised. The other three are equally worthy of attention, though they look at the work from a very different point of view.

Mr James Grant, the well-known editor of the *Morning Adver-*

viser, visited the scenes of awakening, and has now republished, from the columns of his newspaper, the interesting account of what he saw there.

Dr Massie's contributions to the literature of this remarkable work are able and valuable. They have already been extensively circulated.

Mr Small's volume is one of devotional and practical divinity, written with much freshness, earnestness, and eloquence, and fitted to promote the work of God. We have man's ruin and recovery—the awakening of the church after she has fallen into a state of slumber and decay—the means of that awakening—the strength of the church, what it is—and the preservation and progress of the church, when thus awakened and strengthened by the Lord,—illustrated with much scriptural simplicity and clearness.

Mr Macgillivray's "Sketches" deal with the past, as will be seen from the title. They are not, however, less interesting on this account. The "Sketches" are written with ability and earnestness. The illustrative examples deserve attention. They are fitted to be useful.

Major Philip Bolton wields his pen from the prophetic point of view. He has discovered that the gospel is not truly preached to the awakened, and, of course, comes to set all men right. Whether his views of the future are trustworthy or no, we would not like to say; but that there are not a few who are able to minister to the saints in Ireland, and to point the diseased to Gilead and its Physician, we are sure, notwithstanding the doubts of the Major.

We much like Dr Bruce's "Lecture," and would class it with Dr M'Cosh's and Archdeacon Stopford's; not, however, because it is in the same vein as either, but because it has nothing of that sameness which is more or less common to all the rest. Dr Bruce appears early to have discerned that latitudinarianism might be tempted to follow in the path of the good work; and he lifts up his voice for *truth* as well as *life*. He can even see that, instead of tending to undervalue denominational distinctions, it ought to deepen the love of each for that aspect even of church government which different denominations associate with the will of Christ.

"Prevailing Prayer" is an American reprint, introduced to the British public by Dr Norman M'Leod. This little work has been found useful in America. Dr M'Leod's introduction is well written, and marked by religious earnestness and good taste.

Present State of the Longitude Question. A Lecture Delivered before the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce. By Professor C. PIAZZI SMYTH. To which is Prefixed an Historical Account of the Chamber. Edinburgh, 1859.

THE subject chosen by Professor Smyth, in lecturing before the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, is one of great importance. The lecturer has long had his attention turned to it, and he now comes forward to expound his views to an intelligent band of Scottish merchants. In the outset, the learned Professor rightly pleads for the superiority of the astronomical method for determining the ship's place at any time in the ocean, to "the determination from dead

reckoning, or observations of terrestrial objects of any kind." This he illustrates, and proceeds to trace the history of the "Longitude Question," from the days of Columbus up to our own time. In this historical sketch he has embodied much valuable and interesting information. The direction given to the purely scientific bearings of the question, when British thought and mechanical skill were applied to it, is shown to have been of the most useful kind. In 1740 an instrument was invented, by which the heaving of a vessel was kept from interfering with the accuracy of angular measurements. But, while this was a great step, when looked at in the light of existing knowledge, it had very many drawbacks. These, however, to some extent, gave way before the application of an improved instrument, which, unlike the other, the most violent motion of the ship could not disturb. "Hadley's principle thus proved of nearly as much importance to nautical, as the invention of the telescope had been to terrestrial astronomy. It was the first instrument which enabled marine observers to arrive at any respectable amount of accuracy in angular observations." Hadley's invention led the way to the method known as that of "lunar distances." This, in its turn, yielded to the well-known *chronometrical* method. The earliest effective solution of the longitude problem by Chronometer, was reserved for a rather hard-headed, persevering, uneducated, or rather self-educated mechanic, a Yorkshire carpenter,—John Harrison. Professor Smyth points out that the extension of commerce, the introduction of steam-shipping, etc., call for yet further improvement in "Naval Longitude." "Commerce and the world now require, that as much use should be made by a seaman of the stars by night, as of the sun by day." But without mentioning other obstacles to this, the fact that "the sea horizon, or observing line for sextant altitude, is not visible during all the nocturnal hours," implies the necessity of looking beyond this method. Professor Smyth has a plan, which had been proposed to the Scottish Society of Arts, and which is stated with great clearness in this lecture; but as any verbal description, without a drawing of Professor Smyth's model, would fail to set it plainly before our readers, we would refer them to this lecture, and to the Professor's Papers in the Transactions of the Scottish Royal Society of Arts.

The historical sketch of the Chamber of Commerce contains much interesting information regarding the origin and growth of that Institution. It is well written, and may be cordially commended to the attention of all who are curious in such matters. The volume is "got up" in antique style, and reflects much credit on the enterprise of Messrs Lawson, at whose "Private Press" it bears to have been printed. Paper, type, etc., are so attractive as to raise the wish that when we next take to book-making, Messrs Lawson's Press might be at our command!

THE
NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

MAY, 1860.

ART. I.—*Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell.* By CYRUS REDDING. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1859.

MR REDDING'S "Reminiscences," lately completed and published in two volumes, probably conclude the series of personal recollections which we are likely to receive of the poet Campbell. It cannot be said that they form any essential addition to the more elaborate biography given to the world ten years back by Dr Beattie. They suggest, indeed, rather that the author wanted to make a book, than that he felt he had anything very important to tell us about the poet, and actually tell us, perhaps, as much about Mr Cyrus Redding as about Campbell. Yet they have their substantive value, nevertheless, in the mere fact that they are observations taken from another quarter. The omniscient schoolboy has lately learned—thanks to Sir David Brewster and Professor Wheatstone—that curious law of optical science, that, to obtain the impression of relief, we must have two pictures of the object, taken from different points of view, and superimposed the one upon the other. The second transcript adds no new features to the picture; and, to the ignorant observer, who has left school, appears to be exactly like the first. Nevertheless, it is this second transcript that, by some magic, which we believe even the schoolboy himself does not yet fully understand, is to convert the plane into the apparent solid. Something like this law appears to prevail in moral representation also. To get the true roundness of life, we must have pictures of our subject from various hands. The best, fullest, liveliest narrative is a plane surface by itself, so long as it conveys the impressions of only one mind. It may convey outline,

colour, and every detail, but yet fails to give the true sense of substance and reality.

The value of the present acquisition, it must be confessed, is not diminished by the fact that the hero is regarded rather from the valet-de-chambre point of view. Mr Redding served under Campbell as sub-editor during the direction of the *New Monthly* by the latter; if, indeed, we should not rather reverse the phrase, and say that the dilatory, unmethodical, fastidious poet served under his more practical subordinate. This relation, whichever party occupied the superior position, might be expected to present Campbell in an aspect different from that in which he would appear either to his chosen friends or to society in general; and Mr Redding's impressions, therefore, while they require to be received with an obvious allowance, have yet their special utility.

To Dr Beattie's work—our principal authority on the subject—a much higher rank may be assigned. It has the essential merit of being a serious effort. If the author be not successful in his object, it is not, at any rate, from want of labour. And we do not say that he is not to a great degree successful. The amount of matter, whether in the shape of letters, verses, or facts, collected in his work, is immense. Three volumes of nearly five hundred pages each are filled—very fairly—with Campbell. But this very fulness suggests its attendant defect. It would be almost impossible to say as much worth saying of a man of no larger humanity than the poet—true poet as he was—can pretend to. The wood wants thinning. The fact is, that Dr Beattie is far too generally good-natured, not only to his subject, but to every body and thing with which his subject has to do. In his biographical eyes, Campbell touched nothing he did not adorn. If some authors are said to dip their pens in gall, Dr Beattie has dipped his in the milk of human kindness; and milk (as any one who has ever tried that medium knows) is apt to run and blur, and is generally unfavourable to fine delineation. Accordingly, in Dr Beattie's own portion of the story, there is some want of due discrimination. His literary handling is—be it said with all respect for his noble calling—*tant soit peu* professional. We all know the suavity which distinguishes the personal intercourse of the profession with the world of possible patients, and have sometimes, perhaps ungratefully, felt willing to exchange for something ruder and less regulated that courteous suggestion of mortality and mortal accidents. We secretly shudder a little at so soft a touch. There is something of this in Dr Beattie's style and treatment.

A defect in some degree analogous is a want of distinct grouping and arrangement of the narrative. A due observance of chronology is, indeed, an essential condition of a good biography:

but the service is not to be slavery. There is a "logic of facts" which will often claim a prior right to attention. Dr Beattie's object apparently has been, by extracts from the poet's letters, or the supplementary recollections of his friends, to present the matter in his hands under the form of annals, or sometimes even of diary; and this intention is generally carried out with great success. But to compile annals is to decline history; and a diary, perhaps the most interesting, because the most natural, form of narrative, when the matter thus chronicled is the daily development of some single subject of interest, is the most wearisome of all reading, when it retails only the heterogeneous matter which each day actually brings forth. It may almost be said that the chief use of writing lives is lost when this manner is pursued. If the object of writing memoirs be simply to collect the facts of a man's life, how is biography to be distinguished from gossip? It will be gossip about a dead man, doubtless, but still gossip, and no more. But biography, which fulfils its proper scope, is open to no such reproach. Its duty is not simply to chronicle the facts of the life of its subject, but to exhibit the relation of those facts to each other and to human nature. It may be an extravagance to say that every man's life is a "poem;" for, to say nothing of the decided prose in which too much of most men's lives is expressed, few lives have that completeness and composition which is what we may rather suppose to be implied in that fine Gallic figure. But a life, though it may rarely deserve to be called a poem, is by no means that confused congeries of events which it may often appear to be when we look at it too closely. In reading a man's life as a diary, or even in annals, which profess a somewhat larger scope, we are much like men travelling over the face of a new country. Every step is more or less of a surprise. Here we enjoy a green shade, and there we come on a sandy waste; now we have a rapid river to cross, and now we skirt a tranquil lake; now the eye ranges over a wide expanse, and then, when we turn in another direction, a hill or a mountain shuts up the view. Everything may be very delightful to see, but we are among the objects, and can only form a very vague notion of the whole which these elements make up. But from the elevation to which the true biographer conducts the reader, these features fall, not, indeed, into regularity, but into connection and plan. This hill is a solitary cone, unmistakeably volcanic, or it is seen to be part of a chain, the rise, and course, and conclusion of which we can trace and understand. Then, too, we can perceive why the river met us here, why it is suspended there in a lake; we can see why this region grows such fine timber, or affords such glowing sheets of turf, or why that is so sterile and stony. Our comprehension, indeed,

of all these facts will be deeper or shallower, according to our own resources of knowledge and intelligence; but it will be at least possible to learn much, and almost impossible not to learn something, of the eternal laws which influence these phenomena.

Memoirs conducted on Dr Beattie's principle of course fail to a great degree of such lessons. Yet, as biographies go, it must be considered a highly meritorious work. If it is scarcely the accomplished work of art which we desiderate, Dr Beattie's *Life* may be said, like Michael Angelo's marble, to contain "*col suo soverchio*" all that we could wish. Some day we may hope the "*ottimo artista*" will appear, and from this abundance of excellent material carve out the perfect work.

Without attempting, it may well be believed, to anticipate that consummate workman, we now propose, in a brief analysis of Campbell's life, to endeavour, while quoting its principal events, to exhibit the leading features of his character. In this view, it will be observed that we are only concerned with the poet and writer, as these aspects bear relation to the man. His works, therefore, well worthy as they are of a deliberate critical review, can only be noticed on the present occasion as far as they serve to illustrate the moral individuality of their author.

When he has a long journey to go, the wise traveller hastens to divide it into stages. Campbell's seventy years of existence may be divided, in regard to other considerations besides convenience, into four periods. The first, extending from his birth in 1777, to the publication of the "*Pleasures of Hope*" in 1799, includes the development of the man, his genius and his fame, in very unusual coincidence, up to the epoch of first manhood. The second, a shorter but distinct period of four years, contains his early London life, and concludes with his marriage in 1803. The third portion, in all respects the prime or happiest passage of the poet's career, may, for distinction, be called the Sydenham period; since it was in that pleasant suburban retirement that most of it was spent. This was the period of his married life, and it concludes with the loss of his excellent wife—a loss soon followed by that of the home her presence had chiefly constituted—in 1828. The fourth period embraces the remainder of his life, and ends with his decease at the age of 66, in 1843. We propose cursorily to sketch these periods in succession, developing, as we may be able, the relation, both in regard to events and their moral influences, which they bore to each other, and endeavouring to exhibit the significance of each in that large view of the poet's life *as a whole*, in which only it can now be viewed with any advantage to us or justice to its subject.

Two points regarding the poet's birth bring up questions of which almost all we can say is, that they *have* an answer, if we

knew it. Campbell was of an ancient race, and he was the son of an old man. What was the influence of either circumstance?

The connection with the more illustrious representatives of the name claimed by the poet,¹ and gracefully acknowledged, it would appear, by some members of the house of Lorn—but, whether seriously believed or not by either, we do not pretend to know—may be left for those who have the means and taste for investigating abstruse points of genealogy. The special branch to which the poet belonged, was designated by the title of a small Highland estate called Kirnan. This property, however, the subject of the “*Lines on Revisiting a Scene in Argyllshire*,” had become merely titular in the previous generation, having been sold by the poet’s uncle to a wealthier kinsman, and merged in his larger estate. An English family, under such circumstances, would have dropped altogether out of the golden book of territorial aristocracy, and been glad to hide its diminished head in the darkest obscurity it could find. The Englishman’s pride forbids him to cling to distinction, of which he has lost what he considers the substance. The Campbells, on the contrary, as almost any other Scottish family in a similar position would have done, clung to their title, and called themselves Campbell of Kirnan still, though the land was no longer in their possession. The Scotsman’s pride forbids him to resign a distinction of which he has lost only what he considers an accessory. For the estate, to the Englishman, represents the land; to the Scotsman, it represents the blood.

It is impossible to deny that the Scottish view is the higher; and, moreover, the case of this family of Kirnan forcibly suggests a real advantage which may attend it. It is related of Mrs Campbell, the poet’s mother, that on one occasion she directed a purchase made at a shop, to be sent to “Mrs Campbell of Kirnan, mother of the author of the ‘*Pleasures of Hope*.’” We cannot help smiling at the simplicity which this anecdote betrays; yet, if we sympathize with the motherly pride which dictated the latter flourish to the name, we may probably trace a close connection between it and the family pride which suggested the former. The two facts involved, may have even morally almost the relation of cause and effect; for the poet, if he owed his genius to nature, would certainly never have become the author of the “*Pleasures of Hope*,” of all poems in the world, if he had not received a high degree of literary culture, and if, moreover, his excessively sensitive character had not enjoyed, during his childhood and youth, the delicate handling which could only have been obtained in a home of substantial refinement. These were necessary conditions of his ever becoming what he actually be-

¹ See Verses on receiving a Seal with the Campbell Crest:

came. Now, set against these the position of his family during this period. His father, formerly a merchant of good standing in the American trade, had been ruined by the breaking out of the war, and reduced to the narrowest circumstances. Never, as far as we learn, a man of any great energy, he was now sixty-five years old, and he had a family of ten children,—Thomas the youngest, an infant at the time, and the eldest a daughter of only nineteen. What a splendid boast, then, was really contained in this little outbreak of the mother, who had not only sustained her aged husband, and sent a large family out respectably into the world, but under such pressure of privation had still maintained a home in which a poet of the peculiar temperament and accomplishments of her youngest son could be successfully developed! Would the English family, under corresponding circumstances, always have stood so severe a test? Would the cold poverty without not have frozen the graces and delicacies within? Would not coarseness of manners have come in too soon with coarseness of fare,—just for want of that sustaining sense of birth and caste which made the Scottish family still feel themselves bound to keep up the traditions of gentle blood? So that the honest pride of family may have had much to do with the production of this fine example of domestic heroism; and Mrs Campbell may have very justly connected her being the mother of the author of the “*Pleasures of Hope*” with her being Mrs Campbell of Kirnan.

The theory that remarkable men derive their distinguishing qualities from the mother obtains a rather ambiguous confirmation from the case of Campbell. That theory cannot certainly be said to have at present any claim to serious attention: it obtains its actual amount of popular acceptance from the same convenient practice which supports, with another portion of the vulgar, the belief in dreams and omens,—the practice of overlooking all the facts which tell against it, and only registering those which may be interpreted in its favour. It does not prove much, therefore, that we find Mrs Campbell to have exhibited a more marked individuality than her husband; and the value of this fact is diminished by the circumstance that her character, in its development at least, was very different from that of her son. She seems to have been remarkable for that in which the poet was always remarkably defective—a strong sense of principle enforced by a strong will. Her manner of governing her children and household appears to have left an impression of severity even upon her youngest son, who was avowedly her favourite; but his character bears more testimony to the indulgence with which he was generally treated, than his memory to the asperities which, like other spoiled children, he may occasionally have had to undergo. Mrs Campbell of Kirnan was manifestly a woman

of a warm and deep heart, as well as a despotic will and an irritable temper; and the severity of such persons towards those in whom their affections are strongly engaged is apt to be of the crustaceous order: it exhibits plenty of hardness and prickles outside, but has no backbone. This is much the sort of treatment we suspect the youthful Tommy to have received in a household where, moreover—besides the aged and indulgent father—there was a strong sisterly atmosphere prevailing; and to this, probably, may be attributed in great measure that tendency to self-indulgence which he throughout life exhibited. Nevertheless, though the son did develop into so different a character from the rigid, orderly, self-and-family-denying matron who bore him, we are disposed to think that he really derived from her the quality which, more than any other, made him what he was,—that *perfervidum ingenium*, viz., which gives his best passages a fire we scarcely find elsewhere, and which, in its concentration in his best songs, made him the Tyrtæus of his country.

In the bosom of this family, surrounded manifestly by serious privations, yet these softened to the spoiled child, spoiled at once in the several rights of being the youngest, the most delicate, the prettiest, and the cleverest—by abundant affection from father, and mother, and sisters alike, affection which the child, grown man, never forgot, but sacrificed himself to acknowledge and repay—Campbell passed the whole of his childhood and boyhood. It is worth notice, too, that, during the whole of this period, he resided in a town, and that town Glasgow. A few weeks spent for his health, when he was eight years old, at a short distance from the city, formed the only opportunity he had of becoming personally familiar with the country which God made. His biographer lays, with justice, much stress on the short interval when the sensitive and precocious child—his perceptive powers probably increased by recent illness—was allowed to run wild on the banks of the Cart—or, as the poet reproduces the cacophonious stream, the Cartha—under the charge of an “aged webster and his wife,” in whose cottage he was boarded. It is not unlikely that this visit first developed the fondness for natural objects, the truthful, if limited, observation of which is a marked feature of his poetry. Nor is it very improbable that his comparatively rare access to such objects may have enhanced their value in his imagination. There seems, also, reason to believe, that this awakening of the sensibilities to the “magic of nature” led to his first attempts at verse, for in his tenth year at latest he began to rhyme. We believe that, seventy years ago, the rhymes the child produced were a much stronger evidence of tendency toward, and talent for, poetical composition, than they would be at present. It is rather a curious, but an

undoubted fact, that the facility for metrical expression is acquired at a very much earlier age than it used to be; and little Tommy Campbell's compositions at ten years old would scarcely justify now the fond expectations which they actually excited. We have seen far better verses in every respect produced by children who, nevertheless, have not turned out poets. But at thirteen, Campbell produced a piece which authorized the highest expectation of originality. On the most hackneyed subject (Spring) he hit upon a happy thought, perfectly just and true, and yet, to our knowledge, absolutely novel. Listen how this inspired boy writes. He is addressing Summer (which rather diminishes his merit, for it was, no doubt, the necessity of elevating that season above its rivals which gave him his cue); nevertheless, it was "no vulgar boy" who had the moral courage thus to express himself:—

" 'Tis true some poets that unguarded sing,
The golden age would fain ascribe to Spring;
For me, I see not how wits e'er so starch,
Could prove the beauties of the bleak-eyed March,
Nor February, clad in horrid snow,
Nor April, when the winds relentless blow:
These chilly months it sure alone belongs
To those who sing to frame unmeaning songs."

Granting a certain obscurity to the last couplet, which a truth so deep may well bear, who can deny that this child, in his innocence, has been enabled to read the mysteries of nature more truly than the whole quire of English bards before or since? Here that respectable company have been for all these years and centuries celebrating and adoring spring, as if it were really a delightful season, as if, in fact, there were in their sense such a thing as spring; and then comes this little child and rebukes both them and us.

Seriously, if there is no great proof of poetical genius in this passage, there is what is the condition of any such genius—truthfulness of observation; and we are not joking at all in recognising here a certain simplicity and honesty, on which we shall have to remark hereafter, as often a meritorious distinction of his poetry.

These poetical attempts seem to have been fostered by the master of the school—the Grammar School of Glasgow—which he had attended from his eighth year. "Versions," which it was optional to the pupil to render in prose or metre, were a part of the school-system; and Campbell's ambition and consciousness of what was regarded as a remarkable talent, had at least as much to do as any true stinging of the poetic fly with his adopting the metrical form. Of this—and also at once to shatter

all fancy that he exhibited any real poetical talent at this age—we may quote the following sufficient proof. It is styled, whether by himself or editor, “*Poem on Finishing the Versions* :”—

“ Now, farewell my books, and also my versions :
I hope now I will have (some) time for diversions.
The labour and pains you have cost me’s not small ;
But now, by good luck, I’ve got free of you all.
When the pen was not good I blotted the paper ;
And then my father cried, ‘ Tom, what’s the matter ?
Consider but once what items you need ;
My purse it must suffer, or you must take heed.’
So adieu to rebukes, and also to versions ;
I hope I’ll now have some time for diversions.

“ Thomas Campbell, æt. 10.

“ *Glasgow, May 12th, 1788.*”

The defective rhyme of the third couplet is a trifle ; for a double rhyme has always a clatter in itself which is apt to mislead even more practised ears ; but the utterly defective rhythm almost throughout shows plainly, that, in this essential point, his success, when he does succeed, was imitative, not instinctive. But Campbell never had a good ear to the end, as we may have occasion to exhibit. His real versions are decidedly better than this ; but their superiority is probably owing to the practice of the Scottish schoolmaster, of translating the passage himself into good English before it was given to the pupils.

Campbell’s father and mother were both strictly religious, apparently of that national type which has undergone, and is undergoing, so remarkable a change in the present generation. The result was much what was to be expected. The boy received religious impressions, but his moral principle was not proportionably affected. When the adult standard of religion is the only one exhibited to a child of quick sensibilities, he will probably make a strain to get up to it. But he cannot reach it, and it is impossible to keep up walking on tiptoe for ever ; and so the poor child slips back to his natural paces, and remains without any religious rule at all. When Campbell’s early impressions were become, in after days, only as the footsteps which report to the geologist of marvels long extinct, he recollected his father’s extempore prayers as the sublimest devotional utterances he had ever heard, except—O tell it not in Scotland !—the English Liturgy. But the recreant Presbyterian recalled, along with these fervent outpourings of his father, contemporary escapades of his own, which he equally connected with his childhood. There is no ground for asserting that Tom was a bad boy ; but, on the other hand, neither was he exactly a good one. It may be no serious immorality in a young boy to steal a neighbour’s

strawberries, yet well-governed young boys do not commit that peccadillo,—which Campbell confesses. Nor need a tacit acquiescence in another boy's falsehood imply a moral weakness that is never to be got over; nor even is a long-continued piece of deception practised towards a parent a sin which is never to be forgotten or forgiven to a child of twelve years old. Yet these things, which occurred, according to his own statement, at this period of Campbell's life, argue, especially in a boy living at home, and therefore always under the parental influence, a certain laxity of the moral fibre, for which, assuredly, the parents are more to be blamed than the boy, but which, nevertheless, do flaw the boy's integrity. Ah! who knows but that a wiser training at this period might not have saved much that is painful in the poet's later life!¹

At the age of thirteen, the boy's school-life merged in college life. The difference in such circumstances as his was not great, yet it was a difference. The Scottish schools and universities are alike deficient in the social element which forms almost the most valuable portion of the English educational system; and where the youths can enter the latter at thirteen, it need not be said that the instruction must be of a rudimentary character, or must include at least such teaching. Nor, when the student resides at home, would there seem to be any change of condition on this side. Yet the actual difference is, on the whole, considerable.

¹ Is it too great a bathos to drop from these grave reflections to the narration of one of the peccadilloes here adverted to? If the reader have not fallen in with the story, he must be amused with it. Mrs Campbell, it appears, had a bed-ridden relative, about whose health she was anxious; and, being rheumatic herself, could not visit her personally, and, accordingly, used to depute either Tom or one of his brothers every day with a message of inquiry after the old lady. "One day," says Campbell, "that I was to fetch the *bulletin*, which would have kept me (the distance was nearly two miles) from a nice party that was to go out for the gathering of blackberries, I complained, with tears in my eyes, to my brother Daniel, about this de'il of an auld wife that would neither die nor get better. 'Tut, man,' said my crafty brother, 'Can't you just do as I do?' 'And what's that?' 'Why, just say that she's better or worse without taking the trouble of going so far to inquire.'" This economical plan was accordingly adopted; and as it was found that a bad bulletin only sent them back earlier next morning, the boys agreed that the old lady should get better (the poet is answerable for the logic here, for, on the plan adopted, it would seem to have made small difference how often they were sent, or how early). So the boys amused themselves at anything which was going on among their companions, and reported daily, "Mrs Simpson's kind compliments to mamma; has had a better night, and is going on very nicely." The dénouement may be anticipated. "Woe's me!" said Campbell; "on that very morning on which we had had the audacity to announce that 'Mrs Simpson was quite recovered,' there comes to our father a letter as broad and long as a brick, with cross-bones and a grinning death's head upon its seal, and indited thus:—

'Sir,—Whereas Mrs Jane Simpson, relict of the late Mr Andrew Simpson, merchant in Glasgow, died on Wednesday the 4th instant, you are hereby requested to attend her funeral, on Monday next, at ten o'clock A.M.'

Campbell places this incident at about his twelfth year.

The mere elevation of status does much to explain this ; for we are all, and especially the young, more practically influenced by the imagination than we readily allow. The age of a portion of the students, and the more public character of the professors—men almost always of national, sometimes of European note—conduce to dignify the body, while the independence of all control or supervision in which a large number of the undergraduates live—if we may use a term which is scarcely expressive where the degree so rarely concludes the course of study—has a certain moral effect even upon those who still remain under the domestic roof. So that the change is a real one, and especially to an excitable, imaginative, and ambitious boy, like the precocious young Celt in question.

Accordingly, he threw himself with his characteristic impetuosity into his new career ; and if not immediately, yet while still a mere boy, had become a very prominent member of the undergraduate community. Was his course a satisfactory one ?

This may be doubted, if the question be asked seriously, and with a view to its ultimate effects on his character. It seems questionable, indeed, how the casting of a boy of thirteen into so public a life could be good for him, or produce really satisfactory results, except in proportion as external discipline or his own character and habits neutralized the glare and excitement, and reduced the publicity towards the conditions of privacy. Human character—at any rate, British character—is something like British fruit ; it will only ripen properly under a *slow* heat. Too sudden an exposure produces one of two effects : the fruit ceases to grow, takes a pale semblance of ripeness, and soon drops ; or else one side is ripened, while the other continues hard and undeveloped. The latter of the two—the more favourable alternative—was undoubtedly that which Campbell experienced. Some qualities of his character were matured and strengthened. The boy was of a nature which too close confinement to home delicacies might easily have rendered effeminate. He quickly learned in the university palæstra to exhibit the natural spirit and courage which properly belonged to his character, and which continued to mark it during his life. His intellectual faculties also—or at least some of them—were rapidly developed under the stimulus of free competition and popular applause. *Some* of these, we are obliged to say—for he makes a general confession of indolence, for which there was probably a certain foundation, so far at least as regular diligence was concerned,—and in certain of the classes he did not distinguish himself. In others, however, he was a highly successful competitor, and carried away, on the whole, an amount of college prizes which justly entitle him to the credit of considerable, if inter-

mittent, exertion. But though he is said to have reached a high degree of Greek scholarship, and certainly retained through life his familiarity with some Greek authors, and a great fondness for them, and apparently for the language in general, his disposition would seem to have been much more to the exercise of his own literary powers than to study properly so called. The attractions, too, of the "volitare per ora" were early felt; and his social qualities, combined with his poetical talent to open the enjoyment of them to the stripling to a decidedly unsafe extent. The Scottish universities, as it has been justly remarked in an interesting article in the *Cornhill Magazine*,¹ offer a certain compensation for the absence of the social element, as developed at Oxford and Cambridge, in the debating clubs and associations formed among the students for literary or other purposes. Campbell found himself soon at home in this phase of his new life; and we hear of him at fifteen as a leading orator, if not one of the founders of a spouting club which boasted the name of the "Discursive,"—a title to which, we may imagine, in one sense at least, it would be likely in the hands of logicians of that age to make its claim good. The honour of originating this society is rather doubtfully suggested; but it is not improbable that this was his first public effort in a line in which he always showed a strong disposition to activity; and if so, we may consider the "Discursive" the first attempt of the "prentice han'," which was afterwards to accomplish the London University. We may not improbably also trace Campbell's restless ambition in a challenge, of which we are told, addressed by this Discursive Society to the "Juridical," a club of law-students who, having left logic a year or two behind, naturally declined—with some scorn, it would appear—to enter into public discussion with their inferiors. But the result was, that, a few days after, the whole College was ringing with a satirical effusion, in which every member of the "Juridical" was held up to ridicule of that peculiar kind, which our editor no doubt discreetly suppresses with an intimation of its being characterized rather by force than delicacy. The writer, of course, was Campbell.

Satire appears to have been a favourite exercise with the youth at this period, and naturally enough. Few boys who can say sharp things, whether in prose or verse, can help saying them. If society is always more or less of a warfare, the fighting principle is more openly avowed in school society than in any other. The combative energies are fresh; there are fewer restraints of wisdom, or prudence, or principle, to restrain than in later life; and the skin is inviting with its first sensibility. Moreover, alas for human nature! nothing is so sure of sym-

¹ Student Life in Scotland, March 1860.

pathy and applause from the untouched bystander as the effective wielding of this weapon. A boy would be a hero of a rare stamp, who, conscious of this power, should refrain from using it. The lad Campbell was no such hero; and it is much to say for him, that in after life he very sparingly employed his wit in this shape. At this period, if his biographer is to be believed, he was successful enough, whatever the quality of the blade, to inflict wounds with it which rankled still half a century afterwards, when the thoughtless assailant (for there was never malice, and scarcely more than fun, in the intention) was himself in his grave.

But nobler feelings than small college ambition, whether in the literary or social field, soon awaked in the breast of the young poet. The same frankness and largeness of sympathy which had made the homebred boy—almost a child still—at once free of the larger circle of college life, was already rapidly expanding to fill a still wider sphere. If Campbell's amiableness, vivacity, and talent, had much to do with his social success both as man and boy, the higher charm, that which won and retained him respect amid many failings throughout life, was his capacity of larger than personal interests, the force and reality in him of those grander sentiments which we all honour almost in proportion to our consciousness of our own deficiency in them. This capacity was now to be exercised, and was no doubt enlarged by the eventful circumstances of the time. When it is remembered that the period of Campbell's teens was the last ten years of the last century—or, more correctly, from 1788 to 1798—it will easily be understood how a nature such as his was likely to be affected by the outbreak of the great volcano in France, and the shock which it gave to Europe in general. "Verses on the Queen of France" is the title of one of his effusions of 1793 (when he was fifteen), which is, it must be admitted, of the mildest order of poetry, but yet touching and interesting, as the evidence of the interest of the boy in the public events of the day, and possessing a further interest from being cast in the metre in which he at a riper period wrote his "Hohenlinden." His later employment of this peculiar stanza marks a much clearer perception of its true capacity than the purely elegiac strain which he committed to it in the earlier instance. A single specimen will probably suffice the reader:—

"Behold where Gallia's captive queen,
With steady eye and look serene,
In life's last awful, awful scene,
Now leaves her sad captivity!

But in another lyric of the same period we may discern more than the form,—something of the real substance of Campbell's

genius. And in the curious way in which history is now reproducing itself, the following verses are worth quoting entire. If they are boyish, it is distinctly the character of *Campbell's* boyhood to which they bear witness: the same simplicity of fundamental idea dressed up in the same formal but stately style; the same sort of awkward classicism which he never quite got free of; the same earnestness and sincerity of impression evident throughout; a force and fire, which, if not equal in degree to that he afterwards exhibited, is the same in kind; and, lastly, the same sort of metrical merit—not a high merit in itself as melody, but very high in its being precisely that which fits its burden. In the strong, distinct, spirited monotony of these lines, especially of the early portion, the imagination almost hears the tramp of the sturdy volunteers in exercise:—

ON THE GLASGOW VOLUNTEERS.

“Hark, hark! the fife's shrill notes arise! .
 And ardour beats the martial drum;
 And broad the silken banner flies
 Where Clutha's native squadrons come!
 Where spreads the green extended plain,
 By music's solemn marches trod,
 Thick glancing bayonets mark the train
 That beat the meadow's grassy sod.
 These are no hireling sons of war!
 No jealous tyrant's grimly band,
 The wish of freedom to debar,
 Or scourge a despot's injured land!
 Nought but the patriotic view
 Of freeborn valour ever fired;
 To baffle Gallia's boastful crew,
 The soul of Northern breast inspired.
 'Twas thus on Tyber's sunny banks,
 What time the Volscian ravaged nigh;
 To mark afar her glittering ranks,
 Rome's towering eagle shone on high.
 There toil athletic on the field,
 In mock array pourtrayed alarm;
 And taught the massy sword to wield,
 And braced the nerve of Roman arm.”

This is not a boy's exercise: if it have faults, it is a poem; and if really written at fifteen, is as good perhaps as has ever been produced at that age by any poet.

But we should do little justice to the real character of this remarkable youth, if we omitted to look at the other side of this gay picture. This lad, who was exhibiting so brilliant a play of

animation and talent, was earning his bread and the means of continuing his studies by labour doubly distasteful to him, because it implied a certain amount of social humiliation, as well as the irksomeness supposed to be inherent in the work itself; and to him at least the work was most irksome. He was assisting, as private tutor, his less advanced but wealthier fellow-students. No doubt the family position necessitated this exertion as a condition of his continuing his own university education; nevertheless that would scarcely make it pleasant, and it shows a body of character not always found in connection with such sensibility and quickness of talent, that he should have submitted to this painful drudgery, and still have been sufficiently in spirits to enter so heartily, as we have seen, into the life about him.

Nevertheless, a change was to come over this light-heartedness, and it was a natural, and, in his circumstances, proper change. As his adolescence advanced, the necessities of his position became at once graver in themselves, and plainer to be seen. The mountains grow bigger the nearer we approach them. He must live, and moreover, as his affectionate heart foresaw, he must prepare to support others. His father, sixty-seven when his youngest son was born, was, of course, by this time in extreme old age, and, so far as can be seen, a small annuity from some provident institution, which would terminate on his death, was all the fixed income of the family. True, Thomas had many elder brothers and sisters, but none of these were in a position to afford serious assistance; and, moreover, Tom had been looked upon throughout as the "*decus*," and he knew he was expected to be the "*columen rerum*." He had worn the family crown so long, he must not shrink now from its responsibilities. And he was nowise so disposed, but he was not insensible to their weight. Accordingly, his later adolescence was a period of considerable suffering to the poor lad, as indeed that season which we reckon the very prime season of youthful rejoicing usually is to the youth who is to be worth much as a man. What share errors, to which his excitable temperament and the detestable social habits of the time laid him but too open, may have had in producing the gloom which overcast his spirits at this period of his life, we have no means of knowing. His uncertain prospects would themselves have been enough to explain it. His friends seem to have been disposed to accuse him of changeableness and instability of purpose, because he successively tried and gave up several professions in turn. He was for a short time (this was while quite a boy, and attending college during the sessions) in a writer's office in Glasgow, but that experiment was soon given up. At a somewhat later period, again, he had thoughts of entering the Scottish ministry, a step from which we may say he

was happily saved. He subsequently made more than one serious effort to read for the Scottish bar, but was disappointed for want of friends to supply capital. We are not sure that he did not at one time try medicine for a short period, and he had again decided upon emigrating to join two of his brothers who were engaged in commerce in Virginia, when the advice of another brother prevented his executing his intention. This looks like unsteadiness of purpose, and yet it need scarcely be so interpreted. For some young travellers the burden of life is ready made up, not too heavy for their strength, and well enough packed to save them any trouble beyond that of flinging it over their shoulder, and going on their way rejoicing, or at least content. Another class, if not quite so lucky, are yet by nature patient or dull enough to trudge away grumbling with a load which may not fit them exactly, but which they have not the spirit to think of re-adjusting. There may be a good deal of quiet heroism, no doubt, displayed by this class ; but it may also be doubted if this temper of submission is not generally carried rather too far, and whether the world, on the whole, would not be better served if young men would take a little more trouble to discover their true places, and not be so content to occupy those which first happen to fall within their reach. At any rate, if it be certain that every man has his special aptitudes, we may at least tolerate, if we should not rather admire, the troublesome instinct which generally sets the finer and more energetic natures seeking for their true vocation, possibly even in a restless manner, and leaves them quite unable to settle till they have found it. Campbell did, indeed, make or attempt more false starts than is permitted to most ; but the sufficient explanation lay in the circumstance that his position offered so little suggestion in any particular direction, while it did not allow him to pause long enough to mature his choice before endeavouring to execute it. And so, when we see our young pilgrim taking up one load after another, and shifting the burthen from shoulder to shoulder, in the vain attempt so to dress the weight that it shall not drag, but leave him free to climb the hills for which he pants with the elastic step which is natural to him, we may, if we please, rather admire throughout the resolution with which he maintained his first ambition, and refused to forego what he instinctively felt a right if he did not consciously recognise it as a duty. And this tribute is the more due, when we come to observe that, throughout this trying period, he was steadily (and, for all we can see, conscientiously) performing tasks which were far from congenial to him. During one of his last college vacations, when he was seventeen, he had spent some months in Mull, engaged as private tutor to the

children (apparently quite young children) of a lady with whom he had some family connection—if that be not superfluous to state of a Campbell in the Highlands. There is a joyous account of the pedestrian journey—pedestrian *pour cause*—of the young poet and a college companion: how they sang and recited poetry throughout the long Highland glens; how they plunged into the sea and saved a child's life, and then rewarded their heroism with an unwonted treat of beefsteaks and a tankard of ale, sitting in their wet clothes till they dried upon them—probably *pour cause* also. This is about the 18th of May, and in the middle of June he is “weary of life,” Mull is so sublimely dull. Campbell's chief enjoyment of the beauties of nature, we suspect, was always in poetry. He liked his scenery as Horace Walpole (if we are not mistaken) liked the English climate, “framed and glazed.” Poor lad, for an active, excitable spirit like his, these early days of Mull, with nobody to speak to but his hostess' family, whom he scarcely knew, must have been a dismal change. Before his box, which contained the writing materials apparently unattainable on the island, had arrived, he had scribbled the white-washed wall of his room all over with a pencil, till it looked like a great sheet of MS. It may be an object for our Highland tourists next summer to discover that palimpsest. Forty years after he still spoke of this period as his “Pontian exile;” but, little as he liked it, he persevered to the end of his original engagement,—he did not throw it up, as one might almost have expected.

And little as he liked this life, and constantly as he kept before him the intention of escaping from it, he did not hesitate the following year to accept a similar engagement, although this time under somewhat more agreeable circumstances. He now became tutor to the son of General Napier, the present Sir William Napier of Milliken, then residing at Downie, a lone farmhouse in Argyllshire. This residence he found much more tolerable, although he had but little society even here. But “neat pocket copies of Virgil and Horace, affluence of English poets, a sort of flute, a choice selection of Scotch and Irish airs,” and “the correspondence of a few friends,” served, he says, in one of his letters of this date, “to relieve the *tædium vitæ*.” And he would certainly appear to have studied seriously while in this seclusion.

Early in 1807, he again returned to his family in Glasgow, and now he had made up his mind to a decisive effort. He would go to Edinburgh and make the plunge. The bladders were to be law and literature; or rather, to choose a more exact figure, law was to be the pearl of price for which he was to dive in the great gulf, and literature the slender pipe through which

he was to draw the common air while searching for the precious gem.

It is hard to say whether the contemplation of Campbell's life at this period is more depressing or inspiring. His points d'appui in Edinburgh at this moment were these: 1. His sister, who lived near Edinburgh at the time, a governess. 2. A widowed aunt, who resided at Edinburgh for the education of her family. He might reckon, perhaps, on an occasional dinner or breakfast here—scarcely more. 3. An old pupil, subsequently Lord Cuninghame, who was then in the responsible office—of a writer to the signet, in commencement of his legal studies. So much for persons. Besides these sources of assistance, he had nearly ready for the press two translations, from Euripides and Æschylus. We must suppose also an indefinite, if not almost infinite, amount of verse composition in other shapes; but no mention is made of these, nor, with two or three exceptions, do any of his verses composed previous to this time make their appearance among his works. He seems already to have embraced his principle, that not everything which drops from a poet's lips is to be considered pearls and diamonds, or, at any rate, that not all his pearls and diamonds are to be considered worth setting.

The result of the total exertion of the interest Campbell could engage in Edinburgh on his first arrival was an engagement as a copying-clerk in the Register Office. It was honourable in him to accept it; it was wise to exchange it a few weeks after for a position of the same kind, but somewhat better remunerated, in a private writer's office. It would seem as if Campbell also about this time gave private lessons in the classics. His circumstances, on the whole, were at as low an ebb as they well could be, and the suffering they could occasion to a nature so sensitive may be imagined—perhaps the more accurately that he never spoke of them. It was a feature of Campbell's character to be expansive *to a certain extent*, but there he stopped. Such superficial frivolity is the art with which some natures conceal their deeper sensibilities.

But the comfortable doctrine of the bard is often strangely true—

“When the night is the mirkest,
The dawning is nearest.”

Campbell's dawn was at hand, in the shape of an almost accidental introduction to Dr Robert Anderson, the author of the *Lives of the British Poets*. The benevolent veteran espoused his cause with a warmth equally creditable to both parties, and a friendship commenced which was only terminated by the death

of the elder. Its first fruits was an introduction to Mundell, then a principal Edinburgh publisher, and an engagement from him to abridge Edward's West Indies for L.20. The statement reads like a bathos, but Campbell was in no case to regard it as such. It was employment—it was the opening of a career—and, besides, is L.20 in the pocket of a poet à vingt ans (one might almost say of any young man of that age) only 400 shillings? They had better give up calculating who think so.

Yet we must not leave the impression that Campbell was extravagant. He wasted perhaps in his lifetime more money than the majority of poets ever have the opportunity of wasting, but it was not from extravagance in the ordinary sense. So far was he, indeed, from that, that at this time he had actually managed to save a small sum. With this he proposed that a magazine should be started among himself and his Glasgow College friends (who were, it would have been fair before this to have remarked, the élite of the University youth), for which he was ready to subscribe *cash*. The subject of Campbell's relations with money would be worth study, but we have no space to enter upon it.

And we must hasten on. It was early in 1797 that he was introduced to Mundell, and he retired to Glasgow and its neighbourhood to complete his task. During this period he wrote a song, called the "Wounded Hussar," which became instantly popular throughout the kingdom; and he also produced a poem, called the "Dirge of Elderslie," which had at least local favour. The former verses he subsequently published, but he never could be prevailed on to admit the "Dirge" among his poems, although it may safely be said to be, in its style, fully equal or superior to others to which he gave that sanction. In the autumn of the same year, now just turned twenty, he returned to Edinburgh, to divide his time between college lectures and work for the booksellers; but the job-work, which was all he could obtain from the latter, failed to meet his expectations, and he was compelled again to resort to tuition. Yet his position was far from being as discouraging as it had been a year ago. He was no richer, but he was in better heart. He had obtained some recognition as a young man of promise among the Edinburgh dons; he had made some pleasant and creditable acquaintances, and friendships even, with some men of his own age. Jeffrey, the future *Malleus Poetarum*; Grahame, the author of "The Sabbath;" John Richardson, Henry Brougham, the late Lord Cockburn,—these were friends by whom a man might be content to be known. A circumstance which, to a young man of his especially domestic and affectionate temper, would not be that of least influence on his spirits, was the removal of his family from Glasgow to Edinburgh, which was arranged about this time.

Campbell was always a nest-bird. With his mother at hand, if his faith in himself should ever flag, he had an inexhaustible reserve of encouragement. The old fable of Antæus is true still.

The result of his necessities upon his rapidly-maturing powers, under the cheering influence of this sense of sympathy and expectation, was the determination to enfranchise himself, if possible, from his drudgery to the booksellers, by some serious original effort. It was a wise design; but, perhaps, a greater poet would have been brought to it rather from within than from without. The choice of his subject, when he chose it, spoke to the same purport as the fact that he had never yet attempted any long poem. To build on another man's foundation is, indeed, susceptible of two readings. It may be the indication of the consciousness of an unbounded wealth of genius, or it may betray poverty of invention, or at least a deficiency of originative impulse. There can be no doubt now in which sense we are to interpret the fact of Campbell's deciding to add the "Pleasures of Hope" to the "Pleasures of Imagination" and the "Pleasures of Memory."

The poem made rapid progress when once commenced; and before the conclusion of the year (1798), an arrangement was made with Mundell for its publication early in the ensuing spring. The terms on which the copyright was sold are somewhat variously stated; the poet himself says that it "was sold out and out for sixty pounds." Mr Redding, however, corrects this statement by the production of the actual engagement, which appears to have been, that the author should receive 200 copies in quires, no mention of any sum in ready money being made. The amount realized by the sale, Mr Redding again calculates at L.57 odd. The bargain, if carried out in the literal shape, was less favourable than otherwise, because there was, of course, the chance of the 200 copies not selling. Yet, on the whole, Campbell was scarcely justified in grudging this house the bargain, as he seems afterwards to have done. Is there any poet now breathing, from sixteen to sixty, who got, or expects to get as much for his first volume of poems? We trow not. It was a proof, not only that Mundell was a liberal man (which was sufficiently shown by his voluntarily presenting the poet with L.50 on the issue of every new edition until they fell out, and also permitting him to publish an edition for himself at a later period), but that Campbell had already made a strong impression upon the literary world in Edinburgh, that he should have obtained such good terms. This latter point, the expectation entertained of him, may be judged, perhaps, by the volume itself, which, humble as it looks now, was handsomely enough got up for the time. It did not aspire to the state of quarto indeed—it is a simple 12mo; but

then it was decorated with several illustrations. Strange those faded illustrations are to look at now! Shall we come back in time to that old style, as we are come back to hoop-petticoats and inverted saucer-hats? The artist (one J. Graham) is of the Fusesque order of genius. The miseries of Commodore Byron are touchingly exhibited, as he lies "cradled on the rock," his leg (shoe and stocking absolutely gone, and trouser diminished to a span) protruding dangerously over an ocean rolling boisterously some mile below. But Hope is there to console him, if he could but see her, only, unfortunately (the cradle only accommodating one), the goddess is obliged to remain behind him among the trees, where she is visible to the spectator uncomfortably reclining on the fluke of an anchor. In another illustration, Venus is seen with that extraordinary long (bare) leg which the more mythological beauties of that period usually exhibit, spinning what looks precisely like a star-fish, but which we may presume to represent the evening star itself, from one hand, while with the other she "flings the vesper dew" from a "golden urn," of the shape which we all remember (in silver, and serving to dispense evening dew of less ethereal kind) on the tea-trays of our grandmothers. But enough of description, though it is hard to pass over "Heaven's Fiery Horse," perhaps the highest inspiration of the artist, or the touching scene where Kosciusko falls (his wound was in his thigh), and Freedom shrieks and holds up—what, we cannot say; but it looks like a lance with a small parasol fitted to the stem, no doubt a convenient adaptation in the days of Amazonian warfare.

The expenditure of all this imagination on an unknown poet's first work implied a considerable confidence in its success. We need not say how fully it was justified, or rather how far beyond any expectation that could have been formed was the actual result. Edinburgh, still a literary centre second only to London, was, sixty years ago, as a ganglion of the intellectual circulation, almost equal to London itself. The impression made upon Edinburgh was so strong that it was immediately communicated throughout the kingdom; and the difference between Campbell, the author of the "*Pleasures of Hope*," and Tom Campbell, the clever young man from Glasgow, was almost the difference between the butterfly and the caterpillar.

II. After this comparatively detailed sketch of Campbell's period of formation, the reader will be prepared to trace more rapidly his subsequent career. A very few lines will despatch the short period which elapsed before his marriage.

The immediate effect of his success with the "*Pleasures of Hope*" was the conception of a new poem. Campbell did not lack his share of the national shrewdness, although it was often

overlaid by stronger instincts. He had, doubtless, observed how greatly his first work had benefited by the warm allusions it contained to topics of national or general interest,—allusions, doubtless, the more effective that they were only the sincere expression of his own personal interest. And not unlikely, too, he may have noticed that, warm as might be the response to his eloquent appeal in behalf of the wrongs of the Pole or of the Negro, “the Bruce of Bannockburn” was a name that roused yet deeper sympathy. At any rate, he decided to enlist national feeling *tout de bon* in favour of his next work, and its subject was to be “The Queen of the North.”

No such poem exists, nor, as far as would appear, was any considerable portion ever written. Why? Was it that there was no longer pressure enough upon him to induce him to make the effort required from him for the execution of a large work; or was it that, after all, the theme did not very deeply engage his own interest? Perhaps both circumstances may have had their influence. Before he could engage seriously in the work, he for the first time had left Scotland. A few months were spent in Germany, and he returned—in fulfilment of a long-experienced desire—by England. The motive of his German expedition was the cultivation of German literature, and the polish he might expect to derive from seeing a little of the world. Listen to our artless poet, writing to his intimate friend:—

“Besides, upon reflection, I see the propriety of making my first appearance in London to the best advantage. At present I am a raw Scotch lad, and in a London company of wits and geniuses would make but a dull figure with my northern brogue and ‘braw Scotch boos.’” (Letter to Mr Thomson, June 1800.)

Shall we most admire the modesty or the assurance of that extract?

However, this is certain, that as soon as Campbell reached England he naturalized therein. His imagination dwelt still with Scottish subjects and images, but it cannot be denied that he dropped the provincialism at the first opportunity, and acclimated himself easily to the larger sphere. Perhaps the failure of his “Queen of the North” intention may have been referable to, as it was coincident with, this development of his mind and character. Campbell was nothing if not sincere. His dramatic faculty, like that of many others, was limited to the conception of characters which he could have himself fulfilled, and we suspect that he lost the power of enacting the enthusiastic Scot before he had been long out of the country.

It was on this sudden return from the Continent in 1801—necessitated by the outbreak of war with Denmark, his winter residence having been at Altona—that he first saw London,

where he landed "with only a few shillings in my pocket." His only friends were Perry of the *Morning Chronicle*—for the Poet's Corner of whose paper he had already been supplying verses at two guineas the copy—and his old schoolfellow, Mr Thomson. This would scarcely have seemed to have been the triumphal entrance into London society on which the ambitious young poet had reckoned, but he soon attained all he could have hoped for. His liberal opinions combined with the peculiar character of his poetic gift—at least as developed thus far—to recommend him to the notice of the Whig Mæcenas, and inquiries were soon made about him. The lad, now twenty-three, handsome, clever, sufficiently witty, gifted as we have seen with the social *sine quâ non* of modest assurance, and really refined in nature, passed the ordeal of Holland House, and was of course stamped thereby for currency wherever in London society talent or liberal opinions were considered recommendations. In many of the saloons thus opened to him, doubtless, he was the young lion and no more; but in others the real attractive qualities of the man told, and he found friends. The death of his father, at the age of ninety-one, occurring at this moment, threw as strong a shadow as could be expected over his exaltation. He exhibited no lack of feeling, and shortly left London for Edinburgh to assist his mother in the difficulties, or rather destitution, into which this event had plunged her and his sisters. An incident, which we might almost indifferently call too good or too bad to be true, is related to have occurred upon his return. He found his mother seriously alarmed at rumours, which had previously reached himself, that he was to be arrested for high treason! The report appeared to be sufficiently credited to induce him to call on the Sheriff of Edinburgh to refute the absurd story. To his astonishment, that functionary announced to him that the report was true, that a warrant was actually out against him for conspiring with General Moreau in Austria, and the Irish at Hamburgh, to get a French army landed in Ireland. But the Sheriff added that the authorities were unwilling to press the matter, and he begged him, therefore, to keep quietly out of his way. The conclusion of this little episode was equally melodramatic. The indignant poet refused the cruel mercy, and insisted on an examination; and he was examined,—he and a box full of papers which had already been seized, and in which the pith of the treason was naturally expected to be discovered. The box was opened and ransacked, and among other things they found the MS. of "Ye Mariners of England!"—Are these good old times ever to return again?

To return to his family circumstances. They were as bad as could be. A small pension, which his father had received from

the Merchants' Society in Glasgow, ceased with his death, and the mother had nothing. Of the three sisters, two who had been out in good families as governesses, had been compelled to leave from ill health, and the third was a confirmed invalid.

Campbell's conduct towards his relatives, both now and throughout his life, was worthy of all admiration. It is difficult even to understand how he contrived to give them the assistance which he did ; and, in truth, it can only have been by a hazardous anticipation of his own resources. His regular allowance to his mother, continued throughout the remainder of her life—for five-and-thirty years, that is, after the present date of 1801—was L.70 per annum ; and when his eldest sister died, in 1843, she left him a legacy of L.800, which, he stated, did not reimburse him the sum which he had allowed her in annual payments. It is noticeable, too, that this annuity to his sister (which did not commence till some years after this date) had not been afforded for her actual support, but to add a small annual superfluity to an income which she had earned for herself, and which just sufficed for her needs, in order that she might have the comfort of laying up something for a legacy to a companion who lived with her, but whom, after all, she herself survived.

His means of assisting his family at this moment were, besides some payment he had received from Perry, the issue, by subscription, of an edition of the "*Pleasures of Hope*," liberally permitted to him by Mundell and Son. It was an experiment not without its hazard, for the edition was to be in quarto, and in a style sufficiently expensive to make anything less than 1000 subscribers unremunerative. To get 1000 people to put their hands into their pockets is not always an easy operation even for a national object. Campbell, however, achieved his purpose, and in 1803 his subscribers received a volume which must have delighted those who like to be dazzled with the appearance of a page, and to take a gentle exercise in the perusal of lines almost too long to be easily collected in a stationary glance at ordinary reading distance. The volume, when it came out, contained, besides a few other copies of verse, "*Lochiel's Warning*" and "*Hohenlinden*."

But much had passed before then. Lord Minto had taken up the young man in a fashion of kindly patronage. He had spent the autumn of the present year (1801) with his Lordship at Minto, and returned with him for the winter to town, nominally as secretary, really as protégé. There is not a word dropped which does not reflect creditably on the sense, intelligence, and kindness of Lord Minto ; yet Campbell scarcely seemed then (or ever, it may be observed) quite at his ease in society of a rank so much above his own, or, at any rate, on the footing on which

only he could expect to be received in it. This connection, however, completed his introduction to London society, into the excitement of which he threw himself with the ardour of his excitable character. But there was always a steady something at the heart of all Campbell's volatility ; and in that didactic style which is to the clever young Scotchman what the first callow-down is to the young—let us say eagle at once—he makes profitable reflections to his friends on the unprofitable character of those brilliant jousts of the London wits, of which he was now admitted spectator. Hear the acute remarks of this precocious philosopher : “I have watched sometimes,” he writes, “the devious tide of conversation, guided by accidental associations, turning from topic to topic, and satisfactory upon none. What has one learnt ? has been my general question. The mind, it is true, is electrified and quickened, and the spirits are finely exhilarated ; but one grand fault pervades the whole institution,—their inquiries are desultory, and all improvement to be reaped must be accidental.”

Somebody says, with a certain amount of justice, that you will never be wise if you have never been a fool. Campbell was clearly on the way to wisdom, if not yet arrived ; but the truth is, the dissatisfaction which he tried to put upon the account of the London wits (strange to say, considering the nature of the complaint, Mackintosh was the individual who appears especially to have elicited this rebuke), was more probably the mere reflection of an unconscious dissatisfaction with himself. In fact, he was *dissipating*—probably in all senses, certainly mentally ; and that is not a comfortable process to any young man, unless of a shallower nature, or of stronger animal spirits, than this finely-fibred and fundamentally well-compounded young poet. Besides, he was getting rather too old. Freaks may pass in the mental twilight of adolescence which look foolish at twenty-four, which respectable age he had now reached. A summer spent in Edinburgh and Minto, with a visit to Liverpool and the Potteries, and another winter in town—this time under the guardianship of his friend Telford, for it seems to have been generally recognised among his friends that he required looking after—seem to have worn out his patience with life on the loose. His nerves had acquired an irritability which made London almost intolerable, and the real domesticity of his character at last revolted in the most imprudent, yet the happiest act of his life. He had become attached in London to a cousin of his own, Miss Matilda Sinclair, youngest daughter of a gentleman who had been a wealthy merchant at Greenock, but now conducted a reduced business in town. The attachment was of the tender rather than the passionate sort—passion, indeed, in this kind did not belong to his character—

but it was true and deep, as a happy union of twenty-five years subsequently witnessed. Yet the imprudence of the match was insufficiently measured by the fact, that, when it was resolved on, he had no fixed income, and only L.50 in his desk. The more serious objection lay in her being a cousin (although we are not sure that the relationship was very near), and of a constitution marked by an hereditary irritability, which, at a subsequent period, consigned one of her sisters to confinement. The day will surely come when physiological laws will receive more due recognition than they did sixty years back, or do now. For a man of his temperament—the youngest son, moreover, of a large family, and born when his father was close on seventy years old—to marry a lady who could be described as above, was to invite the sufferings which were afterward to try so severely his affectionate nature. Of two children who were the issue of the union, one died at an early age, the other (still surviving, we believe) became subject, as he grew up, to a mild but decided mental aberration. We anticipate these events, because we can only spare time for the most cursory notice of the two remaining periods into which we have arranged the poet's life. His marriage, ill-judged as it was in some particulars, may be read as the revolt from and triumph over the inferior elements of his character. The excitement and hurry of London life appealed to instincts which, if lively in him, were yet superficial to his sounder and better qualities. Of flattery he had drunk his fill, and his appetite for this condiment was not voracious after all; of pleasure, as pleasure is called, he had also partaken freely enough to know that it did not please him, or, at least, that if it pleased for the moment, he was not strong enough for such hard work. Of the peace, and seriousness, and gentle play of the affections, which were essential conditions equally of his happiness and his genius, he had learned that society, as he knew it, would not and could not be expected to yield him any taste. His marriage was a resolute act of adherence to his better part; and if he suffered through a disregard of natural conditions, which in his haste he had overlooked, he yet had his reward.

III. We have accompanied the young poet pretty closely up what we may call the gradual and toilsome ascent of his life. He has now reached what may be regarded as the table-land where the prime of his manhood was to be happily spent. It was a healthy region;—the climate, to continue the metaphor, moderate, the air fresh and pure, the scenery devoid of striking varieties of feature, yet affording more than one point where even a poet's soul might satiate itself with the grandeur of the distance opened to its contemplation. But the happiest feature of the scene was the quiet home, where a faithful woman, constant in

affection and good sense, kept ever bright a cheerful household fire, which, as long as it continued burning, rendered even her sensitive husband almost independent of the weather without.

But, to drop figure, this period which we have named distinctively the Sydenham period (although Campbell did not immediately go to reside at that pleasant village), is coincident with his married life,—extending, therefore, from the autumn of 1803 (when he was twenty-six) to 1828, when he lost his admirable help-mate. It was a quiet period, which can be rapidly passed over. Happiness neither says much usually, nor can much be said about it; and fortunate is the family, as the nation, whose annals are dull. Campbell, during this quarter of a century, was in the element which really suited him. Protected against his chief weaknesses, his position was one which especially favoured his higher dispositions. He but rarely entered the great London world, and was the more respected for his abstinence; when he did, he returned with added zest to his *placens uxor*, his family, his books, and his pleasant and sincere intercourse with accomplished and congenial friends whom he had made at Sydenham. The events which marked this period may be shortly mentioned. In 1805, Charles Fox gave him a pension of L.200 a-year. It is painful to learn that the nation, while bestowing this bounty of L.200 a-year with the right hand, thought fit to deduct L.40 annually with the left. Even with its deductions, however, his first taste of a fixed income must have been welcome, indeed, to the father of two boys, himself at this time in a state of serious ill health, occasioned chiefly by anxiety of mind. The interval between this event and 1809 was occupied by various literary projects and performances; and in the spring of the latter year, “*Gertrude of Wyoming*” was published. The summer of this year was a mournful one; he lost his younger boy, Alison. No man was ever more strongly marked by the paternal instinct; and this wound was one which never ceased to bleed to the end of his life. In 1812 he delivered lectures at the Royal Institution, which proved a great success, and were the means of opening to him more important and remunerative employment as a prose writer than he had yet attained. Three years later, a great addition was made to his comfort by a legacy of L.5000 from a Highland cousin, MacArthur Stewart,—the laird whose larger possessions had, if we are not mistaken, absorbed the long-departed Kirnan! It should be an encouragement to good poets and good sons to know that, while his kinsman left his benefaction to the “*Author of the ‘Pleasures of Hope,’*” he had been heard to mention to his friends that “*little Tommy the Poet*” ought to have a legacy, because he had been so kind to his mother.

During the two following years he was engaged in an under-

taking which had arisen out of his lectures at the Royal Institution. This was his "Specimens of the British Poets"—a work which implies a great deal more labour in a man of Campbell's fastidious, if not always unerring, critical sensibility, than the ordinary reader can easily understand. It is and will remain a valuable acquisition. Its chief defect is that supplementary character which induces sometimes the omission of the most characteristic specimens of a writer, because they may be already generally known; the introductory essay must always be reckoned among the principal critical exercises of our literature. A visit to Germany, in which he penetrated as far as Vienna, occupied the first nine months of 1820. Shortly after his return he quitted Sydenham, in order to enter on the office of editor (for Colburn) of the *New Monthly Magazine*. It was at this period that his connection with Mr Redding commenced; nor can it be doubted that the careless and unmethodical poet greatly gained by the business-like habits and practical activity of his colleague. A salary of L.500 a-year recommended an office which must have owed its attraction rather to that circumstance than to any consciousness of peculiar fitness. In plain English, Campbell on this occasion, and still more distinctly on that of his second editorship, sold his name. It was not a high-minded thing to do; but Campbell, if he held a fair place among those of his day for honourable sentiment, was not in advance of them. If the publisher thought fit to fee him, he was ready to plead, as he might, the cause. He did his best; but it was not congenial labour. However, with the help of Mr Redding, and the effect of the literary prestige of his name in drawing contributors round him, he was—or at least the *Magazine* was—successful, and he continued to edit it for ten years. The other events which are chiefly worth notice in this period are his publication of "Theodric" in 1824; his exertions resulting in the formation of the London University (in the cause of which he paid another visit to Germany) in 1825; and his election and re-election as Lord Rector of Glasgow. While in the midst of a satisfaction measured rather, perhaps, by the warmth of old associations than by the actual value of the honour, he was painfully reminded of the mortal conditions of his triumph by the loss of his excellent wife. The happier portion of his life was ended at the age of fifty.

IV. Sixteen years, however, yet remained to him; but they were to be years of little satisfaction. Although he still continued to keep house for a twelvemonth or two, his *home* was lost. His unfortunate son, who had now for some years been the cause of the deepest anxiety to his parents, required an attention which the widowed father, with his literary engagements upon him, could not afford, and he had to be placed under medical care.

If Campbell was ever reproached as betraying some indifference to his son's melancholy condition, it was before his letters were given to the world. No parent could have been more feeling, or more tenderly considerate and anxious about the poor youth's comfort. Indeed, his parental feelings were even unusually acute. The disappointment he experienced in this son, and the loss of his younger boy, may not improbably have been among those shocks which, together with that of the death of his wife, and together, it must painfully be surmised, with the effect of those early imprudences which, in their origin at least, had been the fault of the customs of the time rather than his own, began now soon to impress a character of premature decline equally on body and mind. The change was of course gradual; but its progress casts a melancholy shade over this whole period. Its indications are to be traced in divers shapes: one, the saddest of all, his relapse into sins which had been at least rare, if not wholly absent, during his married life. It would be incorrect, we believe, to say that Campbell ever became, in the strict sense of the term, a drunkard; for he never became, to our means of knowledge, the habitual slave of stimulants. It is lamentable enough to be obliged to admit that he grew less and less able to resist the temptation to drink when it came in his way. It would be easy, and only true, to say that he was of more excitable brain than other men; that he was extraordinarily thoughtless and inconsiderate in many respects; that he was unhappily to the manner born, and in his early days saw this vice as commonly recognised for a privilege of his sex as—well, let us say *smoking*, at present. But why should we make all these reflections? Is not the man down? Let us be satisfied to be thankful that we in *our* generation are not like this poor publican.

This, however, did not at once (or ever, indeed, wholly) quench the generous spirit of the man; and it was in this last period of his life that he took up with his wonted ardour the cause of the Poles. Their wrongs had been one of the topics of his youthful declamation, it may be remembered, in the "Pleasures of Hope;" and it was characteristic of the nature of Campbell, self-contained in spite of its wide divergencies, that he should now in his old age become practically, and even powerfully (for great is the power of speech, whatever Mr Carlyle may have to say about silence), the advocate of that oppressed nationality.

Two years after his wife's death—that is, in 1830—he and Mr Redding, almost simultaneously, fell out with Mr Colburn, and resigned the editorship of the *New Monthly*. He enjoyed his emancipation, and laughed gaily over the pecuniary sacrifice. A year later he resumed harness as editor of the *Metropolitan*, at a lower salary, and, seeing that there was no sincerity in the

thing, a loss of dignity. The literary works which he executed in the last ten years of his life partook of the general decline. He wrote a *Life of Mrs Siddons*, whom he had always sincerely admired, as the vivacious temperament always admires the phlegmatic; he edited *Shakspeare* for Mr Moxon, with a prefatory *Life*, containing, as everything he wrote must contain, much shrewd remark and clever writing, yet indicating too distinctly a failing taste; and, after a visit to Algiers in 1834, he arranged his observations under the title of "*Letters from the South*." In 1842 he published his last poetical work, "*The Pilgrims of Glencoe*," accompanied by a few copies of occasional verse. It was a flicker in the socket. He was at this time sixty-four, and, after a series of changes of lodgings too numerous to record, and bespeaking itself, at his time of life, the moral restlessness under which he suffered, had recently settled again to housekeeping in Victoria Square, where he had adopted a niece, in the hope of re-constituting for himself a home. But the disease had taken too deep a hold. Some pecuniary anxieties, which would have much more prudently been met by remaining where he was, determined him on letting his new house, at a considerable sacrifice, and seeking a more economical residence in France. The worst evils are those which never happen. The emergency was obviated before it actually occurred; but he had been startled off his form, and he could not settle to it again. He crossed the Channel to Boulogne, where he furnished a house in the bleak upper town. That, indeed, was probably a matter of small moment: the dry leaf falls, whether the wind blow north, south, east, or west. He passed a winter of serious ill health, yet quietly looking before and after. He died peacefully in the Spring of 1843, at the age of 66.

He lies among our strangely-assorted assembly of national worthies in Poet's Corner. None will grudge him his place.

Turning now for the short space yet at our command to Campbell's literary works, we find far ampler store of illustration of the man's own nature than we shall be able to use. Every poet, of course, illustrates himself to a great extent; but many have a power of imaginative self-expansion in which Campbell was wholly wanting. His very force lay in everything he wrote (speaking now of these works in which his *genius* took any part), carrying along with it his own personal feeling, his brief but strong passion, or his prevailing tenderness, and love of gentle and domestic interests. Yet he was not one of those whose poetry is only a metrical autobiography; he was even sparing in occasional verse, the truth being, that though he might often feel the suggestion to write, the execution always required an effort. It was probably one of the elements of his success, that

he subordinated his feelings to *subjects*, and on these bestowed serious labour. Nevertheless, the subjects and their filling up were derived alike from his personal sympathies and sentiments. The "bloodiest picture in the Book of Time" was painted so vividly, because he really thought it such. The young man who declaimed so eloquently about Hampden and Tell was the youth who four or five years before had begged his mother to give him three shillings that he might spend a couple of days in Edinburgh (a walk, there and back, of near an hundred miles), in order to see Gerald and Muir. His magnificent apostrophe to Nature against Slavery was the expression of his own sincere indignation.¹ So, again, when he came to construct the scenery for his other poems, the Highlands of Scotland, or America, which he had so long looked to as not improbably his own future home (as it had at one time been that of his parents), supply the locality. His three noble patriotic odes—those

"sparkles dire
Of fierce vindictive song"—

bear evidence in the same way to his personal feeling or experience. He was one of those spirits (far more rare than we suppose) who can feel genuine *national* sentiment as distinguished from the almost brute or, at best, childish instincts which we are too apt to confound with true patriotism; and "Ye Mariners of England" was the expression of his own feeling in prospect of a war with Russia in 1800. So the "Battle of the Baltic" was as personal an effusion as any "Lines on My Mistress' Eyebrow;" and if he had not been present at Hohenlinden, which seems doubtful, it was his actual experience at Ratisbon and Ingoldstadt which was embodied in that most solemn piece.

Connected with, and indeed arising out of, this sincerity, was the characteristic reality of his imagery. His observation, whether of nature or man, was not marked by any unusual acuteness; on the contrary, the points which he seizes in description are usually the more obvious characteristics; and herein lies

¹ Perhaps the logic of the imagination was never more splendidly employed than in the lines alluded to. It is impossible to resist quoting them:—

"Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprang startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all,
Say! was that lordly form inspired by Thee
To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?"

Pleasures of Hope, B. I.

As we are in duty bound to be critical, it may just be observed that "plastic call" is a barely allowable, and decidedly not happy license, and that the last line would be all the better if the order of the two propositions it contains were interchanged.

a great secret of his universal popularity. But if he did not see much more than others see, he yet *saw* the things or features which men in general rather take for granted, because they expect them, than actually see. It is astonishing to what an extent this mental substitution for sight prevails in our bookish time; but, with qualification to be stated, Campbell really used his own eyes. He saw as Homer saw, or as the shrewd countryman sees whose natural perceptions are not affected by conventional fictions. This earnestness even betrays him sometimes into a certain simplicity, which in his stiff language—the point which more than any other betrayed the Scot—sounds rather amusing. Who can help smiling at the description of “Young Henry Waldegrave,” in the Second Part of *Gertrude of Wyoming*—

“She her lovely face
Uplift on one whose lineaments and frame
Wore youth and manhood’s intermingled grace:
Iberian seemed his boot. His robe the same,
And well the Spanish plume his lofty looks became.”—(St. xiii.)

He was by no means incapable in general of smiling himself at this amusing introduction of Spanish leather into the crisis of a romance; but the fact was, he, in his imagination, saw the thing, and he was too deeply engaged in the feeling of the scene to notice the incongruity. It was as a man may misspell when he is writing under strong excitement. But the most usual way in which this absence, or rather absorption, of mind is evidenced is in the extravagantly bad English in which, under stress of rhyme and feelings, separate or in combination, he ventures sometimes to indulge. What would Jeffrey have said to Wordsworth if he had talked of a “desolated panther” (*G. of W.*, I. 17), or a “ruinous walk” (*Lines on Visiting a Scene in Argyllshire*). What is the meaning of a “dark *unwarming* shade?” (*the Beech-Tree’s Petition*). Shade is not expected to give warmth. What is “a tree-rocked cradle?” (*G. of W.*, I. 23). According to ordinary rules of language, it must be a cradle rocked by a tree. The “fresh-blown air” (*G. of W.*, II. 8) is only a trifle better. But *Gertrude of Wyoming* alone would supply many more expressions as awkward and unjustifiable as these. The extraordinary natural history which has conferred not only the “desolated panther,” but the flamingo, the aloe, and the palm on Pennsylvania, as, in the *Pleasures of Hope*, the tiger on the shores of Lake Erie, has often been observed on, and the original error is probably to be explained on similar grounds. His maintaining the importations is to be referred to another feeling: it was in Campbell’s way to alter and alter again, and scarce ever to be satisfied that he had corrected

enough, as long as the poem was on the anvil. Once off and cold, he would have no more to say to it. He was tired of it—his imagination could not, and would not, warm again to the remoulding heat.

But if his earnestness sometimes betrayed him, it was to this he owed that power of intense expression which makes his verse immortal. Others have had far wider scope of imagination; others have had far deeper philosophic insight; others, again, have achieved in far greater perfection that grace of form which he made the principal object of his artistic effort,—nay, others have possessed in fuller sweetness that tenderness of feeling which was the *prevalent* characteristic of his genius; but no English poet has ever rendered, as he has, national sentiments in that language of passion at white heat—the passion that flings off no sparks, and makes no noise, but glows and is still—in which Campbell had the power to exhibit them. And they live, and will live. Many poets have endeavoured to fix themselves on their country's national life—it is a natural and worthy ambition—by taking up the sentiment of their epoch, and uttering it in verse. Milton did to some extent,—Dryden, Cowley, a host of others; but somehow the fashion fadeth away. We read the verses now,—we acknowledge their stateliness and dignity, or their grace and felicity; but the feeling is no longer in them,—it is the *caput mortuum* of patriotism. Ghosts may toss up their plumed beavers or their cocked hats for all we know, as they hear us read out the sounding couplets; but our wide-awakes can stay quietly on our cool brows, and before we think of taking them off we look up and consult the weather. But though Campbell's odes are, in fact, now half a century old—a hundred ages, as it may be, and is in our case, measured by change of taste and feeling—they are as fresh and glowing as ever. They are the old wine that is better. The fashion in which his genius was inspired to clothe his sentiments is of that moulding which never grows quaint, and the temporary is lost in the permanent, as the grand arch speaks to the triumph a thousand years after its inscriptions have ceased to be legible. Who, as with arm extended and flashing eye, he now recites that noble boast—

“Britannia needs no bulwark,
No towers along the steep,”

who ever thinks now that Campbell meant that it was needless to build Martello towers? which was the mode of fortification then in progress. But the bard was a prophet then, and was wiser than he knew. It belonged precisely to the simplicity and straightforwardness of the man that he should lay hold on the

actual and temporary feature, and equally to his passion to fuse it, and leave it for future time simply a sparkling crystal in the granite mass.

It would be easy to carry this illustration into far greater detail, but we refrain, and with his genius as such we have on this occasion nothing to do. We have been carefully guarding our eyes from the dazzling effulgence of that great gift, in order fairly to appreciate Campbell as a man. And if our view of him be true, we have surely exhibited a man well worthy of the admiration of all those who do not retain their admiration till they find humanity in perfect symmetry. To such symmetry even, it might be maintained, Campbell's character puts forth a stronger claim than might at first appear to those who do not sufficiently examine the nature of his failings. There are failings which really flaw the nature; there are others—or they may be the same in another degree—which are only superficial. The one may be compared to the derangement of the centre of gravity, which should send the body out of its true course; the other to the clouds which may darken its surface, but have no power to affect its orbit. Campbell's weaknesses were undeniably of the latter kind; they did painfully obscure at times his happiness, but they were powerless to influence in any perceptible degree his moral constitution. We are not attempting here to salve ugly sores by conventional charities, but endeavouring to do simple justice to a human being, and to morality itself. His character, if it may be judged by the evidence of his general life, conversation, and letters, as reported, was undoubtedly in many respects at its ripest when this grievous blemish was plainest and even largest on its face. But let his frailties be granted and estimated at their heaviest, there remains enough to justify the world in the value it placed upon him,—a value shown by the fact, that, sixteen years after his death, his friends are still producing their recollections of him, and men are well-disposed to listen to them. Qualities of a rare beauty were set in him in a framework of sterling worth. If the scale of the latter was not great, the gems were of the finest water; and humanity must be much richer in noble examples than she is, before we can cease to reckon Campbell, with all his faults and failings, as other than a rare and beautiful specimen of his race.

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11. *Essay on the Decline of the Society.* "Quantum Mutatus!"

12. *A Letter to a Friend: being an Examination of a Pamphlet entitled, "The Principle of Ancient Quakerism considered with reference to the supposed Decadence of the Society of Friends."*

EARLY in the year 1858, the following quaint advertisement appeared in many of our periodicals :—

"SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.—PRIZE ESSAY.

"A GENTLEMAN who laments that, notwithstanding the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself in the last fifty years, the Society of Friends is less in number than at the beginning of the century; and who believes that the Society at one time bore a powerful witness to the world concerning some of the errors to which it is most prone, and some of the truths which are the most necessary to it; and that this witness has been gradually becoming more and more feeble, is anxious to obtain light respecting the causes of this change. He offers a PRIZE of ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS for the best ESSAY that shall be written on the subject, and a PRIZE of FIFTY GUINEAS for the one next in merit. He has asked three gentlemen, not members of the Society of Friends, to pronounce judgment on the Essays which shall be sent to them. They have all some acquaintance with the history of the Society, and

some interest in its existing members ; and as they are likely to regard the subject from different points of view, he trusts that their decision will be impartial ; that they will not expect to find their own opinions represented in the Essays ; and that they will choose the one which exhibits the most thought and Christian earnestness, whether it is favourable or unfavourable to the Society, whether it refers the diminution of its influence to degeneracy, to something wrong in the original constitution of the body, to the rules which it has adopted for its government, or to any extraneous cause.

“Rev. F. D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Lincoln’s Inn ; Professor J. P. NICHOL, Glasgow ; and Rev. E. S. PRYCE, Gravesend, have agreed to Act as Adjudicators.”

More than seventy essays, we have heard, were sent in, and many of them of great length. The labour, therefore, of the adjudicators must have been great indeed. From a comparison of the selected essays with those not thought worthy of the prize, several of which have been published, we are disposed fully to acquiesce in the soundness of their decision. We have not often felt called upon to notice prize essays, although our literature has of late been more and more cumbered with these productions. Prize essays and prize poems are necessarily for the most part unworthy of publication. Very good as forming a part of an academical course, in training the young student to the use of his weapons, they seldom possess much claim to an extended existence. All great works must be written *con amore*. The mind is struck with an idea, it germinates, study enriches it, fancy adorns it, until, in the course of time, it is given to the world in its perfection of form and beauty. How interesting it is to be told by Gibbon, that “it was when he was musing in the ruins of the Capitol, *while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter*, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to his mind.” The motive arising from the hope of L.100 is not likely to act in minds of the highest order. Writers of matured intellect and established reputation will not turn from their path to contend for such a prize, and it will too often be given to the intellectual tyro, who works without conviction, and looks only for his fee. We are disposed to depart from our rule in the case of these essays on the Society of Friends, which are written with unusual earnestness and ability, on a topic just now of peculiar interest to many. With the consent of the donor, an equal prize of 100 guineas was given to Mr Rowntree of York, and Mr Hancock of Nottingham, both names previously unheard of in the literary world. These gentlemen take up the subject from the most opposite points of view. Mr Rowntree, whose essay is written with great care and considerable force and pre-

cision of language, is evidently well acquainted with Quakerism, both past and present. He has been brought up in the midst of it, and writes with a feeling of sadness for the decline of a Society from which he believes he has derived many social and intellectual benefits.

Of Mr Hancock, the other successful competitor, we wish to speak with respect. His essay, though disfigured with a mystical jargon, is written in a fresh, bold, and vigorous style. He professes to be an ardent admirer of Dr Pusey, and we fear he is far on his way to Rome. He has studied deeply the writings of the early Friends; and whilst he finds much in their history to admire and commend, he regards the modern Quakers as a degenerate race, and rejoices in the prospect of their certain and speedy extinction. As we wish to look at the whole subject from our own point of view, we can do no more than call the attention of our readers to the other works quoted above.

In all periods of ecclesiastical history—and it is nowhere more clearly evident than in the Epistolary books of the New Testament—there has been in the world of faith a continual struggle between two opposing tendencies,—the **FORMAL** and the **SPIRITUAL**. The great mass of mankind, though occupied with worldly pursuits and pleasures, are ever willing to respect religious observances, and their forms and ceremonies, the efficacy of which has always been overrated by ecclesiastics. On the other hand, men from time to time have arisen, with strong devotional natures, penetrated with the importance of a spiritual life, and longing for a closer intercourse with God. These have ever been the champions, and too often the martyrs, of the spiritual principle. From the end of the second century to the time of the Reformation, the views adopted by such men led very generally to monastic seclusion. Imagining it impossible to enjoy communion with God whilst mixing with the world in its pursuits and pleasures, they retired into the wilderness, and spent their days in contemplation and in mortification of carnal appetites.

From age to age, for more than a thousand years, both the Greek and Latin Church, which were not only founded and consolidated, but also corrupted, by the temporal power, went on increasing in pomp and arrogance, until the services performed by priests, in gorgeous dresses, in splendid temples, amidst clouds of incense, surrounded by paintings and images, and in words unintelligible to the hearers, resembled much more the system of Buddhism, than the simple religion established by the disciples of Christ. The priest, more and more attaching sanctity to mere office, gradually usurped the seat of the Master, as the ignorance of the people increased, until, in pope and patriarch alike, that “Man of Sin was revealed, who opposeth and exalteth himself

above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." Still there were in every age faithful witnesses, like stars scattered here and there in the heavens, whose light shone before men, who nobly advocated the primitive spirituality and simplicity of the Christian faith, and protested against prevailing corruption. The Waldenses, in the Western Church, will occur to every one; while, in the Greek Church, a constant succession of sects, described, by their enemies for the most part, and classed by historians, without much discrimination, as mystics, performed the same function. These occasional outbursts of the purer life lacked permanency, from want of organization. At length came the art of printing, and the Reformation. The Bible was circulated in the language of the people. Mind, coming out of a long and dreary imprisonment, walked forth, on its great work. In England, the reformation of the church, taken in hand by Henry VIII., of whom Luther, with homely wit, said, "he was a king, with a pope in his belly," and consolidated by his famous daughter, who, with all her greatness of character, inherited many of her father's prejudices, retained as much of Popish pomp and ceremony, and hierarchical influence, as a people with the Bible in their hands would tolerate,—a fatal error, from which the Church of England is still suffering. Its effects were immediately apparent. The most pious and zealous reformers were at once thrown into opposition, and the old struggle revived with renewed intensity. After raging for more than a century, the cause of the Puritans triumphed, and the crown and mitre were trampled in the dust. During this particular period, however, the purely *spiritual* element did not prominently and directly display itself. The controversy turned mostly upon forms of church government, dresses, festivals, and ceremonies, though some of those points of doctrine began to be discussed which were soon to divide the Protestant Church into the Arminian and Calvinistic parties. Southey asserts, that all revolutions are brought about by the zeal and energy of a minority; and this was certainly true with respect to the Puritan triumph. No sooner was the victory won, than the discordant elements, which a common cause had for a time combined together, began to appear in conflict. The stern rule of the conquering party became distasteful to the people. Society could not be comfortable, in the tight and rigid bands with which they attempted to confine it: the mass of the community, still addicted to their sports and pastimes, were, of course, discontented.

The public mind had become ripe for some new development of religious feeling. When the war was over, and the unconquerable army of Cromwell, whose cry in the hour of battle had been, "Let the Lord arise, and let His enemies be scattered!" the

recreations of whose officers were prayer and religious exercises, society was in a state of the most violent fermentation. Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy men, Levellers, Socinians, pure Republicans, contended together in a chaos of opinion. The more enthusiastic generally expected that a new era was about to commence; and even the practical, vigorous mind of Cromwell, was inflamed with the conviction that the reign of the saints was at hand. In his speech to the Barebone Parliament, he says, "I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is in this day in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the call of you; and you own Him, by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you will remember that Scripture, 'He makes His people willing in the day of His power.' God manifests this to be the day of the power of Christ; having through so much blood and so much trial, as hath been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: to have HIS PEOPLE called to the *supreme authority*."

In the same year in which Charles I. was beheaded, George Fox commenced his preaching in the Vale of Belvoir. His journal, a work of extraordinary interest, contains a full and minute account of the rise and establishment of Quakerism, an affecting narrative of his own intense mental conflicts, and much that curiously illustrates the spirit and proceedings of that extraordinary period. If the epistles and lengthy manifestoes were omitted, and this curious work republished by a judicious editor, it would, even in the present day, be a readable, if not a very popular volume. It is, on the whole, to be regretted, mainly for the sake of English literature, that Dr Southey did not fulfil his intention of writing the Life of George Fox, for which it is well known he had collected materials. With characteristic amiability, at the entreaty of some influential members of the Society, who feared that ridicule would fall upon the sect, he desisted from his intention. Instead, therefore, of a full and copious life, written by a man whose liberality, sensibility, and enthusiasm would have well qualified him to do justice to a singular character, we have now, for the guidance of public opinion, two pages by Lord Macaulay, in which he throws together everything that tends to lower the character of George Fox. Mackintosh and Coleridge formed opinions of George Fox very different from those of Macaulay; and if Southey had written his life, we should have possessed a work by which he would have been made well known. The testimony of William Penn, tinged, however, by all the partiality of friendship, is worth quoting. Speaking of George Fox, he says: "He was a man that God endued with a clear

and wonderful depth, a discerner of other men's spirits, and very much a master of his own. And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and, indeed, his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. I write by knowledge, and not report, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, by night and day, by sea and land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion. He was so meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company,—a most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things, that, whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person."

"George Fox," says Carlyle, "in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir: do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke pillars from those poor cottages under the eternal firmament say, George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt not thou help us from the wrath to come? George finds in the Vale of Belvoir a *very tender* people." Men were everywhere craving for freedom and for peace. Puritanism, flushed by victory, and intoxicated by power, in too many instances began to rest in mere outward forms. Without any clearly defined system of his own, or any ambition to be the founder of a sect, George Fox tells us that his "preaching was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from man's inventions and worldly doctrines, by which they blew the people about this way and the other way from sect to sect, and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges, for making ministers of Christ; and from all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants; with all their holidays and all their vain traditions, which the Lord's power was against; in the dread and authority of which I was moved to declare against them, and against all that preached not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ." He tells us he would go into orchards or the fields alone with his Bible. He could not join himself to any sect. His relations were much troubled, and by their advice he went to one priest after another. "One," he says, bade him take tobacco and sing psalms, "but tobacco was

a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing." "Another," one Macham, a priest in high account, "would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me either in arms or head, my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and trouble, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed." No wonder he was considered a desirable recruit for the Puritan army, and was strongly urged to become a trooper, but he looked to other work. "At the command of God, on the 9th of 7th month 1643, I left my relations, and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young." For more than four years he continued in this state of high excitement, and in 1647 says: "During all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave myself up to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, more or less, in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane. For which reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom, and getting knowledge from the Lord. Though my exercises and trouble were very great, yet were they not so continued but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me; so neither can I set forth the mercies of God with me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul when I was in great distress! When my trouble and torment were great, then was His love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest the fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field. Thou bringest down and settest up, Thou killest and makest alive; all honour and glory be to Thee, oh Lord of Glory; the knowledge of Thee in the Spirit is life, but that knowledge which is fleshly works death." "Then came people from far and near to see me, but I was fearful of being drawn out by them, yet I was made to speak and open things to them. The work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart; for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of

Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ.”¹ In the journal of George Fox we occasionally meet with vivid pictures, graphically illustrating the times. Thus, in 1648, he tells us there was at Leicester “a dispute wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common Prayer men, were all concerned. The meeting was in the steeple-house, and thither I was moved of the Lord to go and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews and the priest in the pulpit, abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, ‘what that birth was, a being born again of incorruptible seed by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever?’ And the priest said to her, ‘I permit not a woman to speak in the church,’ though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up as in a rapture in the Lord’s power, and I stepped up and asked the priest, ‘Dost thou call this steeple-house a church? or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?’ But instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was. I told him the Church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members of a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but He was not the head of a mixed multitude,² or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire; the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute thus was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts. And I maintained the true Church, and the true Head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away.” Carlyle says: “Enormous sacred self-confidence was none of the least of his attainments.” We cannot allow any man to set up a claim to infallibility, and we may be permitted coolly to investigate and criticise the claims and character of any of our fellow-men; and doing so, we cannot fail to see that George Fox was travelling on a perilous road. He began to believe that the light was leading him not only to understand all the

¹ Thus Whitfield describes himself as having all sensible comforts withdrawn from him, overwhelmed with a horrible fearfulness and dread, all power of meditation or even thinking taken away, his memory gone, his whole soul barren and dry, and his sensations like those of a man locked up in iron armour. “God only knows,” he says, “how many nights I have lain upon my bed groaning under what I felt. Whole days and weeks have I spent in lying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer.” An illness came on, and he says:—“About the end of the seventh week, after having undergone innumerable buffetings of Satan, God was pleased at length to remove my heavy load. But oh with what joy, joy unspeakable, even joy that was full and big with glory, was my soul filled, when the weight of sin went off. At first my joy was like a spring-tide, and, as it were, overflowed the banks.”

² A form of expression much used in a recent controversy on the Headship; and suggestive.

mysteries of the spiritual, but to fathom all the depths of the natural world; that he was above all professors, and that not only priests, but lawyers, doctors, and schoolmasters, were as dead men under his feet. By degrees a judgment naturally cool, and a considerable endowment of common sense, brought him to view everything more soberly; probably the terrible example of James Naylor, who about this time had joined him, and whose fervid eloquence was causing crowds of enthusiastic admirers to follow him, may have produced a salutary effect. George Fox was exposed to the same danger, and the almost idolatrous, if not blasphemous flattery, particularly of his most enthusiastic female followers, was enough to fill any ordinary mortal with spiritual pride and arrogance.¹ That he laboured under delusions, and a state of excitement in which reason was in danger of being utterly overthrown, the following extraordinary passage from the journal will abundantly testify:—"As I was walking along with several friends, I lifted up my head, and I saw three steeple-houses, and they struck at my life. I asked what place that was, and they said Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me that I must go thither. As soon as they (the Friends) were gone I stept away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield, where in a great field there were shepherds keeping their sheep. Then I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter, and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes and left them with the shepherds; and the poor shepherds trembled and were astonished; then I walked in about a mile, and as soon as I was within the

¹ The following somewhat profane letter from Margaret Fell, who some years afterwards became his wife, and signed by several other zealous followers, is sufficient to prove this assertion:—

OUR DEAR FATHER IN THE LORD,—For though we have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet we have not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus thou hast begotten us through the gospel, eternal praises be to our father. We thy babes with one consent being gathered together in the power of the Spirit; thou being present with us, our souls doth thirst and languish after thee, and doth challenge that right that we have in thee, O thou bread of life; without which bread, our souls will starve. Oh, for evermore give us this bread, and take pity on us, whom thou hast nursed up with the breasts of consolation. Oh our life, our desire is to see thee again, that we may be refreshed and established, and so have life more abundantly. And let not that beastly power which brings us in bondage separate thy bodily presence from us, who reigns as king above it, and would rejoice to see thy kingly power here triumph over it. Oh, our dear nursing father, we hope thou wilt not leave us comfortless, but will come again. Though that sorrow be for a time, yet joy cometh in the morning. Oh our life, we hope to see thee again, that our joy may be full; for in thy presence is fulness of joy, and where thou dwell is pleasure for evermore. O thou fountain of eternal life, our souls thirst after thee; for in thee alone is our life and peace, and without thee we have no peace; for our souls are much refreshed by seeing thee, and our life is preserved by thee, O thou father of eternal felicity.—**MARGARET FELL, THOMAS SALTHOUSE, ANN ALVERTON, MARY ASKEN, MARGARET FELL, BRIDGET FELL, WILLIAM CATON.**

city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying, 'Cry, woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield.' So I went up and down the street, crying with a loud voice, Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield. It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stand, crying as before, Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield, and no one laid hands on me; but as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood. When I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace, and returning to the shepherds gave them some money, and took my shoes then off again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put my shoes on any more, and was at a stand whether I should or not, till I felt freedom of the Lord to do so; and then after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again." There is nothing else so extraordinary as this in the journal of George Fox, and to have permitted its publication is no small evidence of the honesty and good faith of those who gave the extraordinary narrative to the world. We may claim the right of making this use of such a passage; it leaves us at liberty to call in question his other views. He no doubt brought forward several important points in the Christian system, which its professors had entirely lost sight of or overlooked; the conclusions to which he came on the subject of oaths, war, etc., have been sanctioned by the approval of philosophic statesmen, and many of his views on the spirituality of religion have received the assent of thoughtful and devout men of every sect. We must allow to his teaching the great merit of holding up without flinching the duty of making the gospel a practical moral code. It called on the servant of Christ to take up the cross and follow wherever his Master might lead; but, at the same time, he sowed the seeds of weakness in his system, by descending to minor questions, and giving so much importance to non-essentials, that some of his scruples and peculiarities were proofs rather of a morbidly excited conscience than of a sound and enlightened judgment.

The preaching of George Fox had drawn together men whose object was not very clearly defined,—men who at first had no ambition to found a sect or a system, but who believed their views destined to pervade society, and that the true light was about to shine in the world with a new splendour. A paper in the handwriting of Thomas Aldam, one of the most influential of George Fox's earlier followers, issued from a yearly meeting held at the house of John Crook, a justice of the peace in Bedfordshire in the year 1657, is considered the first document on

what the Friends call "THEIR DISCIPLINE." The concluding sentence runs as follows, and shows how cautious these earliest Friends were not to impose a yoke upon or cramp the freedom of their fellow-professors:—"Dearly beloved Friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with a measure of the light, which is pure and holy, may be guided; and so in the light walking and abiding, these things may be fulfilled in the spirit, not in the letter; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Many years after this, in 1676, George Fox says: "I was moved to travel about the nation again to recommend to Friends the setting up of the quarterly and monthly meetings in all counties, for looking after the poor, taking care for orderly proceedings in marriage, and other matters relating to the Church of Christ." And we may consider that at this time, or about thirty years after the first preaching of George Fox, the Society of Friends was organized and settled very much in the form in which it still exists.

Before entering on an inquiry into the causes of the decline of Quakerism, we must remark that it is a common error to suppose it to be of recent date. A full consideration of the subject, and considerable investigation into the history of the Society, has led to a conviction that the decline of Quakerism, in the sense in which we commonly use the term, was as sudden almost as its rise, and that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of those who were esteemed its professors had greatly diminished. The small size of the meeting-houses scattered about the country, which were mostly built about this period, is sufficient proof that the congregations were not large. Of the multitudes who were drawn together by the fervid eloquence of George Fox, Edward Burroughs, and William Penn, comparatively few, we believe, became members of the Society. We read in Fox's journal of large meetings and great "convincements" in out-of-the-way parts of the rural districts, where it is now difficult to imagine a meeting of any kind to be held. This was in great part due to that extraordinary and widespread excitement to which we have before alluded. Fifty years after these eloquent preachers had passed away from the scenes of their labours, the prospects which the opening dawn of Quakerism held forth were clouded; promises hopeful to the sect had not been fulfilled; the system of birth membership had filled the Society with lukewarm professors; it ceased to be aggressive, and those who had renounced all forms became the most formal of professors: rules of discipline were perfected, but the spirit of the early Friends had entirely left the body. If we look at the history of the Church, this ought not to surprise us; indeed, it is the lot of humanity, and we find the same character

stamped in the life of nations on their moral, political, and literary progress. There is a want of permanency in all the efforts of mere enthusiasm : the progress of mankind is not steady, persistent, and constant, like the growth of a tree ; we see sudden outbreaks of vigour, followed by periods of evident languor and decay. We may have faith in the fact, and yet with our limited faculties not be able to see, how all is tending to

That far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

It would almost appear as if there were some truth in the supposition, that at certain regularly recurring periods, the soul of man awakes under the stimulus of new impulses, and bears fruit in heroic actions, works of original genius, and great political and religious reformatations ; but in a few years all is again stagnant, apathetic, and commonplace. Revivals, which are harbingers of a better age, and which appear the appointed means for carrying on the work of righteousness in the earth, comparable to the Spirit of God breathing on the waters and bringing a new creation in power and freshness out of chaos, are the days of the Lord's power ; and well will it be for the world when, in these times of refreshing, man shall be less intent on his own selfish objects, and more willing to forward his Master's cause. If, as we believe, the strength of Quakerism in its early days was in the rural districts, it is the less surprising that it should so soon have lost much of its early vigour and spirit ; for it cannot admit of a doubt that the agricultural population in England has not only relatively but positively fallen from the condition in which it once flourished during the 17th century. We are told that when Hampden and the other members were threatened by the king with imprisonment, 4000 freeholders rode up from Buckinghamshire to guard the person of their member, a degree of public spirit hardly to be conceived of in that county in the present day. But the decline in feeling, public spirit, and enthusiasm was not peculiar to the rural districts ; it is impossible to imagine a more dreary period than the reigns of the two first Georges. Literary men, no longer the colleagues or companions of Prime Ministers, were in the condition of squalid misery, so vividly depicted in the history of the early days of Johnson. The Church was sunk in slothful, if not infidel indifference, and the private character of her primates was not free from reproach : in the State, Prime Ministers like Walpole and Grafton cared not to veil the immoralities of their private lives from public observation. Everything springing from a noble enthusiasm was in such times likely to decay ; and Quakerism shared only in the common degradation : the descendants of the Penns, the Penningtons, and

the Ellwoods, became sporting squires and cattle-dealing farmers. Their children, miserably educated, cut off very much from intercourse with refined society in the metropolis, leading an isolated existence, fell into immoral habits; and the records of the Society through these dark middle ages proves a sadly declining condition. What were called consistent Friends were formalists without zeal, and the description given by Coleridge was too applicable to the Society at large. He says: "Modern Quakerism is like one of those gigantic trees which are seen in the forests of North America, apparently flourishing, and preserving all its greatest stretch and spread of branches; but when you cut through an enormously thick and gnarled bark you find the whole inside hollow and rotten. Modern Quakerism, like such a tree, stands upright by help of its inveterate bark alone. Bark a Quaker, and he is a poor creature."

Such, then, was the state of the Society of Friends towards the end of the last century; but about that time a decided revival took place. The impulse given by the labours of Wesley and Whitfield vibrated through every part of the Protestant world. In the Church of England it was seen in the influence of Newton, Simeon, and Wilberforce, and in the Society of Friends the ministry assumed a more scriptural and evangelical tone. The want of scripture knowledge had been felt and lamented, and the excellent school at Ackworth was established by the zeal and liberality of the Fothergills to supply the deficiency. The Society, in its "Queries," recognised the duty of securing a sound education for all its members. It was a time of new and profitable excitement: good men, whose minds had been roused from their torpor by the volcanic explosion of the French Revolution, who had seen the golden dreams of political perfection dissolved, had begun to turn their attention to more practical and sober schemes for ameliorating the condition of the world. Clarkson and Wilberforce had commenced their attack on the horrible slave-trade; the Tukes were advocating the milder treatment of those unfortunate beings who were afflicted with mental disorders; Lancaster and Bell soon afterwards were promoting the cause of universal education; the British and Foreign Bible Society came into existence; and the Gurneys, Fowell Buxton, and Mrs Fry, began their labours to improve the discipline of prisons, and to change the criminal law from a code of savage and indiscriminating vengeance to a milder and reformatory system. In all these good and noble objects the Society of Friends took a foremost and prominent place. The latent enthusiasm of its members was called into activity, and whilst labouring for the good of the whole human family, the interests of their own sect were not neglected. The discipline of

the Society was reformed, its rules and advices were collected into a volume for the use of every member ; the diligent reading of the Scriptures was earnestly recommended, and the influence and respectability of the Society in every way was extended and secured. The fifty years which followed the establishment of Ackworth School may be considered the halcyon days of the Society of Friends. The consistent *Quakers* during this period were the intelligent, moderately-enthusiastic professors of their faith. They gave themselves to steady assertion of the rights of conscience and the extension of civil and religious liberty, and were ready to unite without sectarian jealousy in every project for improving the condition and lessening the sufferings of their fellow-men. The name, no longer one of reproach, but honoured in the persons of William Allen, Elizabeth Fry, Thomas Shillitoe, and William Forster, opened to its possessors access to every condition of humanity, from the monarch on his throne to the lonely captive in his cell. Even in missionary enterprizes the Society took a part, and some of its leading ministers visited the dark places of the earth. The zeal, intelligence, and mental activity of the Friends led the mind into new inquiries. Actively engaged in recommending the Holy Scriptures to others, it was natural that they should begin to bring their own views and practices to the test of the Bible. The Society had all along been reposing in a traditional faith on the writings of the early Friends, and, whilst few read them, had continued to assume for them a species of infallibility. Although for the most part circumspect, there is no doubt that, in the heat of controversy, the first Quakers indulged in much violence of invective, as may be seen in the writings of William Penn particularly. With the new spirit of inquiry which had sprung up, there was no wish entertained at first to lessen the reverence for the early founders of the sect, who had done so much and suffered so much, to secure to their successors the privileges and liberties which they enjoyed ; yet it was impossible to prevent an examination and criticism of their views, and a comparison of them with the standard of the Scriptures. Publications appeared which excited the jealousy of many of the most influential Friends. A controversy arose, in which, as is too often the case, the tempers of the combatants became heated, and their judgments clouded ; and when at length a minister published a small work called the "Beacon," in which some unguarded doctrines of the early Friends were contrasted with the words of Scripture, the proceedings led to the most extensive schism, from which the Society has ever suffered. At this time many of its most active, intelligent, and pious members were separated from the body, and its influence and numbers have since continued seriously to

diminish. This crisis occurred about the year 1836. The commercial and political excitement of that period concurred to weaken the Society, and since then the continually increasing cultivation and pursuit of pleasure, the impulse given to a taste for continental travelling, the more and more eager pursuit of trade, and an inordinate desire for riches, have all combined to produce what is now generally admitted an unmistakeable and rapid decline in the Society of Friends.

After the preceding brief sketch of the history of Quakerism, it may appear almost superfluous to inquire further into the causes of its decline. The question may be considered as answered by pointing to the experience of past ages, which proves how impossible it is to sustain any great effort originating in enthusiasm; or by saying that the increase of a worldly spirit has been fatal to a system dependent upon a self-denying seclusion from the world. But we find that other religious bodies, which had their origin equally in seasons of religious excitement, maintain their ground and show no symptoms of decay. In England the antagonism of a richly endowed church, and the declining influence of a worldly spirit, are acting with equal force upon all denominations of Dissenters, and taking away the children of their influential members. How is it, then, that they constantly recruit their ranks and extend their numbers and influence, whilst the Society of Friends is so decidedly on the decline? These questions must induce us to examine a little more closely into the system of Quakerism, and inquire if there be anything peculiar in its practices, which gives it, above all other Dissenting communities, this liability to decay. In the first place, their views on the ministry, as connected with meetings for worship, have tended to discourage an increase of members. The religious world has been held much indebted to the Society of Friends for a testimony borne to the spirituality and simplicity of true worship. In giving their views on this, we cannot do better than quote the language of Dymond:—"To the real prostration of the soul in the Divine presence, it is necessary that the mind should be still. 'Be still, and know that I am God.' Such devotion is sufficient for the whole mind; it needs not, perhaps in its present state it admits not, the intrusion of external things. And when the soul is thus permitted to enter, as it were, into the sanctuary of God; when it is humble in His presence; when all its desires are involved in the one desire of devotedness to Him; then is the hour of acceptable worship, then the petition of the soul is prayer, then is its gratitude thanksgiving, then is its oblation praise." This definition of their silent worship is worthy of the serious consideration of all who take an interest

in this question, as it is alleged by some that the want of it is felt and acknowledged by many thoughtful men as a defect in the services of their churches. We would not say one word calculated to lower this principle in the eyes of the Friends, who attach such very great importance to it. But this we must say to them, that they are in the habit of confounding silent *worship* with silent *meetings*, as if they were one and the same, and the one always implied in the other. We find even a tendency to commend silent meetings, as an approach to something most perfect and desirable. And yet it is clear that, speaking from their point of view, nothing was further from the contemplation of the first Friends, than that meetings should for the most part be held in silence. There was so much preaching in their meetings that they never looked forward to a deficiency of ministry, and consequently never provided against it. They had occasionally silent meetings, which they speak of as unusual and wonderful phenomena, as arising from a feeling too deep for utterance, and an awe too solemn for expression. They never anticipated the day when meetings should be held for months and years together without the sound of a preacher's voice. Themselves full of zeal and enthusiasm, members of the Society by firm conviction, they did not foresee the state of things which the principle of birth membership was soon to introduce.

Mr Tanner, in one of his interesting lectures on the early history of the Society of Friends, at Bristol, says, "There is no doubt the number of ministers was very large. Robert Barclay states there was scarce any meeting in which God did not raise some or other to minister to his brethren; and that there were few meetings altogether silent. There were at least twelve *men* Friends engaged as ministers at one period in Bristol. The amount of vocal service in the meetings here seems indeed to have been greater than was profitable to some; and in 1678, and again in 1698, a proposal was made for the establishment of a *silent meeting*, to be held on first day afternoon, which any who were inclined might attend. In one instance the experiment was tried for a short time." In the early days of the Society, with this abundant supply of what they considered prophesying, they did not recognise or feel the want of the subordinate gift of *teaching*, which we find so clearly acknowledged in the primitive Church. Although there might be a question as to what is the difference between teaching and prophesying in the apostolic age, it is not unreasonable to conclude, when we consider the circumstances of these assemblies, and that the Scriptures of the New Testament were not collected into a volume, that teaching consisted in narrating the wonderful events in the life of Christ, unfolding the doctrines of the Gospel, and proving from the pro-

phetic books of the Old Testament that Jesus was the promised Messiah. Much of this may now be done by a systematic reading of the Scriptures, by which alone the members of a church can be built up in a knowledge of the truth. George Fox himself constantly referred to the Bible, used it in his preaching; and the significant fact that he left it chained to the table of the meeting-house at Ulverston, where he worshipped, may be taken as a proof that he at least had not the same jealousy at its appearance in a meeting for worship which his followers in the present day evince. We believe that, if the reading of the Scriptures had been adopted, and permission given to men of devout minds and clear understandings to exercise a gift of teaching for the edification of the hearers, the Friends would have found their meetings more profitable, particularly to the younger members, and the minds of all would have been better prepared for that silent worship which *they all* value; for however much some, from early habit or extraordinary feeling, may be able to profit by sitting whole meetings in silence, there can be no doubt that for the assembled multitude, including as it does the young, the gay, the worldly-minded, the uninstructed, whose thoughts must naturally wander after outward things, systematic religious teaching is essential. Men of characteristic minds, who, from approval of its fundamental principles, have felt drawn towards the Society, are repelled by the silent meetings. Requiring that no one should open the mouth for the edification of the Church unless moved by an immediate and perceptible influence of the Holy Spirit, seems likely to extinguish *men's* preaching in the Society; and we wonder this fact has not opened the eyes of Friends to the necessity of reconsidering their practice. The same principle applied to psalmody still earlier, produced a still more decisive effect. A modern Friend will hardly believe that Robert Barclay, in his Apology, says, "We confess the singing of psalms to be a part of God's worship;" but the restrictions and qualifications with which the Friends surrounded the simple proposition soon had the effect of extinguishing all singing in their meetings. R. Barclay says that the singing which pleases God "must proceed from that which is pure in the heart, and from the Word of Life therein, in and by which, richly dwelling in us, spiritual songs and hymns are returned to the Lord; and such singing is very sweet and refreshing when it proceeds from a true sense of God's love in the heart, and arises from the Divine influence of the Spirit." This language is instructive, the truth of it is worthy of the sincere worshipper's deepest meditation; but the action taken by the Society must have been wrong; for if the proposition is correct, that "the singing of psalms is a part of God's worship," we put it to the Society of

Friends themselves, whether they are not, by their own confession, neglecting what it is their duty to perform. Not only does the universal consent of the pious of every sect and age prove that the gift of song ought to be exercised to the great Creator's praise as a part of Divine worship; but the example of the Saviour Himself, who, before rising with His disciples to go to Gethsemane, sang a hymn, and the practice of the Church in the Apostolic age, and in that immediately succeeding, as proved by Pliny's celebrated letter to Trajan, is conclusive evidence that singing has always formed part of Christian worship. Although the practice of singing has made much way of late years amongst the younger members, so great is the opposition of what are called the more consistent Friends, that there is little likelihood that the meetings of the Society will soon end with a hymn to the praise and glory of God. With meetings thus silent, or with a ministry for the most part feeble and unimpressive, that the Society should have so long maintained its position as an active and influential sect, is evidence of the power with which it was at first established.

Requiring the profession of belief in, and the practice of, what the Friends call their peculiarities, has had a great effect in discouraging the increase of Quakerism. The doctrine of perfection, taken up, as it was by them, in its unequivocal and full meaning, and the belief that man is bound to look for the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the most common events of life, as well as in the services of the sanctuary, led to a belief that no things were small and non-essential, or beyond the domain of conscience. George Fox says—"Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And, as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people good morrow or good evening, neither might I bow or scrape with the leg to any one." If George Fox believed himself thus called upon to act—and there were reasons in that day for testifying against some of the above practices, which do not now exist—he did right in obeying; but it was an error to define and impose all sorts of scruples upon his followers. If he had simply followed the rule so clearly laid down in the Scriptures as to non-essentials, it would have saved him from imposing a yoke which has been most burdensome, and, at the same time, galling and unprofitable to his followers: "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him which eateth: one man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike; *let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.*" Instead of prescribing certain *forms* of dress, language, and behaviour, it would

have been wiser if the founders of Quakerism had satisfied themselves with testifying against the vanities and follies of the world, and with recommending to all Christians the practice of truthfulness, sincerity, and simplicity, encouraging every one to carry out these great principles according to the dictates of his own conscience. But, on the contrary, there grew up a morbid tendency to seek out trifles, to invent scruples, and to establish forms, some of which, though in that day there might be reasons for them, altered circumstances have rendered inapplicable, and, consequently, absurd. As the spirituality of the Society declined, this tendency increased. Monthly meetings placed on their books minutes regulating the cut of waistcoats. We find even the yearly meeting, in 1718, in its printed epistle, thus coming down to trifling details, and speaking of "the great grief to faithful Friends caused by many now amongst us putting on extravagant wigs, and too many women wearing hooped petticoats." And there is still extant a tract against the practice of saying, "*What's o'clock?*"

One palpable evil, springing from the singularities of the Friends, is, that they prejudice mankind generally against their more important principles; just as we see that the opinions of a man guilty of some decided eccentricity, or the victim of *one* mental delusion, are the less thought of, although in all points, perhaps, except in that which constitutes his malady, his thoughts may be clear and his judgment sound. Dr Arnold says—"I have always thought that the Quakers stand nobly distinguished from the multitude of fanatics, by seizing the true point of Christian advancement,—the development of the principles of the Gospel in the moral improvement of mankind. It is a grievous pity that some *foolishnesses* should have so marred their efficiency, or their efforts against wars and oaths would surely ere this have been more successful."

It is common with Friends to defend their peculiarities by saying, that they form a hedge which prevents the young Friends from roaming at large in the world; but we fear such a hedge is more efficacious in *excluding* than keeping in. The young Friends are now generally bounding over it; but the upholding it in all its formality to those who are without, no doubt still deters many from entering. As to plainness of speech and dress, it is remarkable that a people so intelligent and practical should not have foreseen that, by setting up a form, they could not secure the substance; that any amount of insincerity and deceit may be practised in what is called the plain language; and that expense, fashion, and vanity cannot be excluded by enforcing singularity in dress. An individual obeying the dictates of his own conscience, and testifying against all that he feels to be evil,

is striking and instructive; but a community drilled into a common form is a mere lifeless spectacle. One evil attending the singularity of dress may weigh down all that can be said in favour of it: it has been known, in many instances, to promote dissimulation. When the desire of gaiety has been very strong, it has not been uncommon for those young Friends, whose parents were very strict in enforcing the plain dress, to provide themselves with fashionable clothes, and to change their dress, unknown to their friends, before going to places of amusement.

The journal of John Woolman, one of the most interesting of the numerous Quaker autobiographies, and a book worthy of a much wider circulation than it has obtained, may be taken as evidence that views leading to asceticism and singularity can only be carried out by the ancient expedient of monastic seclusion. This man of tender conscience, who wished to walk amongst his fellow-men without touching the unclean thing—who, when he visited England (he was an American), could not sit in carpeted rooms, nor use any article of silver at the table—who thought it right to avoid all dyed goods in his clothing—was an instance, no doubt, of a man following the dictates of his conscience; but it is evident that his practice would not have been adopted by the community at large, and therefore could not be right to recommend for imitation.

But, whilst the causes above set forth have, we believe, contributed greatly to deter candid inquirers from even thinking of the Society of Friends, another cause has operated most actively in reducing its numbers. Voltaire concludes his letters upon the Quakers by saying—"Their children, whom the industry of their parents has enriched, are desirous of enjoying honours, of wearing ruffles, and, quite ashamed of being called Quakers, they become converts to the Church of England merely to be in the fashion." It is a common remark, that no carriage goes for three generations to a Dissenting meeting-house. As long as England shall boast of an Established Church, in which there are bishops living in princely splendour; rich livings, which are termed the *prizes* in the ecclesiastical *lottery*; splendid services, carried on in time-honoured cathedrals; and venerable universities, exclusively in the hands of Churchmen,—we must expect such an institution to win the sympathies and support of the rich and fashionable, and, consequently, bear hard upon all the less ostentatious Dissenting sects. Although the accumulation of wealth appears, therefore, to be equally fatal to all the Nonconformist communities, yet, as we before observed, all but the Society of Friends appear to make up for losses by continually attracting new members; and that Society, from the prudent habits it instils, is perhaps more liable to suffer from the evil

than the others. A writer, who fortunately is not now so popular as he was formerly, has said, with bitter pungency—"The Quakers pursue the getting of money with a pace as steady as time, and an appetite as keen as death." In the anxiety to testify against superfluity in dress, and indulgence in the pleasures of the world, the Society of Friends have not been equally faithful in warning its members against the too eager pursuit of riches, and pointing out the utter incompatibility of wealth thus sought with the practice of a self-denying religion. The testimony of Scripture to the evil consequence of wealth is impressive, whether we look to the language of our Lord Himself, or that of the Apostle Paul, when he says—"They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." When Friends, who take an active part in the affairs of the Society, make what is called a very *consistent* appearance, and loudly condemn the frivolous pleasures of the world, are still seen immersed in business, and more intent and eager than others in the pursuit of wealth, it appears to the world that they

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to."

In this stirring age, when such vast openings for the extension of trade are appearing in every quarter of the globe, and Britain, by her enlightened commercial policy, is deservedly reaping her full share of the benefit; when we hope, by the kindly influence of honest commerce, to mitigate some of the greatest evils that afflict humanity, there may even appear something of a virtue in adding to the universal activity. Still it is the duty of Christians to testify as loudly against the love of money, as against war, slavery, intemperance, or any other desolating sin.

Whilst the spiritual condition of Quakerism has, during the last thirty years, declined, its influence, as a corporate body of citizens, appears to have increased. Friends are more often seen upon the hustings and the platform than was formerly the case. Objects of a philanthropic nature are most systematically supported; and even the existence of several societies has depended upon the liberal contributions of the Society of Friends. It may be thought uncharitable to suggest that these things have almost become a fashion amongst them. The pleasurable excitement of the platform may sometimes stimulate to an ostentatious charity very far removed from that of "not letting the right hand know what the left hand doeth." The eagerness with which Friends have lately entered into political questions is itself suggestive.

If the spirit of George Fox could revisit the scene of his labours and sufferings, in the busy mart, at the table of the money-changers, on the hollow sounding platform, in the luxurious Paris hotel, he would fail to recognise those who profess to be the followers of his simple and self-denying creed.

We cannot, in endeavouring to point out the causes for the decline of Quakerism, omit to notice the practice of the Society on the important question of marriage, which has had a considerable tendency to reduce its numbers. In their anxiety to avoid the least risk of clandestine proceedings, in their purpose to preserve to marriage the character of a religious ordinance, the early Friends framed rules which involved public exposure, delay, and annoyance to the feelings of the parties. When the Dissenters' Marriage Act was passed, the Society lost a most favourable opportunity for revising and simplifying them. Instead, however, of so doing, the Friends, who watch over all legislative proceedings connected with their scruples, satisfied themselves with obtaining permission to celebrate marriages in accordance with their former rules and practices: these, therefore, became perpetuated; and as the requirements of the new law respecting notices to the Registrar and to the Guardians are to be super-added, the proceedings of the Society of Friends on marriages, instead of being simplified, have become more complicated than before. This has a tendency to promote marriages not in accordance with the rules of the Society, for which hitherto individuals have been deprived of their membership. There appears a strong tendency amongst the Friends for first cousins to marry; and as they are not allowed to do so by the rules of the Society, this again causes a loss of members.

A marriage cannot be solemnized in the meetings of the Friends, unless all the rules of the Society are complied with, and *both* the parties are members. There are now several large schools supported and conducted by Friends, where children, who are not members, are educated carefully in all the principles and practices of the Society. It is natural that these, as they grow up, should wish to form connections in the Society; but so rigid are the rules, that the marriage of such persons with a member is not permitted. No good reason can be given for such a course; and it seems simply absurd for a Society, which admits as members, without any discrimination, those who have become so by the mere accident of birth, to refuse admission, by the ceremony of marriage, to persons who are willing to comply with its rules, and who are quite as likely to become useful and faithful members as those who have exercised no volition, and have no preference at all. This question has now been for some time before the Society; but there is so much opposition to all change, that

it is very doubtful whether any modification of the rules, after all, will take place. Propositions for any change in the rules or practices of Friends are generally referred by the Yearly Meeting to the "Meeting for Sufferings," which is a standing committee of the Society, and, in fact, its governing body; from the manner of its selection, it consists entirely of those who are called *consistent* Friends, and no Council of State was ever animated by a stronger conservative feeling. The ability possessed by many members of this meeting, the diligence with which professional men and tradesmen devote their time gratuitously to its service, are truly admirable; their zeal and attachment to the Society are unbounded; and, perhaps from this very cause, it is impossible to imagine any body more opposed to all change and innovation. Of this the very name they cling to is a striking proof: it was given in the early days of the Society, when they met chiefly on account of the sufferings of their fellow-members; but in these propitious days, a proposition lately made to alter the name into something descriptive of its present functions was strenuously resisted.

Believing that much good service has been rendered to philanthropy by the Society of Friends, and seeing how much remains to be done, and is called for at their hands, it is worth inquiring whether Quakerism is likely to revive,—whether, by cutting away the dead wood, by removing the fungus and parasites which absorb its nourishment, and are evidences of its decay, the tree may again flourish. Unless some decisive and vigorous action be taken by the influential members of the Society, this is not likely. An unfavourable symptom is, the rapidly widening distance between those who conduct the business of the Society and the young Friends. Whilst the former continue averse to any relaxation or modification of their peculiarities, the latter have naturally relinquished them; and there is little now to distinguish a young Quaker from other members of the community. The attendance at meetings, particularly in the large towns, has become more irregular; and it is not uncommon for the more seriously disposed young people to attend other places of worship once on the Sabbath, where an instructive ministry may be heard. They are also much less interested in what are called meetings for discipline than formerly. They complain that the proceedings are dry, formal, and uninteresting; and their views upon this subject are beginning to be forced upon the attention of the Yearly Meeting. The cultivation of music is also becoming much more extensive amongst this class, whilst it is still entirely discountenanced by the older and influential members. The altered habits of life, which prevent those engaged in trade from taking *young men* into their families, as was formerly the custom, and the necessity thus created for association with those

not in fellowship with the Society, has had a great effect in taking that class away from the fold, and produces an inequality of the sexes. To this there does not appear any available remedy, unless the modification of the marriage rules above alluded to might to some extent be effectual.

The early Friends made no provision for adapting their system to altered circumstances. They never anticipated that a time would come when some provision for religious teaching would be required for the edification of the body ; and now their successors will admit of no change. The proposal to introduce the systematic reading of the Bible in their assemblies is always resolutely opposed ; and Bible classes are looked upon with something more than suspicion. When a large and influential portion of the Society attempted to introduce some modification to supply the increasing desire for religious instruction, it led, as we have seen, to one of the greatest secessions which have ever reduced the number of the Society. There does not, on the whole, therefore, seem much likelihood of an increased vitality in the system of Quakerism as it at present exists.

- ART. III.—1. *Essays, Military and Political.* Written in India by the late Sir HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, Chief Commissioner in Oude, and Provisional Governor-General of India. London, 1859.
2. *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the Years 1850–51.* London 1854.

THE events of which for a period of eighteen months British India was recently the theatre, will leave indelible traces on the pages of history. They will be alternately darkened by narratives of the most revolting crimes which were ever committed by civilised man, and illumined by deeds of heroism, the brilliancy of which can never be surpassed. The crisis tried human nature as it has been rarely tried before. It is not military heroism alone which has been evoked by the deadly struggle, but civilians have emerged from the arena with a glory which sheds a lustre upon their profession, and upon the nation which has produced men whose avocations were those of peace, equal to some of the most trying situations and duties of war. There are two names that are inseparably united, and which will descend the stream of time together. It is scarcely necessary to say that Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence and Sir John Lawrence are the two men by whom, looking to the human instruments employed, India has been mainly preserved to Great Britain, rescued from anarchy, and restored to the position of a peaceful, and, as we may now hope, a prosperous and progressive dependency.

It may not, perhaps, be at once understood how we connect the services of Sir Henry Lawrence with the successful termination of the struggle in which we have been engaged. He died in the zealous and heroic discharge of his duty, but at a time when the political horizon was of the darkest hue, and the hopes of British India were the most depressed. But it is to his earlier career, and the wisdom and success which marked his administration of the Punjab, that we must trace the success of those measures that gave the British generals, at a period of the utmost need, an accession of force that enabled them to stem the torrent of rebellion and wrest the capital of Mahomedan India from the grasp of a mutinous soldiery. Sir John Lawrence launched the legions of the Punjab against the city of Delhi; but Sir Henry Lawrence had previously converted the Sikh population from rancorous enemies into cordial allies, and inspired the remnants of an army that had once met the British forces in deadly strife, with as firm a loyalty to the crown of England as they had ever felt for the most renowned of their

native sovereigns. Sir Henry Lawrence was the first British administrator of the Punjab, and, by his financial moderation and conciliatory policy, he transformed a province that had existed for years in a condition of chronic turbulence into the most peaceful and contented of states; and thus unconsciously prepared those elements of strength which his illustrious brother had, at a remoter period, only to organize and direct for the support of the power of Great Britain and the relief of its overtaxed troops. Sir Henry Lawrence was the pacificator of the Punjab; Sir John Lawrence again summoned it to war. Sir Henry Lawrence completely disarmed it; Sir John Lawrence once again made it glitter with steel and resound with the note of preparation. It is a remarkable fact, that the work of pacification should have fallen to the professional soldier, and the summons to arms, in a new cause and for a new master, should have been given by the man who had passed his life in the peaceful occupations of a civilian.¹

The friends of Sir Henry Lawrence have only done an act of justice to the departed statesman, and to the public, by collecting and republishing the essays, which from time to time he contributed to the pages of an Indian periodical. There is much in these productions that in one sense may undoubtedly be described as out of date; but much remains from which instruction may be gathered at the present time. Many of his administrative suggestions have been already adopted, but many yet remain to be acted upon. He saw but too clearly the rocks upon which the vessel of the state in India was drifting, and his prophetic utterances are of the most impressive kind, and would have roused into action, by their vivid representations of impending danger, any Government that was not rashly heedless of the future, and that had not obstinately shut its eyes to the realities of its false position. Upon the question of military reform, Sir Henry Lawrence is never weary of dilating; but his warning voice was unhappily lifted up in vain, and he himself fell one of the most lamented

¹ Sir Henry Lawrence was an officer of artillery, and served, in a purely military character, until the year 1838. He was known and appreciated as a good and zealous officer, and acted as adjutant to the portion of his corps that was employed in the south-eastern division of Bengal. He took part in the first Burmese war. In 1838 he was attached, with a portion of his corps, to the army of the Indus, which was destined to change the government of Afghanistan, and place Shah Shuja on the throne. The Governor-General's agent in the Punjab was left, at a critical period, without assistants. Wearied and overtaxed, he complained of his position to the commander-in-chief. "There is an officer here," said the general, "who seems to have good material in him, and who is burning for employment; let me send him to you." "Do so," said the harassed official. The officer was Captain Henry Lawrence of the Horse Artillery, and the civilian Mr Clerk, now Sir George Russell Clerk. On that day the military career of Sir Henry Lawrence closed and the political one commenced.

victims of the system that he had long energetically denounced. The lessons which these essays inculcate are still to be studied. The vital question, how the Indian army is to be reorganized, is yet to be answered; and the problem is still unsolved by our military administrators and Indian statesmen. We trust they will ponder well the lessons of wisdom which these essays afford. The empire of Great Britain in the East depends upon the decision now about to be taken; and great is the responsibility of those who have to plan the reorganization of that army upon which, as upon a pivot, turns the whole future of Indian government.

We have alluded to the prophetic anticipations of Sir Henry Lawrence. Let those who recollect the events which took place at an early stage of the insurrection of Delhi, peruse the following passage in an essay published in 1844:—

“The treasury of Delhi is in the city, as is the magazine: the latter is in a sort of fort—a very defenceless building—*outside* of which, in the street, we understand, a party of sepoys was placed, when the news of the Cabul disasters arrived. We might take a circuit of the country, and show how many mistakes we have committed, and how much impunity has emboldened us in error, and how unmindful we have been, that what occurred in the city of Cabul, may some day occur at Delhi, Benares, or Bareilly.”

Again,—

“When a small party was beaten at Khytul, one of our army division stations, it was three days before a small force could move; it was then found, that there was no small-arm ammunition in store, and ascertained that a European corps could not move under a fortnight from Sobathoo. At that time, when both Kurnaul and Umballa were denuded of troops, and every road was covered with armed pilgrims returning from Hurdwan fair, the two treasuries, containing, we have heard, between not less than thirty lacks of rupees, were under parties of fifty sepoys, in exposed houses, or rather sheds, close to the native towns; and, extraordinary as it may appear, both within fifty or a hundred yards of small forts, in which they would have been comparatively safe, but into which, during the long years that treasuries have been at those stations, it seems never to have occurred to the authorities to place them.”¹

His sense of our insecurity in India is strongly exhibited:—

“Rome conquered the world, by never yielding a foot—by never confessing herself beaten—by rising with renewed courage from every defeat. We require such fortitude more than Rome did. As yet our tents are only pitched in the land. We have a numerous and a noble army, but six-sevenths of it are of the soil. We have *one* fortress in all India. We offer no inducement to extraordinary fidelity, even while we place our magazines and treasuries, and our very throats, at the mercy of any desperado. While we English are thus reckless, we,

¹ Pp. 50, 51.

both at home and in India, are more easily panic-stricken than perhaps any brave people in the world. Not only does a Cabul or a Chillianwalla strike terror from one end of the country to the other, but a simple murder, a Santhial, or a Moplah outbreak, has scarcely less effect. *With few exceptions, there is no preparation to meet sudden danger. There is the most helpless alarm when it does occur.*"¹

No man probably ever occupied a responsible position in India, that held higher principles of public morality, or more resolutely opposed the once prevalent but iniquitous doctrine, under the protection of which great criminals have too often found shelter, that, admitting corruption and injustice to have been practised, it was to advance the interests and extend the empire of England. He was not a statesman who would consent to substitute expediency, or any false view of the public advantage, for the simple rule of right and wrong. He therefore disapproved of the annexation of Oude, although, by a remarkable destiny, he himself perished among the foremost victims of the measure he had resisted, and which he was compelled to be the chief agent in carrying out. "Interference," he wrote, in 1844, "must be made on pure motives, for the good of the people, and not for the improvement of the finances of India. The day has gone by for annexing principalities because they are rich and productive. The spirit of the age is against such benevolence." The Oude rulers, he declares, were no worse governors than other monarchs under the influence of unprincipled favourites usually are; indeed, he thinks they were better than might have been expected. They were weak, vicious, and dissolute, but were seldom cruel, and had never been false. In all the storms of the last half century, Oude was the single native state that had been invariably true to the British Government. It neither intrigued against us, nor seemed to desire our injury. The people will, doubtless, reap the benefit of an improved administration; but the taint of a profitable annexation attaches to the British Government, which no apologies or excuses, however plausible, can remove. Sir Henry Lawrence's scheme of improvement stopped far short of conquest. He proposed to take the reins of power from hands that were not permitted to guide the state—to provide a ministry for the country, and take guarantees for its honesty—to govern Oude, "not for the king alone," but for the "king and his people;" but not a rupee, he declared, ought ever to come into the Indian treasury.

This consideration for the interests as well as for the independence and dignity of the princes of India is conspicuous in every transaction of Sir Henry Lawrence's diplomatic career.

¹ P. 376.

Yet this tenderness for their feelings was combined with an intimate knowledge of their character :—

“Few indeed,” he says, “are the native chiefs, or natives of any rank, whose wisdom is consistent and complete. Most are mere children in mind and in the ways of the world ; and, as children, they should be treated with affectionate sympathy, but with systematic firmness. Many are clever in the extreme, acute, persevering, energetic, able to compete with the best of Europeans in ordinary matters, to surpass them in some ; but the most accomplished character among them has its flaw. We never yet met one that was not an infant at some hour of the day, or on some question of life.”

Again, in a remarkable passage, he shows his penetration and skill in decyphering the nature of the people with whom he had to deal :—

“Man is everywhere unaccountable ; but he who has to deal with Asiatics can least calculate with certainty on the future by the past. He must be prepared for every vagary,—for the violation of the plainest dictates of prudence during peace,—for the neglect or breach of all the rules of strategy during war. He may reasonably expect that to be done which should not be done,—that to be neglected which should be effected. No European diplomatist or soldier is so likely to be ensnared as he who, having taken the usual precautions, feels himself secure. The treaty signed, the piquets doubled ; neither can be regarded as a guarantee of safety. Certain eventual destruction may await the enemy’s move,—he may be assured of it on all rational calculations ; but the goddess Bhowanee, or some other deity or demon, may have promised success—the day of the Feringees may have passed—and the infatuated wretches rush on destruction. Their desperation then is dangerous. Rashness, nay, madness, has succeeded in striking a blow where the best plans have failed. Indian officials should ever be on the alert.”¹

“If there is little veneration for sovereignty in India, there is abundance of awe,—loyalty and patriotism we put out of the question ; but, in every case of insurrection, the majority of chiefs and men of war, of all castes, will first offer their services to the established power, to fight either for or against their own kindred and country ; and it is only when refused employment that they flock to the newly-displayed banner. The middle and lower classes act differently,—their sympathies will be with their fellows ; but they will naturally be cautious to conceal their feelings until the progress of events, and the conduct of the contending parties, afford some clue to the probable result of the struggle.”²

It was for a long time the practice of all writers and speakers on India to exalt the Mahommedan and the Hindoo dynasties at the expense of the British Government. In a country that for nearly a thousand years has been governed by the sword alone,

¹ P. 165.

² P. 174.

and the people of which, throughout its length and breadth, have, within the last hundred years, seen Moguls, Patans, Mahrattas, Pindarees, and the vilest of mixed combinations of every caste and clan, rooting up the old families and dynasties, how could, as Sir Henry Lawrence justly observes, "any government, however beneficial, subsist for a day, simply by its civil policy, on the ruins of such a tempest-tossed land." But these governments were not beneficent, nor did they consider the welfare of their subjects, except so far as it contributed to their revenue and personal greatness. Akbar made some good laws for the protection of his people; but he was an almost solitary exception. The great works which have been so much extolled, and sometimes made the themes of declamatory eloquence—the tanks, the aqueducts, the roads, the seraes, the temples, the palaces, the tombs (the ruins of which even now excite our wonder and admiration)—were they the creations of an "insatiable benevolence," as Burke romantically supposed; and did these "true kings, the fathers of their people," really aspire to be "the guardians, the nourishers of mankind?"¹ Many of these great public works were mere fiscal instruments, without which no revenue could be raised; for, under the financial system of the Mahomedan and Hindoo rulers, the occupants of land were merely tenants at will to the universal landlord—the sovereign; and most of the great monuments of extinct dynasties are as much the production of unrequited and compulsory labour as the Egyptian pyramids or the palaces of Assyrian kings. Selfishness was the ruling motive of all public improvements. The high roads, the seraes, the plantations, were not for the people. They were for the convenience of the royal progresses. In whatever direction the sovereign was likely to travel, *there* roads were made and luxurious accommodation abounded. Elsewhere the people might seek in vain for communications, for wells of refreshment, or for shade. On this vital point in the administration of a country of which Englishmen, by a mysterious destiny, are now the indisputable masters, the character of the British government stands out in marked contrast to that of every one that has preceded it. There are few districts of India that do not possess public works undertaken chiefly for the benefit of the people, and to which they are largely indebted for whatever prosperity and comfort they enjoy. It was a ruling principle of Sir Henry Lawrence's political life, that we should find our best safeguard in the well-being of the people of India; and as soon as his great merits had raised him to a position of eminence in the state, he applied in practice those theories which, as an individual, he had always entertained. There

¹ Burke's Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

is nothing in these essays, unfortunately, that relates to the most important period of his life, namely, that in which he filled the appointment of the first Chief Commissioner and Administrator of the Punjab. On that, however, his great reputation was chiefly founded. There is no chapter in British history more glorious, as a combined moral and military triumph, than the conquest and pacification of the Punjab. The civil administration of the new province has cast even the brightness of our arms into the shade ; and we shall, as an act of justice to Sir Henry Lawrence, and as a mode of bringing out, in the strongest possible light, both his character and his abilities, specify a few of the most striking results of his government of a country which was for a long time the fanatical enemy of British power, and the military democracy of which openly aspired to the sovereignty of Hindostan.

Of all the public records connected with our rule in the East, there probably is not one that can be compared in point of interest with the General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the years 1850 and 1851. It is the production of Sir Henry Lawrence, and, as a State paper, is not to be surpassed in ability and comprehensiveness. For historical detail, rich and animated description, enlightened principle, and practical wisdom, it is unrivalled. Sir Henry Lawrence there stands forth as a great expounder of political science ; and shows how a country, which has fallen into a state of almost hopeless barbarism after ages of misrule, may be reclaimed and made a tower of strength to a Government that undertakes the task of regeneration in a spirit of justice and liberality.

The most pressing danger when the country was first annexed to the empire, was the existence of the old Khalsa army, which wandered over the country in sullen and discontented masses, animated by the fiercest spirit of hostility to its new rulers, brooding over its lost prestige, and meditating schemes of revenge. It was a crisis that required both the wisdom of a statesman and the firmness of a soldier, and Sir Henry Lawrence was both. An immediate disbanding of the soldiery was resolved on, and a proclamation to that effect was posted throughout the country. By the vigour of the step, the Sikh army was completely taken by surprise, and no time was left for combination or resistance. Vast quantities of arms were seized or surrendered, and the strongholds were at once and simultaneously dismantled. A general muster was called : the men were chiefly assembled at Lahore, and there paid up and dismissed ; but offers were made to large numbers to enter, if they pleased, into the service of the British Government. To a considerable extent these offers were accepted. Those who retired, overawed by the display of firm-

ness, or subdued by the conciliatory language and demeanour of the British resident, returned to their homes, liberally pensioned by the power they had so recently defied. So complete was the satisfaction of the Khalsa soldiery generally with the treatment which they received, that large numbers of them immediately resumed their long-neglected rural occupations, and were seen, the day after their return from Lahore, guiding the plough, but still clad in the uniforms in which they had fought at Chillianwalla and Goojerat.

Sir Henry Lawrence then arranged the general administration of the government, and established civil and criminal courts, where justice, probably for the first time in the history of the country, was impartially administered. Not less than 8000 convicts were lodged in prison in the first year of the new administration. An improved system of excise and customs was introduced, scientific surveys and public improvements were planned, the coinage was reformed, and the whole of the British system was introduced. After the first year, which was necessarily one of inauguration, the material progress of the country became most rapid, and much was done to instil juster notions of morals among the people. The crime of infanticide, by a system of agitation in which the leading members both of the British Government and the native aristocracy took part, was almost entirely suppressed. But the subjugation and civilisation of the mountain tribes is one of the most remarkable results of the new *regime*. They were, perhaps, some of the most ferocious and ungovernable barbarians that ever resisted the advance of civilisation, or defied the justice of man. The Huzara district was more particularly the seat of these intractable people. Of this frontier country, containing not less than 2500 square miles, scarcely more than one-tenth is level; and in the recesses of glens, darkened by overhanging mountains, and secured by almost inaccessible precipices, lived for centuries tribes spurning all law but their own, and combining to rob or murder every traveller adventurous enough to encounter the perils of their savage retreats. Their valleys have, from time immemorial, been traversed by caravans laden with the productions of Central Asia, but with conductors armed to the teeth. These outlaws were able even to extort black-mail from the native rulers of the Punjab. No part of the country has made greater progress under the beneficent plans for its improvement introduced by Sir Henry Lawrence. A district that required the constant presence of a strong division of the Sikh army in its neighbourhood, to prevent a people from bursting their rocky barriers, and inundating the neighbouring plains, is now ruled with the most perfect ease, and requires only a small body of police for its security. The

people have, without a single exception, proved loyal. The agricultural classes have been conciliated by a very light assessment, and the peasantry, left to the management of their own chiefs, now abstain altogether from plunder, and have been brought even to pay a small contribution to the revenue. "They no longer," in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence himself, in his report as Chief Commissioner, "cultivate armed to the teeth with the sword and matchlock by their side, but they gratify their martial spirit by enlisting into British regiments, and distinguish themselves in the service as the best soldiers in India."

This remarkable transformation is doubtless due, in a great degree, to the politic lowering of the assessment by the Punjab government. The Sikhs are said to have levied as much as twelve lacks of rupees annually from the valley, and probably took as much more in a less authorized way. The British Government contents itself with taking six lacks, and probably spends as much monthly in the country. The ownership of land is now said to be eagerly sought for; within a few years, every one tried to prove that he was not a landed proprietor. Now, deeds fifty years old are hunted up and eagerly produced, and old claimants from Bokhara or Cabul frequently reappear, and try to resume their long abandoned possessions in the valley.¹

Nothing has tended so greatly to reconcile the Sikh people to the change of rulers as the improved administration of justice, for which they are pre-eminently indebted to Sir Henry Lawrence. He found a simple legal machinery existing in the country, resembling in some of its features the English system of county courts. Instead of importing the complex and vexatious judicial system of India into the new province, he improved upon the primitive institutions of the people, compiled a code, and introduced some valuable additions. The system which is now in force in the Punjab is understood to work so well, and to give such complete satisfaction to the people, that we give the outline of it in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence himself:—

"We are, indeed, without elaborate laws, but we have brief rules explaining, in an accessible form, the main provisions of the several systems of native law in such matters as inheritance, marriage, adoption, testamentary or other disposition of property, and setting forth the chief principles to be observed; in other branches of the law, such as contracts, sales, mortgages, debt, commercial usage, we have the most open and liberal provisions for the admission of evidence. We have complete arrangements for reference to arbitration, and for the ascertainment of local custom. We have a procedure without any pretension to technical exactitude, but a procedure which provides for the litigants and their respective witnesses being confronted in

¹ Cooper's Crisis in the Punjab.

open court, for a decision being arrived at immediately after this brief forensic controversy, and for judgment being delivered to the parties then and there. We have a method for executing decrees, which, while it allows no door to be open for evasion or delay on the part of the defendant, and thus renders a decree really valuable to the plaintiff as being capable of ready enforcement, and gives him right, free from lien, incumbrance, or doubt ; yet, on the other hand, prevents the defendant from being hastily dealt with, or from being placed at the mercy of his creditor. We have small cause courts scattered all over the country, and several regular courts at every central station, so that everywhere justice is near. Our civil system may appear rough and ready. Whether it would be suited to other provinces in a different degree of civilisation, and with a different machinery at command, may be a question, but in the Punjab it attains the broad and plain object aimed at, and, without doubt, gives satisfaction to the people.”¹

So benevolent an administrator as Sir Henry Lawrence was not likely to overlook the importance of agriculture in a province committed to his care. He found that, as in almost all other Eastern countries, it had been for ages in an unprogressive state ; and not more than one-fourth of the total area of the country was, on a careful survey, found to be under cultivation. The neglect of canals and decay of wells had converted many tracts that once teemed with plenty into a wilderness. He was instrumental in establishing an agricultural society, and induced many native chiefs and gentlemen of property to become members of it, and called their attention to the great want of the Punjab,—namely, a superior description of produce as a substitute for the excessive quantity of corn which was raised in the country. When, under the influence of favourable seasons, production became excessive, prices were forced down to ruinous rates—often as much as 50 per cent.—and widespread distress was the result. Then attention was directed to the production of flax, the growth of wool, the cultivation of tea, the establishment of grass farms on the plan of the winter meadows of Italy, and to the naturalization of European plants and vegetables, of which the seeds were sent from England by the liberality of the Government. The Punjab is now reaping abundantly, as we shall presently show, the fruits of the provident scheme for its improvement which was then suggested by Sir Henry Lawrence.

The great works of reproductive industry required for developing the natural riches of the country, especially engaged the attention of the British Commissioner. Since the annexation, 8749 miles of new road have been constructed with more or less completeness ; but the most important feature in the

¹ General Report on the Administration of the Punjab.

progress of the country has been the construction and restoration of the canals which are so essential both for transport and irrigation. The great Baree Doab Canal, between the Ravee and the Sutlej, will, when completed, traverse 466 miles of country, draining off the entire water of the Ravee during the winter months, and rolling down a body of 3000 cubic feet of water per second, diffusing fertility by its channels of irrigation for a distance of 180 miles from its source, and then available for navigation for the remainder of its course. This great work will restore animation and industry to a district which was once one of the richest in the Punjab, but which has been for ages only a scene of desolation,—a wilderness of jungle, and a haunt of wild beasts. The estimated cost of its completion is one million sterling, with the certainty of returning very large profits on the outlay.

It was not to reproductive works alone that the Government turned its attention, but it took under its care the embellishment as well as the industrial development of the country. The wants of all classes were taken into consideration, and public improvements were planned that would never have been thought of by a native power. The people, in the most comprehensive sense, were considered, and their most essential wants provided for. The Sikh Government was utterly regardless of trees; and, from the waste and improvidence of ages, the country had become almost totally bare, presenting, notwithstanding its natural fertility, a bleak and uninviting aspect. No people on the face of the earth appreciate more highly the refreshing verdure of trees, and the luxury of their shade, than the natives of the burning plains of India. In almost every district of the Punjab this essential want has been, or is now being, supplied; and at the end of the year 1858, it was estimated that the British authorities had planted not less than six millions of trees in various directions. In one province forty miles of road had been provided with an avenue, and in numberless places hedgerows had been planted and groves formed. Even the above number, great as it is, is said to be small relatively to the wants of the country. Four trees have been estimated as the proper number to a cultivated acre; at that rate, the cultivated area being estimated at twelve millions of acres, fifty millions of trees will be needed, *and are now being actually raised*, for these territories.

The humanity of Sir Henry Lawrence was conspicuously displayed by a measure which, more than any other, must have convinced the natives of the beneficent character of their new government. He established those unheard-of institutions in India,—public dispensaries, on a large scale, at or near all the principal cities. In the course of the year 1855, 71,000 persons

were relieved at these stations. The establishments are maintained at the Government expense, aided, in a slight degree, by European residents. No charge is made for medicines or attendance, and these institutions constitute, in fact, a State charity on a very extensive scale.

The financial result of the few years of British administration which have elapsed since the annexation of the Punjab, is perhaps the most astonishing fact in the recent history of India. Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure upon public works, being at the rate of $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the revenue, a sum of L.9,649,387 had been realized in the Punjab proper since the year 1849, to the end of the financial year 1856; and L.14,158,409 from the whole of its cis- and trans-Sutlej territories with the Punjab combined, producing a clear surplus, after the payment of all the expenses of their administration, of L.5,555,585 in seven years. No page in the annals of India will be brighter than that which records the first year of the British administration in this last and most unexceptionable of our acquisitions. Even the Supreme Council at Calcutta appears to have been roused from its habitual official reserve, and to have expressed itself in the language of unwonted emotion. "I feel," one of its members observes in an official minute, "that I do not use too strong an expression when I say, that the efforts which began so immediately to be worked out in the Punjab are wonderful in a very high degree; and I trust I may add, without overstepping the bounds of official etiquette, that India owes a large debt of gratitude as well to the statesman who formed the general scheme for the government of the province, as to the able and energetic men who have effected, by means of it, such beneficial results."

There can be no doubt that, on the annexation of the Punjab, our Indian empire reached, and not until then, its natural and most defensible boundary. As the masters of Hindostan, the line of mountain range beyond the Indus, and not the Sutlej, is, in the opinion of all competent authorities, our true military frontier. The country of the Five Rivers had long been regarded by Indian statesmen as the natural barrier between our own territories and Affghanistan, and it was traditionally held that it was a kingdom, the independence of which it was most desirable to maintain, although it could at best be considered as only a precarious ally. It was thought that it might be made to play, with dexterous management, a highly important part in the event of India ever being seriously threatened or invaded from the north. Our diplomacy here found a field for the display of its highest skill, and the court of the Punjab was long ably managed by British residents. But the task was a difficult one, and it always needed a very strong government, like that of Runjeet Sing, to

keep down the spirit of rivalry and check the ambition which was known to animate the Sikh army. Sir John Lumley, on marching through the Punjab with a division of British troops a few years before the annexation, was openly insulted in his camp by the refusal of the authorities to return his salute to the garrison of Lahore; and it was afterwards discovered that a conspiracy was formed to cut off his whole force, and that it had been defeated only by the energy of the minister. In this acquisition of territory at least, our hands are clean, and our motives admit not of being questioned. No nation ever more perseveringly strove to subjugate another than the British Government did to preserve, reform, and perpetuate the Sikh rule in the Punjab. It applied its highest administrative skill to rescue the country from anarchy, established a regency, took its young sovereign under its protection, superintended with the most self-denying industry every detail of administration, and, notwithstanding all its solicitude, was eventually obliged, by a most unjustifiable rebellion, to put an end to its nationality, and incorporate it with the Indian dominions. The necessity was fully admitted, and the act approved, by Sir Henry Lawrence, elevated as his conceptions were of international morality, and shrinking as he instinctively did from any act which bore harshly upon a native race, or could cast a slur upon the British Empire. Nor did he overlook the importance of the possession of the Punjab in a strategical sense, and with reference to any possible invasion of India by the power that has been generally supposed to hope to wrest it eventually from our grasp. That he always estimated slightly the probability of a Russian invasion is true; but since the annexation of the Punjab, he treated it as an impossibility. He thus records his opinion on a subject which has been a theme of much controversy among our leading Indian statesmen:—

“ There will be no Russian invasion of India; nor, probably, will the tribes be again impelled on us. The latter now understand our strength. Russia has long understood both our strength and our weakness. There will be no foolish raid as long as India is united in tranquillity and contentment under British rule. Russia well knows that such an attempt would only end in the entire destruction of the invaders. India *has been* invaded some forty times, but always by small armies, acting in communication with domestic parties. A small Russian army could not make good its way through Affghanistan; a large army would be starved there in a week. The largest army that could come, with Affghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlet of the only two practicable passes, and, while attempting to debouche, would be knocked to pieces. A hundred thousand Anglo-Indian troops might, with the help of railroads, be collected at each pass in as few days as it would take an *unopposed* Russian army weeks to traverse them. Hundreds of eight-inch guns would there be

opposed to their field-pieces. The danger, then, is imaginary. Herat is no more the key of India than is Tabrezz, or Khiva, or Kohan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. England's own experience in the western passes, and in the Crimea, have proved the absurdity of the tale of Russian invasion. No, the dream is idle. *England's dangers are in India; not without.* We trust that in India they will be met, and that there will be no third Affghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may tease, annoy, and frighten us by her money and her emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put foot in Hindostan."

The most valuable portion of these essays is, undoubtedly, that which relates to the Indian army; and the services rendered by Sir Henry Lawrence to the cause of military reform cannot be too highly appreciated. Although he was taken from the profession which he honoured and delighted in, and summoned to higher duties in the State, his mind was constantly occupied on questions connected with the welfare of the Indian army and with plans for its improvement. He saw clearly the dangers; and his warning voice was too often lifted up in vain. The lessons which he inculcates may still be turned to account; for the problem of the reconstruction of the Indian army is, as we have before stated, still unsolved; and there is yet embodied a large native force, composed of all arms and all classes. An efficient army in India is indispensable. In the nature of things it cannot be an exclusively European army. Great Britain could not supply one without impairing her own strength and diminishing her political influence in Europe. Nor would such a course, were it practicable, be just to the natives of India. If that country cannot be ruled to some extent by the agency of its own people, we had better relinquish the thankless and unprofitable duty of keeping races in subjection whose habitual feeling is one of enmity. But no such alternative ever presented itself to the mind of Sir Henry Lawrence. He believed that India might, in time, be ruled more easily through its affections than by our arms. The great object in his military essays is, to prove that India requires an army deriving its strength, not from its numbers, but from its efficiency. He allows, indeed, we must always bear in mind, that at present we are but encamped in the land, and are "dwelling in the tents of Shem," and have yet to prove the permanence of the encampment; but his aspiration always was, "that after a fertilizing and blessed rule of centuries, we might voluntarily hand over regenerated India to her own educated and enlightened sons." Until that proud day shall arrive, we must, however, keep embodied an armed force adequate for all the reasonable purposes of

police, and sufficiently large to impress the sense of the might of England upon an imaginative and excitable people. "Wellington's maxim," he says, of "keeping the troops out of sight will not answer for India. There must be trusty bayonets within sight of the understanding, if not of the eyes, of Indian subjects, before they will pay willing obedience or any revenue." But it is not, he repeatedly declares, a numerically strong army, but a contented one, with efficient officers, that is wanted. "What we want is not men, not money, but mind. A hundred men may be made to do the work of a thousand; a hundred pounds, wisely spent, may contribute more to the strength of our empire than a thousand."

There is no doubt he wrote with prophetic sagacity in 1844, "that, whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops." It was, therefore, a settled maxim with him, while giving them no legitimate cause for discontent, and paying them well, and providing for them in old age, to abstain from bestowing favours and rewards indiscriminately, and, above all, to carefully avoid giving anything or doing anything under an appearance of coercion. It was a system of strict discipline, tempered with kindness and consideration for their prejudices, that he thought best calculated to strengthen the bonds of military discipline. How far short of these prudent counsels the measures of Government fell, and what fatal mistakes were committed by the administrators of the army, is unhappily now too well known to the world. Aged and incapable commanding officers ruined the *morale* of regiments, and threw discredit upon the service. The seniority system, Sir Henry Lawrence believed, worked incalculable evils to India; and, by placing incompetent men in responsible positions, impaired the British power and prestige. One such misplaced officer has been known to drive a thousand men into discontent, and that thousand men probably corrupted many thousands more. The evils of such men being entrusted with commands are amusingly portrayed:—

"The man who never reflected in his life cannot be expected to reflect on an emergency. An irregularity in construction of the ground puts him out; the unexpected appearance of a crabbed brigadier flusters him; the whirlwind rush of a Sir Charles Napier down the line frightens him out of his senses. Cards, manuals, catechisms, and all other helps are forgotten, and the unhappy field officer is like a babe in a wood. He loses his senses, and is alike the laughing-stock of his sable soldiers and of his younger countrymen. Is such a man—and there are scores of them—the fitting leader of a brigade through the Bolan or the Khybur, up the Persian Gulf, or to China or Burmah? Yet they are the men so sent, daily so selected. Can such men be expected to preserve their senses in the presence of the enemy? That

such have not lost armies is no fault of the present system, but is attributable to the courage and skill of subordinates. But let not Providence be too long tempted. Rome lost her legions when commanded by generals who were soldiers only in name. Napoleon's words to brother Louis at Toulon apply to our argument. Standing in the midst of the corpses of 200 grenadiers, slain through the ignorance of their commander, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Phuron, he observed, 'If I had commanded here, all these brave men would be still alive. Learn, Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to command others.'"

The practical suggestions on the subject of military reform are, in every respect, admirable; and had they been taken into consideration, and consistently carried out, the appalling mutiny of 1857 could not, in all human probability, have broken out. He placed his opinions, on every possible occasion, before the "authorities," and before the public, but they were almost entirely unheeded by those who alone had the power to give effect to them. On the annexation of Oude, the native army was disbanded; and do we not find a key to the mystery of the mutiny in the significant fact thus simply recorded by Sir Henry Lawrence, just two years before its outbreak: "The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the Brethren of the British Sepoys!"

Among the many suggestions for increasing the efficiency of the native army and binding it to its allegiance, must be noted the very important one, which Sir Henry Lawrence always put prominently forward, namely, opening the service, in its higher grades, to natives. "There is always," he says, "danger in handling edged tools; but justice and liberality forge a stronger chain than a suspicious and niggardly policy. Our regular issue of pay and our pension establishment are the foundation-stones of our rule; and there cannot be a doubt that, for the lower orders, our service is a splendid one. But it offers no inducement to superior intellects or more stirring spirits. Men so endowed, knowing they can always gain their bread in any quarter, leave us in disgust, and rise to rank in foreign services. *Did the times avail, they would raise standards of their own, and turn against us the discipline they learned in our ranks.* Rank and competence in our service would bind such men to our interests. It is a straw that turns the current." He suggests three descriptions of infantry: the first-class regulars, officered by a full complement of Europeans, the second class partially so officered, the third class commanded and officered entirely by natives; but the two last always employed in brigade, or at least in concert with the regular troops. There is another recom-

mendation well worthy of attention by those who are charged with the duty of reorganizing our Indian army. He proposes to attach permanently to each European regiment, while in India, two companies or more of picked men, chiefly composed of Musulmen and the lower castes of military Hindoos, to act as the auxiliaries and velites did with the Romans. He thinks these companies should be considered as light infantry, and, as select troops, should receive additional pay; and as Europeans cannot march in India without a detachment of natives accompanying them, the service now performed by followers might be made a duty of honour, and the sepoy of such auxiliary companies, acting habitually with Europeans, would, he believes, be found of almost equal value in the field.

Sir Henry Lawrence's notions of campaigning were somewhat of a Napierian character, and he sternly denounces the folly of attempting to combine the luxuries of peace with the duties and requirements of war. He allows, indeed, that an Indian army can never move like a European one, but insists that very much can be effected *if officers will set the example*. There was no necessity, he thinks, for a lieutenant-colonel to take three elephants, and double-poled tents and glass-doors, to Candahar; neither was it necessary, in his opinion, for subalterns to take dressing-boys and butlers, with their assistants, on their establishments during the Affghan campaigns. He proposes, that for every army there should be a director-general of baggage, with deputies and assistants for divisions and brigades, who should be men of stern natures, with authority to burn all extra baggage, and all burthens of overloaded cattle, and indignantly protests against the very existence of armies being risked, in order to give "Cleopatra sofas and fresh bread to gentlemen whose services, at best, are ill worth such a price."

The discipline through which the officers of the Indian army have passed since the above opinions were recorded has doubtless introduced a firmer temper and a hardier spirit among them. The conduct of European officers throughout the whole of the terrible ordeal to which they were exposed, was, by universal testimony, worthy of their country and their race; and, however in ordinary times they might indulge their Sybaritic propensities, they were fully equal in the hour of trial to all that they were called upon either to do or to suffer.

The duties of an officer were never more beautifully portrayed and powerfully enforced than in the following passage, which we cannot resist the temptation of quoting:—

"It is not merely the duty of an officer to attend parade, to manœuvre a company or a regiment, to mount guard, to sanction promotions, to see the pay issued, to sign monthly returns, and to

wear a coat with a standing collar. The officer has higher duties to perform—a duty to his sovereign, a duty to his neighbour, a duty to his God—not to be discharged by the simple observance of these military formalities. He stands *in loco parentis*; he is the father of his men; his treatment of them should be such as to call forth their reverence and affection, and incite in them a strong feeling of shame on being detected by him in the commission of unworthy actions. It is his duty to study their characters, to interest himself in their pursuits, to enhance their comforts, to assist and to encourage with counsel and with praise every good effort, to extend his sympathy to them in distress, to console them in affliction,—to show by every means in his power, that, though exiles from home and aliens from their kindred, they have yet a friend upon earth who will not desert them. These are the duties of the officer,—duties, too, which cannot be performed without an abundant recompense. There are many idle, good-hearted, do-nothing officers, who find the day too long, complain of the country and the climate, are devoured with ennui, and, living between excitement and reaction, perhaps in time sink into hypochondriasis; but who would, if they were to follow our advice, tendered not arrogantly but affectionately, find that they had discovered a new pleasure,—that a glory had sprung up in a shady place—that the day was never too long, the climate never too oppressive—that at their up-rising and their down-sitting serenity and cheerfulness were ever present,—that, in short, they had begun a new life as different from that out of which they had emerged as the sunshine on the top of the hill from the gloom of the abyss. Some may smile, some may sneer, some may acknowledge the truth dimly and forget it. To all we have one answer to give, couched in two very short words—“Try it.”

It is now almost universally admitted that the dissolution of the Bengal native army was caused, not by any inherent vice in the sepoy nature, or inevitable infidelity to its officers. The system broke down with a crash, but it had been infected with rottenness in every part for a lengthened period. There were faults in its original constitution, and they were aggravated from year to year by the obstinacy or blindness of its commanders, by injurious relaxation of discipline, by inefficient officers, by timid language, too often by weak concessions and indiscriminate adulation engendering self-conceit leading on to arrogance and presumption. The services it performed in the field were generally of the most insignificant description. General officers and brigadiers *now* freely express themselves on this long-forbidden subject. In truth, the native army of Bengal, with very partial exceptions, could not be relied upon in the field. Its conduct was often disgraceful, and at Chillianwalla especially its unsteadiness exposed the mere handful of British troops to the imminent peril of defeat. In the Cabul campaign, a whole regiment that had turned their backs at the first shot was shortly afterwards

seen decorated with medals to a man. It was held to be impolitic to tell the truth, and the officer who dared to publicly reveal it would probably have found his own services dispensed with in a very summary manner. Lord Clyde is reported to have recently declared, that he had often praised the conduct of the Bengal sepoys when he felt that they did not deserve it,—that such eulogy was according to form, and always expected at the seat of government. We lament the hard alternative of the distinguished commander, and we are sure that on no other occasion of his life have his expressed sentiments been in opposition to his convictions.¹

The source of this military inferiority was not so much in the native character as in the manner in which he had been treated. There are periods in the earlier history of India in which the military virtues of the Bengal sepoys shone with a brightness rivalling, and, on more than one occasion, even eclipsing those of the European soldier. Under able commanders, intelligent officers, and a strict discipline, they have performed all that could be desired of troops. The late lamented General Jacob is an instance of what one man with a knowledge of native character, can effect with the swarthy soldiers of India, when he has obtained the key to their hearts. Their loyalty to the Government could only be exceeded by their attachment to him; and the famous Scinde Horse would have felt imputation on their fidelity far more than a wound, and were ready at any moment to prove their devotion to the death.

We cannot follow in more detail Sir Henry Lawrence's recommendation for improving the *morale* and the material of a native army. His suggestions embrace a plan of opposing class to class, creed to creed, and interest to interest, not by a mixture of sects in each regiment, but by separate regiments, each consisting chiefly, though not entirely, of a single sect. The numerical strength of the European troops in India should never, he thinks, be less than one-fourth of the regular army, but should be always in the highest state of efficiency, and kept in a state of perfect readiness for action. With a view to this, Sir Henry Lawrence suggested, many years ago, that at least two-thirds of the European force required for India should be permanently located on the hills. The plan is now, we believe, being seriously entertained by the Indian Government, and is likely, in a few years, to be carried into full effect; and when we consider that one British recruit costs the country L.100, the policy is obvious, on merely pecuniary grounds, of economising human life, availing ourselves of those sources of health which India itself affords in its hill districts, and thereby maintaining the troops in a state

¹ See Russell's Diary.

of efficiency far greater than they could ever be if enervated by the heat of the plains and decimated by inevitable disease. It is almost incredible, that Chunar, the hottest rock in India, was permitted for years to be used as a station for European invalids. Now railroads are gradually making accessible the finest hill stations of India; and the Nielgherries, Dharjeding, Kussowlee, Mussourie, and Simla, will soon be as easily reached as they were formerly difficult of access. We shall then realize Hyder Ally's notion, and keep our Europeans in cages, ready to let slip on occasions of necessity.

There is one work of benevolence, which, as bearing on the well-being of the British soldier in India, it is impossible not to notice in connection with the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. It is the institution which bears his name and which owes its existence to his munificence. The Lawrence Asylum, located near Kussowlee, in the Himalayas, for the orphan and other children of British soldiers having served or serving in India, is now too well known to need either description or eulogy. It has placed a healthy climate, a sound moral training, and a good education, within the reach of every soldier's family in India, and the benefits are equally felt by the parents and the children. The one are relieved from all anxiety for the welfare of their offspring, and to the other are ensured a sound physical and intellectual development which could not otherwise be obtained, and which makes their services eagerly sought for, and well rewarded, in the various situations of life which are open to them as soon as their training is complete. This noble institution is doing much to increase the British element in India. It is, by its annual supply of vigorous and educated adults, gradually raising up a hardy race of colonists that must, at no distant day, greatly strengthen our position in India and materially influence its future. Since the death of its founder, and the consequent loss of a considerable portion of its revenue, we are happy to learn that the Government, in a spirit of the highest wisdom and beneficence, has taken upon itself the whole cost of its maintenance, fully adopted the views of its originator, and made it a public institution.¹

Prolific as India has been in great administrators, few ever effected so much, and in so short a time, as Sir Henry Lawrence in the province which he ruled. He was of that school of

¹ We give the following extract from the description of the asylum, and its results, by a gentleman who visited it:—"The personal appearance of the pupils, both male and female, really astonished me, suddenly arriving, as I did, from among the languid forms and pale faces of the southern plains. I felt as if I had dropped from the clouds, among groups of children, on the breezy, heathery slopes of the Grampians, they all looked so hale and stout, so imbued with athletic energy; while their round and chubby cheeks seemed to vie in glowing blushes with the freshest rose of summer.

public men, to whom expediency is strictly subordinated to justice. It was the confidence which his character inspired that made the task of pacification so easy in the Punjab; and no public officer probably ever existed in India, better qualified to represent the British nation, or to embody and show forth in his character and acts the spirit with which it is actuated towards the people of India. It is as the pacificator and regenerator of the Punjab, that the name of Lawrence will illustrate the recent history of British empire. His influence over the people was unbounded. His presence alone at Lahore, in 1847, seemed to check the refractory spirit of the Sikh soldiery. Fearless and confident, he went unattended among them attaching them by acts of kindness, and controlling them by the energy of his administration. His temporary absence in England proved the signal for disturbances, which brought him back to public life, but too late to avert the rebellion which ensued. The private virtues are the source of all public excellence. Those of Sir Henry Lawrence were as conspicuous as his services were great. Indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, he was a rigid exacter of "work" from all who held office under him. With a heart of feminine softness, and a tenderness for the feelings of others, that to more rugged natures sometimes almost assumed the appearance of weakness, he displayed an immovable firmness of purpose when he had to deal with tyranny or wrong. He was feared for his justice, quite as much as he was loved for his beneficence. In the highest part of his character, that of an earnest and consistent Christian, he was unsurpassed by any individual in India; and it may be long before we shall again see the skilful administrator, the military reformer, the sagacious statesman, and the active philanthropist so beautifully blended and usefully combined as in the eminent man whose services we have briefly sketched, and whose memory must always be held in the most reverential estimation, not only in the country which was the immediate sphere of his duties, but in that which has the honour to number him among her sons, and by the Empire whose interests he greatly contributed to advance, and whose true glory it was ever his highest ambition to promote.

ART. IV.—*Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines; together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices.* By Authority: JOHN FERRIS, Government Printer, Melbourne. 1859.

IN close alliance with the geographical element in human knowledge are several questions, the general solution of which is fitted to exercise a salutary influence on the progress of scientific inquiry, and the advancement of the highest interests of society. Of these questions, however, some of the most significant are peculiarly liable to neglect, partly because, at first sight, they seem trivial and superficial; but mainly, perhaps, because of the intrusive inroads of the logical faculty on the legitimate domain of the law of association, and the consequent depreciation, by minds of a certain order, of any method of intellectual culture that is apparently opposed to the claims of a rigorous dialectic.

That an exact answer to the question, in what direction do the principal rivers of a new country flow? cannot, of course, be received from any description, however faithful, of their characteristic fishes, or the plants that adorn their banks, is a proposition too obvious to require any detailed exposition. No such organic connection subsists between the naked phenomena of *locality* and *life*, as will allow any question regarding the former to be directly replied to by the latter.

From the stimulus, however, that is naturally imparted to the thoughtful explorer of any new region, by the presence of living forms, animal or vegetable, more especially if such are of a novel character, all questions regarding the strictly inorganic features of the district in which they occur cannot fail to assume an increase, alike of definiteness in form and urgency of import. In some vital respects, indeed, the manifold activities of life and growth,—of organic, rather than inorganic phenomena,—are a needful auxiliary to the distinct apprehension and serviceable remembrance of the merely visible bearings of the earth's surface, but especially of such portions of it as have not been directly submitted to the chain and theodolite of the surveyor.

And in this view both of the desirable excitement and the associative links of thought that are supplied by the presence of life, in its relation to the definition of the mere geography of a country, the most minute and trivial portions of a thoughtful traveller's observations assume no mean or transient importance. Attaching a positive value to the smallest fragments of fact, and even to their most limited engagements of the suggestive faculty of thought, the shrewd inquirer into the local arrangements of

nature, as presented to the eye, in different regions, will promptly accept illustrations, however faint and remote, of his determining principles of inquiry. He will not, for example, peremptorily refuse to appreciate the feelings of a venerable judge in former days, whose lively botanical predilections were wont occasionally to exceed the due limits of senatorial self-restraint; because, in that delighted twinkle of the eye, when, as on one occasion, he unexpectedly beheld from his carriage-window a pre-eminently handsome specimen of the common harebell, a silent but emphatic expression of his having acquired a more distinct knowledge of the surrounding district, was unconsciously implied. In that sharply realised habitat of that very simple plant, for the first time, a clue to far wider relations in the organic and inorganic constitution of the environing landscape had been indirectly vouchsafed.

Nor, if the subtle bonds of sympathy, that, winding in mystic mazes through the thoughts of the poet, link together in fertile union the inward law of interpretation with the outward facts of observation, be recognised as of legitimate influence in the structure of true knowledge, will the following brief narrative of a summer noon's walk be devoid of instruction as to the suggestive nature of living things, when viewed in the light of stepping-stones to a more intelligible acquaintance with the visible scenes in which they occur, and a more enlarged conception of the landscape of which such scenes form a part.

"When," remarks the Rev. Perceval Graves, in a charming letter to Mr Woodward in *Archer Butler's Life*, "we reached the side of Loughrigtarn (which you may remember Wordsworth notes for its similarity, in the peculiar character of its beauty, to the Lago de Nemi, *Dianæ Speculum*), the loveliness of the scene arrested our steps and fixed our gaze. The splendour of a July noon surrounded us and lit up the landscape, with the Langdale Pikes soaring above, and the bright tarn shining beneath; and when the poet's eyes were satisfied with their feast on the beauty familiar to them, they sought relief in the search, to them a happy vital habit, for new beauty in the flower-enamelled turf at his feet. There his attention was attracted by a fair, smooth stone of the size of an ostrich's egg, seeming to imbed at its centre, and, at the same time, to display a dark star-shaped fossil of most distinct outline. Upon closer inspection, this proved to be the shadow of a daisy projected upon it with extraordinary precision, by the intense light of an almost vertical sun."

But, moreover, in recognising the importance of organic forms—the characteristic mammal or bird, or attractive blossom of a prevailing tree—in relation to man's more definite and memorable acquaintance with the superficial features of any region, it is also

deserving of special remark, that, in submission to the laws of the inorganic phenomena of nature, living beings constantly receive lasting impressions from these, and are moulded by them into various impressive forms. It is, indeed, impossible so to analyse the history of any one species of animal or plant, as to trace the sources of its specific colours, or describe the causes of the different proportions of the raw materials of organic or inorganic chemistry, that in different parts of the earth enter into its manifold tissues. Of the many formative influences of life, however, when selecting the appropriate materials as they exist in a crude form, that unique force quietly transforms them into novel shapes—giving to the eye its characteristic pigment, to the muscle its fibre, to the nerve its sheath, and to the bone its cells—every man, who at any time asks himself the simplest questions regarding his own flesh and blood, is fully aware. While, in the presence of *life*, accordingly, there is a stimulus to the better knowledge of *locality*, in the material phenomena, also, of a country, there are, to some extent, the means of interpreting living forms. Man, for example, is not only the creature of animal causes—nutrition, growth, decay—he is also the result of a daily inorganic synthesis. The living soul, on which no physical agency can exert any direct effect, and which, amidst the ceaseless transformations of dead matter around it, is ever consciously the same, is the tenant of the dust, and the neighbour of corruption.

In judging, therefore, of the manifold varieties in which man's animal life makes itself known, in different regions of the world, it is of vital importance to be ever on the watch to form a due estimate of the influence exerted on their respective structures and functions by the inorganic phenomena amidst which they were originally produced, and by which they have been gradually moulded. Anything, of course, like a complete explanation of the manifold causes of the present condition of any one aspect of the human family, or of the extent to which the primary type has been affected by the agency of the essential laws of matter, during the vast periods of time that have elapsed since its creation, is obviously impossible. Why the Ugrian stock of man, for example, should embrace within it the Lap and the Magyar, between whom very wide differences indeed obtain, both physically and morally, is a question for the solution of which no more sufficient materials can be had, than for the explanation of the common descent of the Caucasian and Oceanic varieties from the first parents of our race. But in the view of giving to the reader such an impressive view of physical and moral extremes in the various races of man, as may tend to enhance the importance of an inquiry into the influences of geographical distribution

upon the latter, we give the following extracts, which are not more instructive than suggestive, from Dr Latham's "Varieties of the Human Race:"—

"The Western Ugrians consist of the Laplanders, the Finlanders, the Pamians, Siranians, and Votiaks of the Russian governments of Perm, Vologda, and Viatka; the Tsheremiss, the Mordvins, the Tshuvash, on the Middle Volga; the Voguls and Ostiaks on the ridge of the Ural mountains, and along the rivers Obi and Yenesey, and finally the Majiars of Hungary. Between the extreme types there are broad differences, *e.g.*, between the Laps and Majiars. So there is in respect to their social and intellectual histories.

"In regard to physical form, the Ugrians are light-haired rather than dark,—many of them are red-haired. This is the first stock where the colour has, in any notable proportion, been other than dark.

"The Majiars of Hungary belong to the Ugrian stock,—a fact which has long been known to philologues, but which is not sufficiently flattering to the Majiar pride to be willingly admitted. So, however, it is. But as the Majiars are outlyers, having conquered Hungary from the southern part of the Uralian Mountains, they lie beyond the true Ugrian area, just as the Osmanli of Rumelia lie beyond the Turks. Laying aside, however, the Majiars, the Ugrian stock extends far southwards, and far westward as well,—to Lapland in the latter direction, to the *Mordvin* country in the former. Now, the Mordvins occupy parts of the Russian governments of Karan, Saratov, Simbirsk, and Tambov. So that the Ugrians extend as far south as the latitude of Lombardy and Piedmont—Northern Italy; thence to the Arctic circle, as aforesaid.

"The northernmost portions of the Ugrian area are *tundras*. Here the inhabitants are nomadic, with the rein-deer for their domestic animal. They live, too, in tents. Elsewhere, however, the Ugrian dwells in houses, and tills the soil. The tribal organization grows less prominent as we advance westwards. The steppe gives way to the forest, for alluvial tracts, thickly wooded, are occupied by the various Ugrian populations along the whole of the upper and middle Volga. There are no great mountains in the Ugrian area; the most considerable range being that of the Uralians, between Europe and Asia. These are cold and inhospitable; not because they attain any great elevation, but because they run far towards the north, and lie far inland. Their occupants are the Voguls, a population of hunters in the country of the bear, the beaver, the glutton, and the elk,—hunters of the *forest* rather than of the *prairie* or open country.

"As hunters of the extra-tropical forest rather than the open country, the Voguls are the most northern tribes of the world—as hunters of game rather than as fishers. This last is what their neighbours are—the Ostiaks of the rivers Obi and Yenisey. Contrast these two tribes with their neighbours of the south and west—with the Ugrians of the leveller country, and the alluvial soils on the Viatka and Rama—and we see the difference between a life of agriculture and a life of venatorial activity. The size of the villages gives

us the means of comparison. With the Voguls, the villages consist of some five or ten huts, made of poles, branches, bark, or skins, with a distance between them of not less than ten or twelve miles ; so much free space being necessary to the sustenance of the hunter. The Tsheremiss villages number from thirty to forty houses. The Tshuvash are larger still.

“ The Vogul and Ostiak are undersized, even as compared with the agricultural tribes—not, however, as compared with those of the tundras. Their face is eminently Mongol ; so much so, that the eminent geographer Malte Brun, has allowed himself to believe that they are a ‘ Kalmuc population, conquered at some far back period by the Hungarians, who imposed upon them their language.’ No philologue, however, assents to this. The Voguls are the more Mongol of the two.

“ The word *Hungarian* introduces a new series of facts. It is to these venatorial and piscatorial Ugrians—these Voguls of the Uralian ridge, and these Ostiaks of the lower Obi—that the Majiars of Hungary are the most closely allied, at least in language. How is this explained ? That the Majiars are an intrusive population, who invaded Europe from the north-east, in the tenth century, is a matter of history. That their original country was the southern part of the Urals, is a matter of almost equal certainty. If so, they were the third branch of a Uralian division of the Ugrian stock, whereof the Voguls and Ostiaks were the other two. But their habits have changed. So have those of the Ugrians of Vologda and Viatka, who were once hunters like the Vogul, but are now tillers of the soil like the Finlander and the Esthonian.

“ To the character of the Majiars of the tenth century, when they won their present quarters, let the old chronicle writers give their testimony :—‘ Out of the aforesaid parts of Scythia did the nation of the Hungarians, very savage, and more cruel than any wild beast,—a nation that some years ago was not even known by name,—when pressed upon by the neighbouring people of the name of Petshinegs, come down upon us ; for the Petshinegs were strong, both in numbers and valour, and their own soil was not sufficient to sustain them. From the violence of these the Hungarians fled, to seek some other lands that they might occupy, and to fix their settlements elsewhere. So they said *Farewell* to their old country. At first they wandered over the solitudes of the Pannonians and Avars, seeking their daily sustenance from the chase, and by fishing. Then they broke in upon the boundaries of the Carinthians, Moravians, and Bulgarians, with frequent attacks. *Very few did they slay with the sword—many thousands with their arrows*, which they shot with such skill, from bows made of horn, that it was scarcely possible to guard against them. This manner of warfare was dangerous in proportion as it was unusual. The only difference between the Hungarian manner of fighting and that of the Britons (*sic*), is, that the former use arrows, the latter darts.’ Again : ‘ They never knew the ways of either a town or a dwelling, and they never fed upon the fruits of human labour until they came to that

part of Russia which is called Susudal. Till then, their food was flesh and fish. Their youths were hunting every day; hence, from that day to this, the Hungarians are better skilled than other nations in the chase.'

"Looking solely at the physical conditions of this area, and remembering that he belongs to the most northerly group on the face of the earth, we may place the country of the Ugrians amongst the more favoured portions of the extra-tropical world. The oak and lime grow in its southern parts; the fir and birch extend beyond the Arctic circle in the northern. There is abundance, too, of mineral wealth. Nevertheless, the Ugrian population is scanty, fragmentary, and dependent. It lies between two stocks eminent for their aggressive character,—the Turk on the east, the Russian on the west. For this reason there is only one country where the stock is well represented, and that is, the Duchy of Finland. In the Duchy of Finland alone, about one-half of the whole Ugrian population is contained. Here, and in Esthonia, we find the Ugrians, for the first time, in contact with a practicable sea; for the Arctic Ocean, which washes the seaboard of the Laps and Siberians, can scarcely be taken into account as an instrument of civilisation. But the Baltic connects the Western Ugrians with the nations that best represent European civilisation,—the German and the Swedes. Here, though the physical conditions of soil and climate are but indifferent, the social development of the Ugrian stock attains its best development; better, however, in Finland than Esthonia.

"The Northern Finlanders come in contact with the more southern Laps; the relations between the two divisions being of interest. In language they are liker than in bodily organization and habits. On the other hand, the bodily organization of the Lap is more like that of the Samoyed than is his language. Hence, the evidence of the two tests, or criteria—the anatomical and philological—differs.

"I believe, however, that the difference is greater in appearance than in reality; inasmuch as, at one time, the Laps were extended much further south than at present, and that on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Thus they covered nearly the whole of Norway and Sweden,—some say the *whole*. This was, of course, before the forefathers of the present Finlanders moved northwards, and before the forefathers of the present Norwegians and Swedes did so. As the one encroached, the other retreated. This is the history of the weaker families of mankind all the world over. But this is not all. Wherever two families of strongly contrasted frames and habits are brought into close geographical juxtaposition, and there is no corresponding change of the physical conditions of their respective areas, there has always been encroachment and intrusion on the one side or the other; on the side of the more southern population of the two, when the area is Arctic or Sub-Arctic, or the side of the more northern of the two when the area is Tropical or Sub-Tropical. Now, the result of such encroachments is the obliteration of transitional and intermediate forms. That the Finlander has encroached on the Lap is a matter of history; that he continues to do so is a matter of observation.

“As the eastern Ugrians are amongst the most American of the Asiatics, the western are amongst the most European.”

Now, keeping in view the ceaseless drafts made by man's complex nature on inorganic matter, and the transforming laws to which that is subject,—the vital, chemical, electrical laws,—for the supply of physical stamina, sensational impressions, and the exciting occasions of pure thought, the reflections promoted by the foregoing extracts cannot fail to prove of much significance and fruitfulness as to their legitimate issue. Questions manifold will ever come forth, almost unbidden, and importunately demand at least a partial reply. Why is it, for instance, that, as Captain Beechey informs us, in the same Archipelago of Amphinesia, the darker skins are found in those tribes that inhabit the lower and coralline islands, while in the occupants of higher and volcanic islands lighter skins prevail? And why, in allied divisions of the same stock of men, do crisp, short, dense locks, characterize one section, while in another, a loose, lank, thin, style of hair, seems to be a permanent feature; and is there any direct connection between the prominent rocks and plants of a country, and the kind or quantity of bone, nerve, or colour, that obtains in its living inhabitants, in plants, beast, and man? Is there any basis, in fact, for the inference that, in Great Britain, the light and dark eye in man prevails or declines in proportion as the prevailing rocks of the district belong to the Carboniferous or Silurian series?

But we must now request the attention of the reader to the many illustrations, direct and suggestive, of not a few of these inviting questions that are supplied by the various instructive statements of a purely ethnological character, embodied in the Report which we have selected as the groundwork of this paper.

As the circumstances in which this document had its origin, will be found peculiarly interesting to such readers as studiously mark the vital, though indirect, effects of well-guided scientific inquiries on the highest interests of mankind, it may be well to explain these as communicated by the Hon. Thomas M'Combie, the Convener of the Select Committee appointed by the Legislative Council of Victoria to inquire into the condition of the Aborigines:—

“Some time ago,” Mr M'Combie remarks, in the initial words of a communication, on the Aborigines of Victoria, to the Ethnological Section of the British Association met at Aberdeen, “the Ethnological Section forwarded to me at Melbourne, Victoria, a printed list of queries in reference to races likely to become extinct. I was requested to reply to all, or at any rate to such as might be suitable to the position, or bear on the character, of the Australian aborigines.

“In order that the subject might receive full justice, and have the

widest possible attention, I moved for and obtained a Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria, of which I was elected chairman. This Committee was granted not merely to gain all the information which could be acquired regarding them, but also to devise some means of improving their condition, and providing for their wants. In addition to the reception of evidence from a number of competent witnesses, questions were framed and widely circulated, and replies received from a large number of persons scattered over the interior. I was also favoured with the assistance of Dr Becker and Mr Soyer to obtain diagrams of aboriginal heads, which were skilfully engraved, and beautiful prints have been added to the report and evidence. I have, moreover, attached to this document two complete grammars of the aboriginal language, an account of the Poonindie School, and various other documents."

To the admirable manner in which Mr M'Combie and his committee have accomplished their design, every page of this Report affords distinct and full testimony. A most instructive record of the wide aims and benevolent spirit of its authors, it is also replete with information, equally significant and pathetic, of the extreme degradation and the intensely rapid disappearance of the black man of Australia.

In briefly noticing some of the more prominent topics of ethnological import that are either expressly explained or are naturally suggested by references and hints of a more occasional nature in the pages of this valuable document, we shall have regard, though not exclusively, to their bearing on the higher interests of that unhappy race that forms the special subject of the Report.

To one or two preliminary sentences, however, of a more general kind, in explanation of the physical geography, the relations, organic and inorganic, of the Oceanic Archipelago, it will be needful to solicit the sustained attention of the reader; because not a few of the most instructive results of a careful investigation of the early history of the original inhabitants of Australia, in the more restricted meaning of the term, imply rather intricate processes of special study, and a nice adjustment of numerous details of fact.

In thoughtfully passing the eye, then, over any map allowing at once an entire view of the three groups, into which the vast assemblage of islands—to which some geographers have given the name of Oceanica—and which are situated between the 24th parallel of north and the 50th of south latitude, and between 92° east and 109° west longitude, it will, we believe, be felt, even by the most prosaic persons, to be no merely idle trick of fancy, to conjecture that they are the fragments of a former continent or continents.

For, not to dwell at any length on the impressive circumstance

that the mountain chains exhibit a very marked polarity of arrangement, we would point to another fact, no less expressive of physical continuity throughout the Archipelago, that the axis of the great mountain range, which, rising in Van Diemen's Land, and then passing out of sight beneath the waters of Bass' Strait, once more rears its noble summits in the Australian Alps, is geologically extended into the southern coast of New Guinea. Whilst, moreover, evidences of convulsion by the agency of volcanoes arrest the eye of the speculative navigator at various points throughout these widespread islands, it is, at the same time, impossible for him to trace the outlines, more especially of the larger masses of land, without acknowledging that an incalculable amount of abrading and dislocating pressure has been excited upon them by the surrounding seas.

In the floras, also, of Australia, Papua, and New Zealand, there are specially close alliances; while, in still more remote members of the same vast insular aggregate, the obvious representation of one kindred genus of plants by another, is indicative of important conclusions respecting their common origin and uniform diffusion.

And, in leaving conjectures regarding the causes of similarities, more or less marked, in the distribution of animal and plant life over islands more or less divided, throughout the wide area of the Australasian seas, for inquiries as to the different races of man, in connection with the higher animals, that when wild contribute to his daily food, or when domesticated promote his social prosperity and comfort, there are many circumstances in his condition, both as regards other vital phenomena, and their necessary relations to prevailing kinds of inorganic matter, that seem to indicate a common origin and a similar diffusion. Of the means, indeed, by which these vast groups of islands were prepared for the reception of their various living occupants, their now prevailing animals and plants, and especially for the appearance of man, history cannot, of course, afford any explanation. It is obviously vain to ask questions where several answers are all equally probable, or where, because of a prevailing obscurity, almost no room whatever is left for conjecture. At the same time, it does not appear to exceed the limits of legitimate inference regarding the present physical and moral features of the existing human aborigines of Oceanica, to ascribe to their hereditary circumstances of various soils and climates, and to an intensely promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—that naturally inducing a profound disturbance of the better conditions of offspring, is also a too sure preparative for fatal familiarity with imported forms of vice—whatever departures from a common type may exist among them.

As existing, moreover, within the historic period, and included in that class of facts, from the explanation of which, considerations of important results in man, through the agency of inorganic laws, are commonly excluded, certain points of agreement in the languages of the Archipelago form an influential complement to the impressive indications of a common origin, not only in the physical structure of the islands, but also in their original living tenants, to which we already adverted. Because it is deserving of special remark, that, deep and massive though the obscurity be that invests the general history of these languages, it is in some measure needful to the most likely explanation of any one of them, that they be conjecturally grouped together by the comparative philologist, in almost entirely the same order as that by which the geographer and naturalist are theoretically led to associate the islands and their natural productions.

But, in the view of affording the most authoritative elucidation of these views within our reach, we submit to the careful study of the reader another valuable extract from Dr Latham.

“The Oceanic Group.—*Area*: the Peninsula of Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and the chain ending in Timor and Rotti; Borneo, and the chain leading to the Philippines; the Bashi and Babyani Isles; Formosa, Celebes, and the Moluccas; the islands between Timor and New Guinea; Madagascar.

“*Divisions*: Amphinesian and Kelænesian.

“The Peleu Isles and Lord North’s Isle; Micronesia (*i.e.*, the Caroline and Marianne Islands).

“Polynesia (*i.e.*, the Navigators’, Society, Friendly, Marquesan, and Sandwich Island groups); Easter Island and New Zealand.

“The Fiji Islands.

“New Guinea, and the islands to the east thereof (*i.e.*, Louisiade Archipelago, etc.); Tanna, New Caledonia.

“Tasmania (Van Diemen’s Land).

“Australia.

“*Language*: Agglutinate rather than monosyllabic, when Amphinesian, with patent and recognised affinities to the Malay; when Kelænesian, with Malay affinities fewer, more obscure, and only partially recognised.

“*Physiognomy*: when Amphinesian, more brown (or yellow) than black, also more Mongol than Negro; when Kelænesian, more black than brown (or yellow), and as much Negro as Mongol.”

But we must now leave these general views, and proceed to the more detailed explanations that are demanded by our present design.

According to the information contained in the most recent

maps, the colony of Victoria lies between the parallels of 34° and 39° south, and the meridians of 141° and 150°. It embraces an area of 98,000 square miles. Southward, its winding boundary extends from Cape Howe on the east, to the mouth of the river Glenelg on the west, and is washed by 900 miles of sea. Its northern frontier is skirted throughout almost its entire extent by the great waters of the Murray, to which the rivers Loddon, Goulburn, and Ovens, with numerous other smaller streams descending in a northerly direction from the leading water-sheds in the interior of the colony, largely contribute. Generally, the climate is mild and pleasant, though, at certain seasons of the year, dry parching winds from the north prevail. As first beheld by its earliest explorers, the widespread plains of luxuriant grass, dotted by shady groves of trees, suggested its earlier name of Australia Felix. Remarkably free from brushwood, the surface allows an immediate introduction of tillage as well as cattle, and thus presents a marked contrast to the primitive state of almost all other colonies; a circumstance which has not been overlooked by those writers who have described its peculiar advantages as a settlement.

In the words of Mr Westgarth, "Victoria, and indeed Australia generally, has been, by the natural features of the country, more favoured than most others of our colonial settlements, as regards that preliminary physical drudgery of every new country by which colonial society is long withheld, more or less, from the higher aspects of refinement and civilisation. The beauties of cultivation presented almost everywhere throughout England, as we rapidly traverse by modern modes of travel; the varied surface of our noble country; the alternate port and garden; the every aspect of the arts and appliances of man,—represented the accumulated achievements of human toil, graduated over centuries since the age when the forest, the bog, and the morass formed the conspicuous features. If we transfer our view to the backwoods of America, we perceive the recommencement, as it were, of the same labour, and a society depressed in its outward aspects by the daily sweat and toil in which it is continually immersed. But the free grassy surface of a great part of Australia, ready made for the plough, has overstepped a long age of such customary colonial toil, and saved her fortunate sons from a century of physical warfare."

Of the aboriginal possessors of this colony—if any such term as possession may be used where occupation of the soil is so fluctuating and uncertain—and of the changes that have occurred since their earliest introduction into it, no materials of history exist. In so far, however, as the earliest records of Australian

discovery seem entitled to reliance, the natives of Victoria, so long as they have been known to intelligent observers, may generally be described in the words first applied to the natives of other parts of the continent.

When Dampier landed, in January 1688, on the coast of New Holland, he found the natives sunk in the most abject physical and moral degradation. Destitute alike of houses and clothing, they were also ignorant of the most common forms of religion and government. Nor, while making all legitimate allowance for misconceptions, arising from inadequate knowledge of the true intellectual and moral condition of the Australian black, on the part of the earlier navigators and explorers, can a much more flattering description be given of him at the present day. He is still one of the most abnormal specimens of the human family.

Physically, the aborigines of Victoria, like the other sad decaying remnants of their race in other parts of Australia, are not only misshapen in outline, owing to the marked disproportion between the cranium and the limbs, but they are also characterized by a very great deficiency of bone throughout the skeleton generally. On the extreme frontiers of degraded humanity, their osseous system is evidently dying out. In sharp contrast to the ascending ratio of the endo-skeleton in the upward scale of animal life, according to the most philosophical, because the most natural arrangement of the animal kingdom, the chemical proportions of the solid textures of the body in the native Australian seem to be steadily diminishing.

Let us take, in the way of eliminating this special point, the Australian style of head as shown by the "skull of King John, a chief of the Adelaide tribe," which is given in an appendix to the Report, and which, according to Dr Ludwig Barker, is a typical character of the Australian race. In its parietal diameter it measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in the occipito frontal $7\frac{1}{2}$, and in the width of forehead between the temples $3\frac{3}{4}$. In every view—profile, front face, as seen from behind, and also from above—it is eminently the brain-case of a savage of the lowest and weakest form. The jaws are strongly marked by that peculiar prolongation or extension forward, that prevails also among the most degraded of the African nations, though the heads of the latter have their characteristic differences. In its superior segment, the cranium is of a pyramidal form. In front, when regarded on the upper surface, it is as remarkable for attenuation in breadth as it is for the direct aspect of the frontal sinus. Nor, when viewed in relation to intellectual capacity, do such inferior measures of accommodation for the use of the brain greatly belie the miserable native of Australia.

"If a line," remarks Professor Owen, "be drawn from the occipital condyle along the floor of the nostrils, and be intersected by a second touching the most prominent parts of the forehead and upper jaw, the intercepted angle gives, in a general way, the proportions of the cranial cavity and the grade of intelligence; it is called the facial angle. In the dog this angle is 20° , in the great chimpanzee, or gorilla, it is 40° , but the prominent super-orbital ridge occasions some exaggeration; in the Australian it is 85° , in the European it is 95° . The ancient Greek artists adopted, in their *beau ideal* of the beautiful and intellectual, an angle of 100° ."

And on a comparison of their countenances and figures, when we take the *soft* parts of the frame which have their own distinct function in the expression of man's nature, as well as the *bony*, a similar result, as may naturally be expected, comes strongly out. In seeking for a test, we need not go higher in the scale of man than what is presented in a good specimen of the Hindoo.

What more truly picturesque, and in certain aspects beautiful in contour, than the features and bust of Ram Ruttun, a Brahman, and secretary of Ram Mohun Roy, as given by Dr Prichard in his "Natural History of Man." In the want of high serene repose, indeed, or, to use perhaps more exact terms, in the deep, strong, fiery passions that will not be concealed by the best-wrought veil of a purely Indian culture, the grand primary expressions of human elevation—an earnest thoughtfulness, simple affection, and humility—are painfully wanting. Most unmistakeably, however, it is one of the children of men, though widely distant from the highest ideal of our kind that is before the eye, in these Eastern outlines and hues, the regular features, the dolikho kephalic head, and the brunette rather than black skin. Nor, when estimating Ram Ruttun's ethnographic position, even from the elevated point of view peculiar to the most highly refined inhabitants of Western Europe, can any obstacles be experienced to such a judgment of the manifold sources of the physical and moral modifications of the human species, as will admit of a secure assent to the inference, that in the osseous framework of the face, the peculiar shape as well as markings of the eye, the mould of the lips, and the characteristic set of the head on the shoulders, the identification of their possessor with the other descendants of one single pair, in the beginning of time, is alike simple and just. These unique features, obviously, can only be scientifically explained by associating him with the other members of that sole genus among mammalia, of which there is but a single species.

In another part, however, of his great work, Prichard illustrates the extent to which strong and repulsive contrasts in physical form and features may prevail in different races. Two Australian natives of King George's Sound, as figured by M. D'Urville in his great atlas, are set before us at page 355. Attenuated in bulk, and weak in outline, almost to marked deformity, there is also a very strong disproportion in the size of the head and the limbs. A painful resemblance to the *Cretin* at once arrests the eye, and painfully affects the heart with the conviction, that nowhere else on the earth does man so obviously indicate in his skeleton—its amount and quality of bone—in his relaxed caste of muscular development, abject mould of features, and entire style, a fatal tendency to extinction.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that legitimate as such conclusions seem to us to be, opinions by no means so derogatory to the *physiognomy of the Australian black man* are entertained by writers fully entitled to use words of authority on this point. It is, for example, in the following terms that Pickering describes those natives whom he personally saw:—

“About thirty Australians came under my own observation, who neither had the lips so uniformly thick, nor the nose so much depressed, as in the Negro; but in certain instances both nose and mouth were wider. Some individuals were of surpassing ugliness, while others, contrary to all anticipation, had the face decidedly fine, and several of the young women had a very pleasing expression of countenance. The general form, though sometimes defective, seemed, on the average, better than that of the Negro; and I did not find the undue slenderness of limb which has been commonly attributed to the Australians. Strange as it may appear, I would refer to an Australian as the finest model of the human proportions I have ever met with; in muscular development combining perfect symmetry, activity, and strength, while his head might have compared with an antique bust of a philosopher.”

Mr M'Combie also, in his paper on the Aborigines of Victoria, read at a recent meeting of the British Association, while expressing his full concurrence in these strong opinions of Pickering, at the same time expressed himself as follows:—“The Australian aborigines are active, strongly-formed, and stately.”

On this opposition of sentiment, however, we will not enlarge, there being but few data embraced by the report that seem to us to lend any material support to more flattering conclusions than such as have been expressed by other observers. We will merely subjoin the following table of relative physical proportions, leaving the reader to form his own estimate of its import

and value. It was laid before the select committee by Mr Strutt:—

Name.	Weight.			Height.			Measures round the Chest.	
	Stone.	lbs.		Feet.	In.		Feet.	In.
Daniel	10	0	.....	5	7½	.....	2	10
Johnny Johnny ...	10	0	.....	5	5	.....	2	10
Billy	8	0	.....	5	4½	.....	2	8
Jack.....	9	4	.....	5	4	.....	2	8½
Larry	10	10	.....	5	8½	.....	3	0½
Billy Toole.....	10	0	.....	5	4½	.....	3	0½
Murray	10	0	.....	5	6½	.....	2	11½
King John	11	12	.....	5	9½	.....	3	1
Flora	9	0	.....	4	10½	.....	3	2

No other woman could be persuaded to be weighed or measured.

Generally, as may naturally be anticipated, the black man of Victoria, in common with all the other tribes of his race, and the savage universally, is marked intellectually by a very great disproportion between his perceptive and reflective faculties. On this subject the following graphic delineation, by Mr M'Combie, of the general accuracy of which the Report generally supplies many interesting confirmations, will prove interesting to our readers:—

“They are exceedingly quick and keen, their minds resembling rather a treasure which has been sealed up than a vacuum. Their perceptive faculties are of the very highest order, according to my own observation and all the evidence which I have been able to collect on the subject; but they have a great want in their reflective faculties. In imitating their civilised brethren, in mimicking, in drawing rude figures and likenesses of objects, they are very happy. If you examine a picture with one of these untutored children of nature, you would be astonished at his observations; not an outline escapes his flashing eye. In most of the rude arts with which a race so isolated could have become acquainted, they are perfect. In throwing the spear and boomerang, they are quite inimitable. The latter well-known weapon displays a greater amount of ingenuity than the world can boast of; and our most scientific countrymen have not been able to master the principle upon which its strange gyrations are guided. In shooting with any kind of firearms, and in managing horses, the aborigines shame civilised men by their expertness. Their quickness in pursuing game, or tribes with whom they are at war, is worthy of remark. They can detect the proximity of game with unerring correctness: they will creep after a kangaroo for miles; during the time that the glance of the animal is toward them, those in pursuit are like so many statues,—the trees around them are not to appearance more destitute of volition. By slow degrees they near the game, and the hunter, securely concealed behind a favouring tree, takes deadly aim

with his spear, and lays the monarch of the Australian forest low. Their aim is quite as accurate with the boomerang; thrown in the opposite direction, it returns unerringly, and hits the intended object."

Several inferences of vital import will, we doubt not, promptly suggest themselves to every thoughtful reader of this passage, not only as regards the educational necessities of these aborigines, but also with respect to certain grave defects in the culture, even of the most highly civilised communities. Why, for example, it may be asked, is there so ripe an education of the observational senses in the untutored savage, who enjoys no opportunities of intellectual improvement, when some men of high philosophic reason and ample furniture of thought, are so often almost entirely destitute of a capacity for seeing what they look at? Is it not humiliating to witness how little an almost absolute imbecility in judging of the most familiar products of air, earth, and sea, tends to affect the conscience or lowers the pretensions even of some of the teachers of mankind? What a marked contrast between the dull senses of such men, and the highly educated eye of the roaming savage, of whom Campbell in former days so sweetly sang—

"Then forth uprose that lone wayfaring man;
But dauntless he, nor chart, nor journey's plan
For woods required; whose trained eye was keen
As eagle of the wilderness, to scan
His path, by mountain, swamp, or deep ravine,
Or ken far friendly huts on far savannas green."

"If," as that most memorable man, the late Dr John Fleming, whose special mission and faculty as a teacher so few of our modern guides in theological science seem to understand or care to imitate, used to say, "I can promote the education of the eye, if I can help those that have eyes so to use them as to see objects in nature on more sides than one, I shall not have lived in vain." Is it not, however, much to be feared that many, of whom, to use the solemn accents of a regret, that in their deeper tones are far more of heaven than earth, "better things might be hoped for," are, in the service of intellect in its most extreme forms, either of a misty latitudinarianism or bat-eyed bigotry, greatly insensible to the valid worth of any such high accomplishment of the senses in happy union with the reason as would enable them to detect, for example, the tiny moss or lichen on the old wall coping, discern truly the characteristics of a chaffinch or a wren, or admire the exquisite memorials at their feet of bygone ages, in the sweet simplicity of the *Pachypteris* or the symmetrical leafage of the *Sphenopteris*? Surely in vain will men

discourse of the claims of philosophy, or speculate on the reconciliations of the outward with the inward, of faith with knowledge, or of the deep chords of the soul that link together things "unseen and eternal" with the obligations of "things seen and temporal," if they are content to leave one half of their nature as sterile of good as are the ashes that are cast out into the sea from the furnace of a steam engine. All truth is divine. All truth therefore, is fitted and designed, in its lower as well as higher discoveries, to transform the nature of man into its own lustrous and holy image. From the subtle, divining, and most certain eye and ear even of an Australian savage, the man of advanced Western civilisation may learn some wholesome lessons regarding the disadvantages of a one-sided culture; because it is only when in submission to the ample and methodical discipline of the senses, in a genial union of subordination with the intellectual functions of order, interpretation, plastic development, and rule, that man can be truly said to know anything to good purpose in the world around him. And then only, with our greatest national poet—an illustrious type of a many-sided soul—he may say—

"What a mental power
This eye shoots forth! How big imagination
Moves in this lip! To the dumbness of the gesture
One might interpret."

At the same time, however, no truly thoughtful ethnologist will fail to perceive, that, however remarkable the sensational energies of the wild man, in any region, may be, the superiority of these serve all the more powerfully to bring out in dark and terrible relief the abject weakness and famine of the higher powers of his spiritual being.

This defect in the capacity of a higher style of thought than is implied in the efforts of the merely practical understanding, is evinced with peculiar significance in their inaptitude for arithmetic. "Mr Thomas," says Mr M'Combie, "the guardian of the aborigines for the colony of Victoria, who has studied them most attentively for many years, said—The female children are not so quick as the male in learning: both sexes can learn to read and write, but make no figure in arithmetic; they soon learn to sing, and get by heart poetry, and repeat pieces. They like oral instruction in geography, and knowledge of maps; they are very quick. An aboriginal boy at the Normal School of Sydney took the first prize for geography two succeeding years, but the master said he was stupidly dull in arithmetic."

Do any of our readers feel inclined to ask the question, Why this marked contrast of a ready mind for geographical knowledge in the native Australian in union with a marked incapacity for

arithmetic? The reply may be given by means of another question. Does not the fact of that lively state of the faculties of perception, for which he is so conspicuous—for example, of the eye that so shrewdly measures distances and so exactly discriminates objects—at once explain his ready use of the map or globe? And is not the *concrete* a main material of geographical knowledge, into the rudiments of which the wanderings of the homeless nomade are a special means of initiation?

In regard to numbers, however, the case is widely different. "The use of numerals at all," remarks Dr Donaldson in his "New Cratylus," page 185, "is an abstraction, and one of the highest kind; it is stripping things of all their sensible properties, and considering them as merely relations of number, as members of a series, as perfectly general relations of place." However, then, indicative of the inferior nature of the capacity for abstract thought in the aborigines of Australia this marked defect of an arithmetical sense is—and nothing can more palpably evince such inferiority—there is, after all, no such great disparity at this point, if their unhappy lot be fairly estimated, between the young black and the children of more highly favoured races, as should render it unprofitable even for the most abstract thinkers of the age to revert occasionally with gratitude to their own sharp experience of perplexity and cumber in their earliest efforts to master the multiplication table. But as regards their improvability in intelligence by suitable methods of instruction and training, severely conflicting though some portions of the evidence are, it would be equally unjust and painful to have any serious doubts. If, indeed, as one or two of the witnesses seem to believe, a speedy extinction of the whole race is their natural and proper destiny, because of their generic inferiority to what are termed "the superior races," and if all efforts, however wisely made, to lead them to the cross of Christ, and the transforming baptism of the Holy Spirit, must, because of inherent physical obstructions in their mental constitution, prove of no avail, none but the most gloomy predictions regarding all endeavours to improve them, may be expected from the lips even of the most benevolent and reasonable men. If, moreover, a desponding spirit in the hearts of those who have higher views of the aborigines excited by painful disappointments originating in their unsettled habits generally, and their deep-rooted tendency, even at the distance of years, to relapse into the native style of life, is encouraged, while it does constitute a claim to sympathy and earnest intercession for Divine strength and comfort, it cannot expect any measure of vindication on the part of those who believe in the Divine power of Christ's presence with His Church

in all ages, and the eternal validity of His hallowed counsel and purpose of mercy to men of all nations. All such theoretical notions, however, as have been referred to, with every gloomy feeling, natural though it be in such trying circumstances, are happily of no authority in dealing with the question, Is the black man of Victoria, or any other part of Australia, capable of intellectual and spiritual improvement? In the success of the "Poonindie Mission," and of the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin, of which the most encouraging accounts are given in Appendices A and B of the Report, indisputable evidence is supplied of the success that may be expected from wise and persevering efforts.

"I will now," writes Mr Hawkes, in a letter to the Bishop of Adelaide, giving an account of a visit to the Poonindie Mission, "attempt to give you a sketch of their week-day course of life. During the present (winter) season the first bell rings at seven o'clock A.M., prayers at half-past seven, then breakfast; at half-past nine the people go to their respective employments,—some to ploughing, some trenching and draining, etc., others (the boys chiefly) herding cattle, milking the cows, and digging the garden. The women and girls go to morning school, where reading, writing, spelling, and sewing, also arithmetic, are taught. The duties of schoolmistress are conducted by Miss Hammond. Most of the women make their own dresses. At twelve o'clock the men come back to dinner, which is cooked by Mindise. I believe several take the office of cook and butcher by turns. All the meals are prepared in the large kitchen. The children dine first, then the men and women. The bread they bake, made from flour ground out of wheat grown on the station, is capital. There is a large brick oven, which will bake a batch sufficient to last for several days. I was much amused at observing the conduct of the 'Wurley' natives, as they call the Port Lincoln natives, who congregate, especially during the winter months, in the neighbourhood of the station. They treat the Poonindie 'settlers' with marked deference, and are literally made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for their more civilised brethren, in return for which they are liberally supplied with food, and further rewarded for good behaviour with tobacco. Our friends at Poonindie evidently look upon them as inferior beings. Seeing two ill-clad natives busy scrubbing out the kitchen, and another occupied in tending the fire and pouring water into a large pot containing rice, hanging over the fire, I asked who they were. The reply I received was, 'Oh, only wild black fellows.' These wild black fellows are often induced to leave their children at the station, where they know they will be cared for. In the afternoon, the women, children, and boys attend the school, when the

men again return to work ; from which they return at half-past three or four o'clock. After tea, the men willingly attend the school, to be instructed by the Rev. Mr Hammond, in writing, reading, and arithmetic. I was much gratified to find that they all appeared both willing to learn and desirous to acquire knowledge."

In Appendix B similar information is given regarding the "Aborigines attending the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin," in the following table. It shows their age, period of stay at school, and present educational progress :—

Names.	Age.	Period of Stay at School.	Social Relation.	Progress in Education.
MALES.				
Morpoke	15	Occasionally for six years	Has an aged mother living	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Warbourp.....	15	Occasionally for six years	An orphan ...	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Weregoondet	13	Two years and a-half	An orphan ...	Can read and write.
Willie	9	Two years	Half-caste ...	Can read and write.
Denny	14	Three months	Half-caste ...	Can read and write.
Fred	9	Two years	An orphan ...	Can read and write.
Robert	4½	Three months	An orphan ...	Can read.
FEMALES.				
Alice	13	Three years ...	Half-caste ...	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Helen	9	Four years ...	Father and mother living	Can read and write, and has some knowledge of arithmetic.
Mary Jane ...	Adult	Occasionally for five years	Married	Can read and write.

CHARLES JUDKINS, *Schoolmaster.*

EDWD. S. PARKER, *Visiting Magistrate.*

But equally encouraging views of the docility and intelligence of the aborigines generally, and as specially afforded in the preceding table regarding those of Victoria, are expressed by several of the most intelligent witnesses (including Mr Parker, who supplied this table), and who either appeared personally before the committee, or complied with their request to be furnished with written reports of opinion on this and the other points embraced by the object of their appointment.

Mr Edward Stone Parker, who, since 1850, "has held the honorary appointment of visiting magistrate of the Aboriginal School at Mount Franklin, and has virtually acted as guardian of the aborigines," when under examination by the committee, stated—

" 335: I have always been of opinion that, if the natives are taken at an early period of life, before their habits become decisively formed, they are just as capable of improvement as our own population. The great obstacle to their civilisation is to be traced to moral causes, and not to any physical disabilities. I may add that the members of these families are receiving instruction, either in the Aboriginal School, or, in the case of the young men themselves, by availing themselves of the opportunity of getting evening instruction at a denominational school in the neighbourhood. They regularly attend Divine service every Sabbath; and are always seen in European clothing, the women making their own entirely.

" 336. *By the Chairman.*—In reference to that Aboriginal School, is it a school kept up by voluntary subscription or by Government aid?—It is solely a Government establishment. I had perhaps better state the history of that school. Prior to the abolition of the Protectorate establishment, I instituted, under the authority of Mr La Trobe, an Aboriginal School, which is maintained to the present day, on the premises originally belonging to the Protectorate, and entirely at the cost of the Government.

" 337. Is that school well attended?—I produce, for the information of the committee, a return drawn up yesterday of the number of the children then in the school, the time they have been at school, and their present educational progress. (The witness delivered in the same.—*Vide Appendix B.*)

" 338. *By Mr Paterson.*—Do you consider the results satisfactory?—To a certain extent they are satisfactory. I have not always been satisfied with the way in which the children have been treated. The native mind is so constituted, that it requires peculiar treatment to promote its educational progress. The system that would be most suited to the younger portion of the native children is that known as the infant school system; and in any system of scholastic instruction to which the natives are subjected, they should be made to feel as little under the influence of restraint as possible. The instruction should be given to them in the most attractive way."

It may, however, be thought by some of our readers, that this point has rather unduly absorbed our attention, especially when other matters of a greater strictly ethnographic interest—*e.g.*, the language of the aborigines—and therefore entitled to a larger place in our pages, have been almost overlooked by us. As, however, no subject can be more significant or interesting, even in a strictly scientific point of view, than the acquirement of exact information regarding the prospects and probabilities of any portion of mankind being redeemed from social extinction, or becoming

merely a subject of meagre and fugitive tradition, we have been solicitous of enforcing the possibility of such redemption by the prompt use of a judicious communication of Divine truth, the reception of which is profitable alike for "this life and the life which is to come." It would, indeed, be an achievement worthy of the best efforts of missionary enterprise, if it could be shown, that, while seeking to introduce the degraded black man of any portion of Australia into the serene activities and hopes of the Christian life, it should lay at the same time a decisive arrest alike on his decay as a member of the human family, and the predictions of those who are disposed to claim for him nothing higher in earthly destiny than a rapid and entire disappearance.

But we now turn to that most obscure and intricate question, viz., Whence have the aborigines derived their language, or languages, if there are more than one spoken amongst them?

And here it is necessary to have regard to a previous question, which naturally presents itself at the threshold of every linguistic inquiry, viz., Does any general concurrence of opinion now prevail among philologues regarding the safe method of investigating strongly-marked differences in the leading types of language? Is there such an agreement regarding fundamental principles as will conduce to anything like a trustworthy examination, for example, of the Tai and Malay stocks of speech, and promote true results respecting their conjectured alliances? And then, supposing that first principles of linguistic study are generally allowed, it may also be asked, Whether it is possible, however large our vocabularies of particular languages may be, to employ the rules based on such principles to any satisfactory end, if those special parts of speech which constitute the *criteria* be but imperfectly supplied?

Now, assuming as a guide the now commonly received axiom, that the syntactical or logical element of language, in contradistinction to the glossarial, is the true basis of classification, it is rather hazardous, in the present state of information regarding the Australian forms of speech, to affirm any certain conclusions, valuable in many respects though the vocabularies of Mr Thomas, in Appendix D, undoubtedly are.

That there is, to a considerable extent, a relationship to the Malay—that remarkable link to various forms of Asiatic and Polynesian speech—is highly probable. As yet, however, there are but few traces of that connection so clearly ascertained as to afford a means of credible investigation.

As the words of Max Müller—in his "Last Results of the Turanian Languages," in reference to the link furnished, by the coincidences of Malay and Tai, between Asia and Polynesia—seem to have a very special applicability to the Australian lan-

guage, as exemplified in the dialect of Victoria, we shall here quote them:—

“But further researches will strengthen this link, and add new traces of their common origin, though we have hardly a right to expect many, considering that we have to deal with languages in which grammatical elements are, as it were, at the mercy of every speaker, in which roots are of the vaguest character, and can, by means of accents and determinate syllables, be made to express every conceivable shade of meaning,—languages which had received no individual impress since their first separation, and have grown up since under the guidance of but few logical or grammatical principles, so as to make us sometimes doubt whether we should call them works of art or products of nature, or mere conglomerates of an irrational chance.”

Did our space allow, one or two statements regarding the notions of the aborigines on their relations to God and a future state, would not only corroborate the views already expressed, as to the depth of moral darkness and physical degradation in which they are sunk, but would also show that there are still such fragments of truth cast up by the deep tides of hoary tradition and the dim impulses of conscience, as to invite the earnest labours of Christian love for their highest good. In reading those passages of the evidence in which the native religion is described, we were forcibly reminded of the following profound and touching words of Dean Trench, in his precious little work on “Words:”—

“Yet, with all this, ever and anon in the midst of this wreck and ruin, there is that in the language of the savage, some subtle distinction, some curious allusion to a perished civilisation, now utterly unintelligible to the speaker, or some other note which proclaims his language to be the remains of a dissipated inheritance, the rags and remnants of a robe which was a royal one once. The fragments of a broken sceptre are in his hand, a sceptre wherewith he once held dominion (he, that is, in his progenitors) over large kingdoms of thought, which now have escaped wholly from his sway.”

Meanwhile, the opportunities of reclaiming the Australian black from the withering bondage of increasing evils, and restoring him, by the blessings of Divine love and worship, to the consciousness of true manhood and the hopes of heaven, are rapidly passing away. The many pregnant sources of decay that existed long ere the white man set his foot on their old sea-beaches and hunting-grounds, have been immeasurably quickened into activity of influence and enlarged extent by the infusion of foreign mischiefs. By the earnest and persevering prayers and toils of Christian missionaries and other benevolent men—and by these only—can that unhappy race be rescued from speedy annihilation.

ART. V.—*The Poems of Heine, complete : Translated in the Original Metres. With a Sketch of Heine's Life.* By E. A. BOWRING. London, Longmans, 1859. Pp. 553.

SHERIDAN, in the "Duenna," speaks of an Israelite who had left his religion without adopting any other, as standing like a dead wall between church and synagogue, or like the blank leaves between the Old and New Testaments. Such was the religious position of Heinrich Heine. He, in early life, relinquished the Judaism of his fathers; and the multiplied evidence of both his prose and poetical works shows that he never, even in a very lax sense of the term, became a Christian. What a contrast is published between his moral and religious history, and that of a distinguished contemporary, a few years older, who obtained a church-wide reputation as Augustus Neander. Neander abandoned Judaism to devote himself to the service of Evangelical Protestantism, with genius ever fresh, and learning never pedantic, to cause a new era in the study of the history of the Church, and to be carried to his grave amid the tears of thousands, and the lasting regret of all good men in Europe and America. Heine relinquished the Israelite faith apparently to get a freer opportunity to assail all creeds alike, and to win the questionable reputation of a German Voltaire, with weaker health, and a career cut far sooner short than that of his French prototype.

Mr Bowring, already known as the translator of the poems of Schiller and Goethe, has given, in thirteen pages, a sketch of Heine's life. It is free from the unmeaning panegyric which deformed his sketch of Goethe, and which stands in such thorough contrast to the careful, though in some respects we think mistaken, criticism pervading the pages of the life of Goethe by Lewes. But Mr Bowring, by this time a practised author, should have given his readers some idea of the relation in which Heine stood to all the immediately previous and actually contemporary intellectual agencies of Germany. This he has failed to do. In what way Heine was affected by Goethe and Schiller, by the Schlegels and Tieck, remains to be shown by some future biographer. The biography opens thus: "Although little more than three years have elapsed since Heinrich Heine was *first* numbered among the dead!" We were not previously aware that the enumeration in question admitted of being repeated! Further on, we read that he "is beyond question the greatest poet that has appeared in Germany since the death of Goethe." But the poetical reputation of Heine had been won long before the death of the patriarch of German literature, which occurred in 1832, after the poet before us had finally left Germany for

Paris. The whole memoir is disfigured by such slovenliness of writing. Far more might have been done, even within the compass of thirteen pages, to prepare the merely English reader to appreciate the very peculiar, the strikingly unique author, whom Mr Bowring has undertaken to naturalize among us.

Heine was born in December 1799 at Düsseldorf, where his father was a merchant. In the prose part of his "*Reisebilder*," he says of himself: "I first saw the light on the banks of that beautiful stream, where Folly grows on the green hills, and in autumn is plucked, pressed, poured into casks, and sent into foreign lands. Believe me, I yesterday heard some one utter folly, which, anno 1811, lay in a bunch of grapes I then saw growing on the Johannisberg. I am again a child, and am playing with other children on the Satlosplatz. There was I born; and I expressly note this, in case that, after my death, seven cities—Schilda, Krähwinkel, Bockum, Polkinitz, Dülken, Göttingen, Schaffenstadt—should contend for the honour of being my birth-place. Düsseldorf is a town on the Rhine; sixteen thousand people live there; and many hundred thousand lie buried there." After studying at Bonn and Göttingen, from the latter of which he was rusticated for duelling, Heine went to Berlin, where he remained for some years. Here for the first time he came into contact with a wide range of intellectual society. The fair translator of Byron, Elise von Hohenhausen, opened her house to him, and there he met Varnhagen von Ense, and his more celebrated wife, Rahel, Chamisso, and others. Heinrich Stieglitz, then in the blaze of his brief literary reputation, which his wandering life and his wife's suicide were afterwards fatally to impair, proclaimed on all sides the future greatness of Heine. But he was in a minority. For a time the indifference shown to his British master, Lord Byron, at his outset, was manifested to Heine. The cold reception of his first volume, published in 1822, was one cause of his leaving Berlin, and returning to Göttingen, where he took, in 1825, the degree of Doctor of Laws. He then settled at Hamburgh as a barrister, but did not gain much professional reputation. Literature engrossed more and more of his time and thoughts. We have various reminiscences of his Hamburgh life in his late poems, especially in "*Deutschland*:"—

" Though as a republic Hamburg was seen,
 As great as Venice or Florence,
 Yet Hamburg has better oysters; one gets
 The best in the cellar of Laurence.
 I went there with Campe at evening time,
 When splendid was the weather,
 Intending on oysters and Rhenish wine
 To have a banquet together.

I found some excellent company there,
And greatly was delighted
To see many old friends, such as Chauffepié,
And new ones, self-invited.

There Wille was, whose very face
Was an album, where foes academic
Right legibly had inscribed their names
In the shape of scars polemic.

My Campe was an Amphytrion there,
And smiled and enjoyed the honour;
His eye was beaming with happiness,
Just like an ecstatic Madonna.

I ate and drank with an appetite good,
And these thoughts then crossed my noddle:
This Campe is really an excellent man,
And of publishers quite the model.

Another publisher, I feel sure,
Would have left me of hunger to perish;
But he has given me drink as well,
His name I ever shall cherish."—Bowring, p. 362-3.

The next publication of Heine exhibited him as a dramatic poet. "Almansor" and "William Ratcliff" appeared together in 1823. Large experience of men was not to be expected from a youth of three-and-twenty. These plays failed, then, to win attention on the stage, and even as closet dramas have found little favour. The latter tragedy is a weird poem of maniac love and revenge, of which the scene is laid in the Scottish Highlands.

An era in Goethe's mind dates from his Italian travels, the fulfilment of a long-cherished and deep-seated desire. The mind of Heine also received a strong impulse from his opportunities of travel, and his *Reisebilder*, appearing between 1826 and 1831, gave these forth to the public. He visited England, with which he expressed himself little pleased. After complimenting the small minority of Englishmen, who, especially the poets, were friends of liberty and intellectual development, he goes on to say: "The mass, the English blockheads, are hateful to me in my inmost soul; and I often regard them, not as my fellow-men, but as miserable automata—machines whose motive power is egoism. In these moods, it seems to me as if I heard the whizzing wheel-work by which they think, feel, reckon, digest, and pray; their praying, their mechanical Anglican church-going with the gilt prayer-book in their hands, their stupid wearisome Sunday, is most of all odious to me. I am quite convinced that a blaspheming Frenchman is a more pleasing sight to the Deity than a

praying Englishman!" England has attracted the respectful homage of most of the intellectual celebrities of the Continent in this century, and can afford to smile at the sceptical ravings of Heine.

For a short time, Heine occupied the post of editor of the *Münich Allgemeinen Politischen Annalen*. The Bavarian capital does not seem to have pleased him much, if we may judge from the stanzas in his "Romancero," entitled the Ex-Watchman:—

" With Cornelius also perished
All his pupils whatsoe'er ;
They shaved off their tresses cherish'd,
And their strength was in their hair.

For their prudent master planted
In their hair some magic springs,
And it seem'd, as if enchanted,
To be full of living things.

Apropos ! The arch-notorious
Priest, as Döllingerius known,—
That's, I think, his name inglorious,—
Has he from the Iser flown ?

In Good Friday's sad procession
I beheld him in his place ;
'Mongst the men of his profession
He had far the gloomiest face.

On Monacho Monachorum
Now-a-days the cap doth fit,
Of virorum obscurorum,
Glorified by Hutten's wit.

.

Ex-night-watchman, now be wiser !
Feel'st thou not thy bosom glow ?
Wake to action on the Iser,
And thy sickly spleen o'erthrow.

Call thy long legs transcendental
Into full and active play ;
Vulgar be the words or gentle,
If they're words, then strike away !"—P. 447-9.

The revival of "Catholic" art in Bavaria, through Cornelius and his school, and the patronage by King Louis of Romanist scholars, of whom Döllinger (next to Möhler, who only lived a short time after he was attracted from Tübingen to Munich) was the most distinguished, could not be pleasing to the sceptic poet, who held Christianity equally in all its forms. But the Protestant North soon became for Heine as intolerable as the Romanist

South of Germany. The French Revolution of 1830 developed further in him strongly liberal views, and he received hints, which made him gladly exchange Berlin, to which he had returned, for the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. There, after a while, he obtained from the Government of Louis Philippe a pension equivalent to L.200. With the exception of brief visits to his native country, he remained in the French capital till his death in 1856. Nearly one half of his life—far more of it, if we apply an intellectual admeasurement—was thus passed in exile from the Fatherland. In his “*Geständnisse*” he thus humorously intimates his reason for leaving Germany: “I had become acquainted with an old Berlin Justizrath, who had spent many years in the fortress of Spandau, and he told me how unpleasant it is when one is obliged to wear irons in winter. I myself thought it very unchristian that the irons were not warmed a trifle! I asked my Justizrath whether he often got oysters to eat? He said, No; Spandau was too far from the sea. He said, besides, meat was very scarce there, and there was no kind of *volaille* except flies, which fell into one’s soup!”

Heine paid to his adopted country the compliment of first writing his prose works “*Der Salon*” and “*Die Romantische Schule*” in French. The critical powers evinced in both, justly gained for him great admiration. A different feeling was excited by his work “*Über Ludwig Börne*,” which appeared in 1840. Börne was a writer of the Young Germany school, also an exile in Paris. The publication of this book was very generally considered as a crime against friendship, and formerly professed political opinions. Insinuations against the memory of the deceased, in connection with a Madame Wohl, led to a duel with this lady’s husband, in which Heine was wounded. He then promised to strike out the offensive pages in a new edition, which, however, has not been called for. The two exiles were far different in temperament. Heine, with all his occasional seeming vehemence of liberalism, was at bottom much more of a poet than of a politician, and could not sympathise with the fiery and somewhat fanatical earnestness of Börne. With all its wit, the book was a most regrettable one.

Heine was a man of strong domestic affections. His attachment to his mother (who survived him) and to his wife, a Frenchwoman, is manifest from many passages in his poems. The occasion of his marriage, which, first accomplished according to the civil code, was afterwards consummated in the church of St Sulpice at Paris, gave rise to a ridiculous assertion that he had become a convert to Romanism. He deemed it worth while to give public contradiction to the statement.

In 1847 there came a premonitory attack of the disease which,

cured for a while, returned with greater power the next year. "Commencing," says Mr Bowring, "with a paralysis of the left eyelid, it extended to both eyes, and finally terminated in paralysis and atrophy of the legs. The last time he ever left his house was in May 1848. For eight years he was confined to his couch, to use his own expression, in a state of 'death without its repose, and without the privileges of the dead, who have no need to spend money, and no letters or books to write.'" Some of his later poems are but variations of Byron's :—

" Know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

We quote one specimen of his fretting against his lot :—

IN MAY.

" The friends whom I kiss'd and caress'd of yore,
Have treated me now with cruelty sore ;
My heart is past breaking. The sun, though, above
With smiles is hailing the sweet month of love.

Spring blooms around. In the greenwood is heard
The echoing song of each happy bird,`
And flowers and girls wear a maidenly smile,—
O beauteous world, I hate thee the while !

Yes, Orcus' self I well-nigh praise ;
No contrasts vain torment there our days ;
For suffering hearts 'tis better below,
There where the Stygian night-waters flow.

That sad and melancholy stream,
And the Stymphalides' dull scream,
The Fairies' sing-song, so harsh and shrill,
With Cerberus' bark the pauses to fill.

These match full well with sorrow and pain,
In Proserpine's accursed domain ;
In the region of shadows, the valley of sighs,
All with our tears doth harmonise.

But here above, like hateful things,
The sun and the rose inflict their stings ;
I'm mock'd by the heavens, so May-like and blue—
O beauteous world, I hate thee anew !" —P. 510.

The vigour of his mind, struggling against disease, is, however, seen in his last great poetical work, "*Romancero*," written in 1850–1. In this, the influence of his Jewish descent, and of his study of Spanish literature, are more vividly to be seen than in any of his previous writings. In the epilogue to it, he thus characterizes his condition : " My bed reminds me of the singing grave of the magician Merlin, which lies in the forest of Brozeliard,

in Bretagne, under tall oaks whose tops soar like green plumes towards heaven. I envy thee, brother Merlin, those trees and the fresh breeze which moves their branches, for no green leaf nestles about my mattress-grave in Paris, where late and early I hear nothing else than the rolling of carriages, hammering, quarrelling, and piano-tuning. Long ago the measure has been taken for my coffin and my obituary, but I die so slowly, that the process is tedious for me and my friends too."

In 1855 Heine published, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a French version of his "Neue Frühling." His last literary effort was correcting a new edition of his "Reisebilder." A few days before his death, one of his friends called just as a ponderous German professor was leaving. "Ah, my dear fellow, I fear you will find me very stupid! The fact is, I have just been exchanging thoughts with Dr ——." He died in February 1856. His funeral was scantily attended, but Mignet, Theophile Gautier, and Dumas were among the company. Like Lamennais, he was, by his own direction, buried without any religious ceremony.

Mr Bowring is not the first who has attempted to render Heine in English. Some years ago, Mr Stores Smith published "Selections from the Poetry of Heinrich Heine," and Charles Leland, in America, commenced (whether he completed we are unaware) a translation in numbers of his complete works. In various of our periodicals, also, occasional translations of some of his best or most pleasing pieces have appeared. We give one of these from the "Reisebilder," which we think decidedly superior to Mr Bowring's version:—

THE EVENING GOSSIP.

" We sat by the fisher's cottage,
 We look'd on sea and sky,
 We saw the mists of evening
 Come riding and rolling by :
 The lights in the lighthouse window
 Brighter and brighter grew,
 And on the dim horizon
 A ship still hung in view.
 We spoke of storm and shipwreck,
 Of the seaman's anxious life ;
 How he floats 'twixt sky and water,
 'Twixt joy and sorrow's strife :
 We spoke of coasts far distant,
 We spoke of south and north,
 Strange men, and stranger customs,
 That those wild lands send forth ;
 Of the giant trees of Ganges,
 Whose balm perfumes the breeze,

And the fair and slender creatures
 That kneel by the lotus-trees ;
 Of the flat-skull'd, wide-mouth'd Laplander,
 So dirty and so small,
 Who bake their fish on the embers,
 And cower, and shake, and squall.

The maidens listen'd earnestly ;
 At last the tales were ended ;
 The ship was gone, the dusky night
 Had on our talk descended."

This will remind the reader of a fine poem in Longfellow's "Sea-side;" but the American poet is more sombre in the hues he employs, as perhaps becomes one more brought, as one of a maritime people, into contact with the dangers of the ocean.

The appearance of these different versions is a proof of the greater justice done of late years to Heine. We have read one popular volume, professedly on German literature, in which his very name does not occur! And a not undistinguished critic and translator from the German some years ago spoke of Heine as a mere imitator of Byron, and as sinking into a hopeless oblivion! We do not share in Mr Bowring's over-admiration of Heine. We think this century has produced poets who, take them all in all, are better than Heine; but if not of very high merit, he was of unique distinction.

It is another question whether Mr Bowring has done right in translating all Heine's poems in the original metres. Waiving at present the important query, whether the blasphemy of some and the personality of others should not have prevented them from obtaining what may in a sense be called the honour of translation, we cannot help thinking that it is somewhat unfair to the memory of Heine to give to the English public every scrap of verse he ever wrote. Mr Bowring has studiously avoided giving us the prose connected with the poetry. Thus the dedication of the "Heimkehr" to Rahel is omitted, which we think an error, as it deprives the English reader of seeing how gracefully Heine could confess intellectual obligation. That Mr Bowring has only, in this volume, pursued the course he adopted with regard to Schiller and Goethe, may be a motive with him, but can hardly be accepted as a sufficient justification by the public. That Heine continued to keep all these poems, however small and however poor, in his collective works, is no reason. We see, from his later preface to the "Neue Gedichte," dated "Paris, 1851," with what over-fondness he evidently regarded his unfortunate tragedy, "William Ratcliff." An author's judgment of his works is too often one that may be justly excepted to.

Again, why employ the very metres of the original? The poet here may be taken as his own justifier. But the translator occu-

pies very different ground. The genius of the language into which the version is to be made; the character of the translator's mind, certainly different from that of his original; and a number of other circumstances, have to be taken into account. It will often happen to be a mere *tour de force*; an attempted similarity, ending in practical, perhaps even disappointing or distasteful, unlikeness. We cannot compliment Mr Bowring on having achieved what we believe none could have successfully endeavoured. He has, indeed, produced a handsome and bulky volume. For their money, the purchasers of his book get far more than the buyers of the German editions of Heine; for that poet has never yet, like Uhland, Freiligrath, and others, come into a cheap edition. His works are still kept in the old expensive style. The pages of the German are as scanty in contents as those of the English edition are crowded. This seems to show that it is a select rather than a numerous class in his native land that appreciate Heine. Partly, no doubt, this is owing to the way in which, in an age of revived religious thought and feeling, he scoffed at those truths which all good men in common hold. While Tholuck, and Neander, and Hengstenberg, and Julius Müller, with differences of a theological or ecclesiastical cast, were reviving the religion of the Fatherland, Heine, if he noticed their movements at all, did so only to scoff, and represent the religious revival as a mere playing into the hands of royal despotism. No wonder that from many families his works have been carefully excluded. The regrettable portions of Burns are comparatively small in compass, and lie together; but you are never safe from the reckless impiety of Heine. From the most distant and the most solitary quarters he takes care to collect material for his sneer. He has been called the Julian of poetry, but the phrase is not very distinctive, for the Roman "apostate" had a belief, and it was in the interest of that resumed paganism of his that he persecuted the Christians as far as circumstances permitted.

The love of freedom which Heine really felt, and has so often expressed in his poetry, was prevented from exercising its just influence by his constantly obtruded scepticism. For Shelley, a boy all his life in most things, there might be some excuse; but Heine was wide-awake in all matters, and we must refuse him the benefit of the excuse we may grant to the author of "Queen Mab." The noble cause of liberty is only endangered when its professed advocates set themselves against the only religion, in connection with which there has ever been freedom for all classes of the community, and for more than a few generations. How differently from Heine has Uhland acted! He, in his "*Vaterlandische Gedichte*," has, in the spirit alike of a true poet and a real patriot,

pleaded for representative institutions and the other essential conditions of national freedom. But he has revolted more from the cause he supported, by intemperance of language and scoffing depreciation of good men. And with what high dignity of phrase has Freiligrath, after he departed from the poetic reserve on political subjects (which he in his earlier life not only maintained, but defended as needful for the poet), and to do so with more effect, relinquished the pension given him by the Prussian king, thrown himself into the cause of Liberalism! Even in the inferior style of advocacy of freedom which Heine adopted, he has often injured the effect of his poems by their length and their strange transitions of subject. How seldom does he attain to the compact power of phrase seen in the following lines of Hoffmann von Fallersleben:—

ON THE WALHALLA.

“Hail to thee, thou lofty hall
Of German greatness, German glory!
Hail to you, ye heroes all,
Of ancient and of modern story!
Oh! ye heroes in the hall,
Were ye but alive as once!
Nay, that would not do at all—
The king prefers you, stone and bronze!”

Or this:—

“Hurra! hurra! hurra! hurra!
We're off unto America!
What shall we take to our new land?
All sorts of things from every hand!
Receipts for tax, toll, christening, wedding, and funeral,
Passports and wander-books, great and small;
Plenty of rules for censor's inspections,
And just three million police directions!
Or when to the New World we come,
The German will not feel at home.”¹

Nor has Heine ever achieved so signal a success in any individual poem on liberty as that of Freiligrath in his “Fretz in Heaven,” of which we give the concluding stanzas:—

“That were a bomb! What then? It might run cross a year or so;
But all would come to right at last: I'd end it well, I know.
And if the storm did gather round, and thunder, fire, and blood,
Why I, a king, would kings defy for such a people's good!
And when the storm was laid, how full of sun the land would be,
A free, united, happy land—a great, strong Germany!
Thus after storms the rainbow hangs the shifting clouds beyond,
And kings the people's compact sign—a real German bond!

¹ From a Paper on the Political Poets of Germany, in the *Athenaeum*.

For a noble stream the people is! Who dares his life confide
To its strong wave, and scan its depths, and boldly trust its tide,
With joyous sound it bears aloft, and floats him bravely on;
And only sweeps, without a noise, the weak and coward down.
And me 'twould bear—me, too, 'twould speed—Ha! Blucher! is't not
so?

Another age the people's king—even more than mine should know.
And when I died, they'd mourn my loss, and bless my name aloud!
'Ay, would they, please your Majesty,' the heroes said, and bowed."
We return to Mr Bowring's translations. The following is from
the second "caput" of "Deutschland :"—

"Whilst heavenly joys were warbled thus,
And sung by the little maiden,
The Prussian douaniers search'd my trunk,
As soon as the coach was unladen.
They poked their noses in every thing,
Each handkerchief, shirt, and stocking;
They sought for journals, prohibited books,
And lace, with a rudeness quite shocking.
Ye fools, so closely to search my trunk!
You will find in it really nothing;
My contraband goods I carry about
On my head, not hid in my clothing.
Point-lace is there, that's finer far
Than Brussels or Mechlin laces;
If once I unpack my point, 'twill prick
And cruelly scratch your faces.
In my head I carry my jewellery all,
The Future's crown-diamonds splendid;
The new god's temple ornaments rich,
The god as yet not comprehended.
And many books also you'd see in my head,
If the top were only off it!
My head is a twittering bird's nest, full
Of books that they gladly would forfeit."—P. 323.

The next is from "Atta Troll," and conveys his first impressions of Spain :—

"Early in the morn I started
With Lascaro on our journey,
Bound to hunt the bear. At noonday
We arrived at Pont d'Espagne.
So they call the bridge which leadeth
Out of France and into Spain,
To the land of west-barbarians,
Who're a thousand years behind us,—

Yes, a thousand years behind us
 In all modern civilisation ;
 My barbarians to the eastward
 But a hundred years behind are.

We arrived not until evening
 At the wretched small posoda,
 Where an Olla-podrida
 In a dirty dish was smoking.

There I swallowed some garbanzos,
 Heavy, large as musket-bullets,
 Indigestible to Germans,
 Though to dumplings they're accustomed.

Fit companion to the cooking
 Was the bed. With insects pepper'd
 It appeared. The bugs, alas ! are
 Far the greatest foes of man.

Yes, the fiercest earthly trouble
 Is the fight with noxious vermin,
 Who a stench employ as weapons—
 Is a duel with a bug !"—P. 277-9.

From the concluding "caput" of the same poem, "To Augustus Varnhagen von Ense :"—

" ' Where in heaven, Master Louis,
 Did you pick up all this crazy
 Nonsense ? '—these the very words were
 Which the Cardinal d'Este made use of
 When he read the well-known poem
 Of Orlando's frantic doings,
 Which politely Ariosto
 To his Eminence inscribed.

Yes, my good old friend, Varnhagen,
 Yes, I round thy lips see plainly
 Hov'ring these exact expressions,
 By the same sly smile attended.¹

Yes, my friend, the sound 'tis really
 From the long-departed dream-time ;
 Save that modern quavers often
 'Midst the olden key-notes jingle.

Signs of trembling thou'lt discover
 Here and there, despite the boasting ;
 I commend this little poem
 To thy well-proved gentleness !

¹ Varnhagen, it may be mentioned, was a townsman of Heine.

Ah! perchance it is the last free
Forest-song of the Romantic;
In the day-time's wild confusion
Will it sadly die away.

What a humming, world-convulsing!
'Tis, in fact, the big cock-chafers
Of the spring-time of the people,
Smitten with a sudden frenzy.

Other times, and other heads too!
Other birds and other music!
They perchance could give me pleasure
Had I only other ears!

In connection with this last extract we may quote the remarks of a recent French critic: "M. Heine very willingly abused a certain kind of tactics in regard of his old friends the Romantists. If Hoffmann, Von Arnim, Brentano, Novalis, were spoken of, none knew better than the author of the "*Reisebilder*" to discredit them. He knew well their faults and their follies; but he was equally acquainted with their original powers, their inventive resources, their varied treasures of genius. Of these secrets he scarcely ever spoke, preferring, doubtless, to keep them to himself rather than to make them known to the French public, which had a right to be ignorant of such things. M. Heine did not like people to look closely into his concerns, and he never pardoned us for terming him a Romanticist unfrocked."

The sight of the arsenal at Springfield suggests to a well-known American poet thoughts of the part which war has played in the history of the Old World and the New. Among the remembrances thus evoked are, that

"Aztec priests upon their *teoeallis*
Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin."

The same bloody page in the history of the meeting of European and Mexican modes of warfare has suggested to Heine one of his finest pieces, "*Vitzliputzli*." In it we have Cortez presented, not as he appears in the courtly pages of De Solis, but as modern humanity depicts him, the ruthless destroyer of the half-civilised empire of Montezuma—an anticipated Philip II. on a narrower field. We have not space to give a sufficiently long extract from a poem whose merit especially lies in its entireness of interest.

By Spanish literature Heine has obviously been much influenced. From his first tragedy, "*Almansor*," to his last great work, "*Romancero*," we see how frequently Spanish subjects presented themselves to his mind. He affords not a few points of comparison with one of the greatest of the writers of the Peninsula in this century, Mariano José de Larra, known under

his assumed name of Figaro. To this distinguished literary man a term of life was allotted only half that of Heine's. At the age of eight-and-twenty, Spanish literature had to deplore his loss. But in the drama, in prose fiction, in periodical writing, whether humorous, critical, or gravely imaginative, he had already proved his fitness to take very high rank. Like Heine, he in early life travelled much for a middle-class man of his country,—like Heine, he felt much discontent with the state of matters in his native land,—like Heine, he conquered indifference to his writings by repeated proofs of his competency to interest and please,—like Heine, his literary place is eminently a unique and unborrowed one. While, in prose fiction, Pastor Diaz, and especially Fernan Caballero, have surpassed him, and in some kinds of periodical writing he has been equalled by Hartzenbusch, it can scarcely be questioned, that in the present century no Spanish writer has come so near, take all his writings together, to the "first three" in the Peninsular literature,—Cervantes, Calderon, and Quevedo.

The English reader will find in Larra a noble contrast to Heine in his treatment of this country. Circumstances of popular appreciation, as was natural between one Romanic people and another, have indeed made him a critic of French rather than of English authors. But he never loses, indeed he often makes, an opportunity of showing his just and hearty appreciation of England. In striking contrast to the scantily attended funeral of Heine was the magnificent cortége that accompanied, in March 1837, the body of Larra, to lay it beside the remains of Calderon. There are few finer tributes of homage in verse to departed greatness than the lines to his memory by his friend Zorrilla, "the representative," as Quinet calls him, with perhaps over eulogy, "of the tragic genius of Spain." To those in this country—and they are a regrettably large body—who think and speak with constant disparagement of Spain, we would recommend the study of the couple of volumes which contain the collected works of "Figaro." If capable of forming an intelligent judgment, they would probably come to the conclusion, that scarcely any writer, even of our country, has, in so short a period, given, we do not say so much promise, but so full performance.

The same year that witnessed the death of Larra, likewise saw the decease of another Southern Europe writer, with whom Heine has certain aspects of resemblance—Giacomo Leopardi. To him, as to the German poet, was allotted a course of painful disease, terminating in a long looked forward to dissolution. Leopardi died at the age of thirty-nine. He possessed a classical learning, not so common in his country as in Germany or South Britain, which in early life won for him the acquaintance and

regard of Mai and Niebuhr, and to which neither Heine nor Larra could make pretension. On the other hand, he was far less influenced than either by modern literature apart from that of his native land. He also was profoundly discontented with the aspect of affairs at home. We may hope that there was merely momentary exasperation in the expression in one of his letters, that every person in his native Recanati was either a scoundrel or a fool. But, partly, in all likelihood, from the influence of long-continued ill health, the tone of expression in both his prose and poetical works assumes a gradually deepening tincture of saturnine discontent, until, in his lyric, "*La Ginestra*," he congratulates that wild-flower that it is happier than man, in never having dreamed of an immortality either natural or acquired! It is sad to look at the portrait of Leopardi, prefixed to his collective works, taken as it was when lying in his shroud. But sadder far it is to find the promise of a Christianized literature, which his earliest efforts show so thoroughly belied by the sceptical and despairing tone of his intellectually riper productions. His biographer, Ranieri, assures us that whoever came into contact with him loved him. They who can only estimate him by his writings, may regret that a healthier tone did not come from his being spared to see the gallant risings of 1848, and the changes which (prepared for even by the very errors and follies of that year of revolution) have made the nearly-elapsed twelvemonth, from the commencement of the Lombard campaign of 1859, so surprising and gratifying to the friends of progress throughout Europe. In the works of Manzoni, Amari, Colletta, and others, the studious Italian youth have abundance of contemporary counteraction to the morbidness which, with all their high and rare intellectual merits, pervades the Lyrics, the Thoughts, the Letters, and the other writings of Leopardi.

To return to Heine. He has not shown the desire to accomplish translations of foreign poetry, of which the fashion set by the two great master minds of German literature has been continued by Tieck, Uhland, and particularly Freiligrath. It is the opinion of Mr Lewes and some other critics of our day, that poetical translations are nearly valueless. This, however, will probably never be the intellectual creed of more than a comparatively small minority of thinking persons.

As in one or two of the foregoing extracts, it will be seen that in the following Mr Bowring has gone beyond all rule, in making such words rhyme together as "*portion*" and "*caution*:"—

"SIR KNAVE OF BERGEN.

"At Düsseldorf Castle, on the Rhine,
They're gaily masquerading ;

The waxlights sparkle, the company dance,
The music their nimbleness aiding.

The beauteous duchess dances too,
And ceases laughing never ;
Her partner is a slender youth,
Who seems right courtly and clever.

He wears a mask of velvet black,
Whence merrily is peeping
An eye just like a shining dirk
From out of its sheath half creeping.

The carnival throng exultingly shout
As they whirl in the waltz's embraces,
While Drickes and Marizzebell¹
Salute with loud noise and grimaces.

The trumpets crash, and the merry hum
Of the double-bass increases,
Until the dance to an end has come,
And then the music ceases.

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
'Tis time for me to go now :'
The duchess said, smiling, ' You shall not depart,
Unless your face you show now.'

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
My face is a hideous creature's :'
The duchess said, smiling, ' I am not afraid,
I insist upon seeing your features.'

'Most excellent lady, thy pardon I beg,
For night and death are my portion :'
The duchess said, smiling, ' I'll not let you go,
I'll see you, despite all your caution.'

In vain he struggled with gloomy words
To change her determination ;
At length she forcibly tore the mask
From his face for her information.

' 'Tis the headsman of Bergen !' the throng in the hall
Exclaim with a feeling of terror,
And timidly shrink,—the duchess rush'd out,
Her husband to tell of her error.

The duke was wise, and all the disgrace
Of the duchess straightway effac'd he ;
He drew his bright sword, and said, ' Kneel down,
Good fellow !' with accents hasty.

' With this stroke of the sword I make you now
A limb of the order knightly ;

¹ Carnival masks.

And since you're a knave, you'll hereafter be called
Sir Knave of Bergen rightly !'

So the headsman became a nobleman proud,
Of the Bergen Knaves' family founder ;
A haughty race ! they dwell on the Rhine,
Though now they all underground are."—P. 886-7.

Those who wish by one decisive instance to compare or contrast the poetry of Heine with that of Uhland, will read, in connection with the piece just extracted, "The Black Knight," translated by Longfellow. The poem of the Würtemberg bard will please more, and will please longer, than that of his rival from the Rhine-land.

A characteristic piece of Heine is "The Exorcism." Mr Bowring has in it not fulfilled his promise of preserving the original metre. In the German the last line of the five verses of which it is composed has sometimes seven and sometimes eight syllables. In the English version the corresponding lines are of five, seven, and nine syllables. The translation is a diluted one:—

"He reads a magical book, which speaks
Of exorcisms only,"

is a feeble rendering of

"Er liest im alten zauberbuch,
Genannt der zwang der Hölle."

Again,

"Her ice-cold breast
Her sighs of grief cannot smother,"

is a fluent generality, substituted for the simple expressiveness of

"Aus kalter brust .
Die schmerzlichen Seufzer steigen."

In "The Water Nymphs," Mr Bowring translates,

"Die Eine betastet mit Neubegier
Die Federn auf seinem Barette,"

thus,

"The plume of his helmet the first one felt,
To see if perchance it would harm her,"

which is merely filling up for the sake of the rhyme. Again, in the same poem,

"Die Fünfte küsst des Ritter's händ,
Mit Sehnsucht und Verlangen,"

is not translated, but transmuted into

"The fifth her kisses with passionate strength
On the hand of the knight kept planting !"

In another stanza we have "bosom" and "blossom" to rhyme

together! But we will not pursue further this minute comparison with the original.

The following is a sonnet addressed by Heine to his mother:—

“ With foolish fancy I deserted thee ;
 I fain would search the whole world through, to learn
 If I in it perchance could love discern,
 That I might love embrace right lovingly.
 I sought for love as far as eye could see,
 My hands extending at each door in turn,
 Begging them not my prayer for love to spurn,—
 Cold hate alone they laughing gave to me.
 And ever search'd I after love ; yes, ever
 Search'd after love, but love discovered never.
 And so I homeward went, with troubled thought ;
 But thou wert there to welcome me again,
 And ah ! what in thy dear eye floated then,
That was the sweet love I so long had sought.”—P. 43.

So much for the son. Let us hear the husband anticipating his wife's becoming a widow:—

THE ANNIVERSARY.

“ Not one mass will e'er be chanted,
 Not one Hebrew prayer be mutter'd ;
 When the day I died returneth,
 Nothing will be sung or utter'd.
 Yet upon that day, it may be,
 If the weather has not *chill'd her*,
 On a visit to Montmartre
 With Pauline will go *Matilda*. (!)
 With a wreath of immortelles she'll
 Deck my grave in foreign fashion,
 Sighing say ‘ *pauvre homme*,’ and sadly
 Drop a tear of fond compassion.
 I shall then too high be dwelling,
 And, alas ! no chair have ready
 For my darling's use to offer,
 As she walks with feet unsteady.
 Sweet, stout little one, return not
 Home on foot, I must implore thee ;
 At the barrier gate is standing
 A fiacre all ready for thee.”—P. 460—1.

Among the early pieces of Tennyson are several distinguished by the names of Claribel, etc. But Heine has, in his “*Neue Gedichte*,” given us a number of maids called Diana, Hortense, Clarisse, and so on. From “*Friederike*” we extract the following:—

"O leave Berlin, with its thick-lying sand,
 Weak tea, and men who seem so much to know,
 That they both God, themselves, and all below,
 With Hegel's reason, only understand.
 O come to India, to the sunny land,
 Where flowers ambrosial their sweet fragrance throw—
 Where pilgrim troops on tow'rd the Ganges go
 With reverence, in white robes, a festal band.
 There, where the palm trees wave, the billows smile,
 And on the sacred bank the lotus tree
 Soars up to Indra's castle blue,—yes, there,
 There will I kneel to thee in trusting style,
 And press against thy foot, and say to thee,
 'Madam, thou art the fairest of the fair.'"—P. 105.

Again—

"Thou wast a maiden fair, so good and kindly,
 So neat, so cool—in vain I waited blindly
 Till come the hour wherein thy gentle heart
 Would ope, and inspiration play its part.
 Yea, inspiration for those lofty things
 Which prose and reason deem but wonderings;
 But yet for which the noble, lovely, good
 Upon this earth rave, suffer, shed their blood.
 Upon the Rhine's fair strand, where vine-hills smile,
 Once in glad summer's days we roam'd the while;
 Bright laugh'd the sun, sweet incense in that hour
 Stream'd from the beauteous cup of every flow'r.
 The purple pinks and roses breath'd in turn
 Red kisses on us, which like fire did burn;
 Even the smallest daisy's faint perfume
 Appear'd a life ideal then to bloom.
 But thou didst peacefully beside me go,
 In a white satin dress, demure and slow,
 Like some girl's portrait limn'd by Netscher's art,
 A little glacier seem'd to be thy heart."

Heine is essentially a lyric poet. He has not the faculty to produce a work "*de longue haleine*." "*Atta Troll*" and "*Deutschland*" are only nominally long poems; they are but, after all, a succession of poetic sketches. He has himself bestowed, and most justly, on Goethe the high praise of saying, "His songs have a playful witchery which is inexpressible. The harmonious verses wind round your heart like a tender mistress. The word embraces you while the thought imprints a kiss." But so little does Heine, in the great majority of cases, care or seek to preserve the unity of tone, which is essential to

the highest success of the lyric, that we cannot anticipate for him the widespread or permanent fame which has attended, both in the German and in such other languages as they have been rendered into, the songs of Schiller and Goethe. The testing influence of time has not yet been applied to the authors of the second age of German literature; but comparing Heine with those distinguished lyric poets, between whom he stands midway in age, Uhland and Freiligrath—the one a dozen years his senior, the other ten years his junior, we think he must ever remain, in power of impression, of delight, and of dwelling in the memory, inferior to either. What stanza of his has been quoted with the frequency of the concluding verse of Uhland's "Auf der Ueberfahrt"—

"Nimm nur, Fahrman, nimm die Miethe,
Die ich gerne dreifach biete!
Zween, die mit wir überfahren,
Waren geistige Naturen,"—

more familiar, perhaps, than any other fragment of German literature, except the

"Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühen,"
of Goethe, and the

"Du Heilige, ruf dein Kind zurück,
Ich habe genossen das irdische Glück,
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet,"

of Schiller? Again, Heine has several times amused himself with laughing at Freiligrath; but "Der Möhren Fürst" will long outlive his sarcasms; and the "Piraten-Romanze" and "Barbarossa's erstes Erwachen," not to speak of others of the "Balladen u. Romanzen" and the best of the "Vernichtete Gedichte," will always occupy a high place in German literature. Freiligrath has perhaps not a richer fancy than Heine, but one more under control, and with the management of which greater pains are taken. Fitness of expression is far more generally a characteristic of his poems than of those of the Düsseldorf bard. It would, we think, have been a better occupation for Mr Bowring, if, instead of attempting to give all Heine's poems in an English version, he had sought to select his best, and given them along with the finest of Freiligrath and Uhland. The sustained attempt to indicate the resemblances and differences of these three lyric bards might have given force, compression, and distinctness to his prose style—qualities in which, at present, it is considerably deficient. He intimates (but it may be only a verbal modesty) that this is his last translating effort. We would hope that if the intention be serious, it will be reconsidered. He has before him opportunities of honouring his subject and doing justice to himself, which, alike in fairness and with

respect, we state he has not yet fully availed himself of. Or if his (as we think, excessive) admiration for Heine prevent him from seeking to stray from that author's side, why not leave out a third, or a half, of the volume before us, and with a revised, simplified, and condensed reviewal of the finest of the poems (leaving out the juvenility, the personality, and the blasphemy), give to the English reader selections from the prose part of the "Reisebilder," and from the most permanently interesting of the "Vermischte Schriften?" In his version of Schiller, he has had Merivale and Sir E. Bulwer Lytton as rivals; in his translation from Goethe, he has encountered the competition of Aytoun and Theodore Martin. We do not know whether any other man of letters is busy with an English rendering of Heine's prose pieces. At all events, Mr Bowring may be said to be here in possession of the ground. The public is not partial to any one person forming by himself a library of translations; and probably Mr Bowring might find it better for himself, as we have no doubt it would be more favourable to Heine's reputation among non-German readers, if in a single volume were presented the choicest products of that versatile pen. A good deal of his satire has not body enough to bear transport across either the Rhine or the Channel. This, however, is a class fault, not a personal one. The "Biglow Papers" have lately been introduced to the British public under the most genial of recommendations; but we cannot expect that beyond the other and republican branch of the Anglo-Saxon family they will ever be widely popular. In this country, as yet at least, we cannot enter into the spirit of such lines as

" I du believe with all my soul
In the gret Press's freedom;
To pint the people to the goal
An' in the traces lead 'em;
Palsied the arm that forges yokes
At my fat contracts squintin';
An' wither'd be the nose thet pokes
Inter the Gov'ment printin',"

because hitherto we have not set such authorities as the "Jaalam Independent Blunderbuss" above better and honeste guides of public opinion. And it may be hoped that any new Reform Bill we may get will not bring us into a national condition, where we may find our county or burgh hustings occupied by worthies of the stamp thus depicted:

" I'm an Eclectic; ez to choosin'
'Twixt this an' thet, I'm plaguy lowth;
I leave a side thet looks like losin',
But (wile there's doubt) I stick to both;

I stan' upon the Constitution,
 Ez preudent statesmen say, who've plann'd
 A way to git the most profusion
 O' chances ez to *ware* they'll stand.

Ez to the answerin' o' questions,
 I'm on off ox at bein' druv,
 Though I aint one that any test shuns,
 'll give our folks a helpin' shove;
 Kind o' promiscoous I go it
 For the holl country, on the ground
 I take, ez nigh ez I can show it,
 Is pooty gen'rally all round."

Not yet in this country can the "Letter," from which the last extract is given, be fully appreciated; for the prose explanation accompanying it tells us, that "the first object which civilized man proposes to himself I take to be the finding out whatsoever he can concerning his neighbours." On ill-conducted railways we are sometimes annoyed by smoking, but hitherto we have escaped being "strangered." A weekly newspaper, clever but naughty (which, of course, reader, you and I never see), would say, perhaps, that administering to our venerable constitution a large dose of *Brightine* might be likely enough to bring us to the trans-oceanic level in that respect.

The following is a specimen of Heine's satire, from the fifth "caput" of "Deutschland"—Rhine complaining, and the poet consoling:—

"That I am a virgin pure no more,
 The French know better than any;
 For they with my waters have mingled oft
 Their floods of victory many.

The stupid song, and the stupid man!¹
 Indeed, he has treated me badly;
 To a certain extent he has compromised me
 In matters political, sadly.

For if the French should ever come back,
 I must blush at their reappearance,
 Though I've pray'd with tears for their return
 To heaven, with perseverance.

I always have loved full well the French,
 So tiny, yet full of sinew;
 Still wear they white breeches as formerly?
 Does their singing and springing continue?

¹ Alluding to Nicholas Becker, who had written a poem, beginning, "They shall not have the German Rhine."

Right glad should I be to see them again,
 And yet I'm afraid to be twitted
 On account of the words of that cursèd song,
 And the sneers of its author, half-witted !
 That Alfred de Musset,¹ that lad upon town,
 Perchance will come as their drummer,
 And march at their head, and his wretchèd wit
 Play off on me all through the summer.'
 Poor Father Rhine thus made his complaint,
 And discontentedly splutter'd.
 In order to raise his sinking heart,
 These comforting words I utter'd :—
 'O do not dread, good Father Rhine,
 The laugh of a Frenchman, which is
 Worth little, for he is no longer the same,
 And they also have alter'd their breeches.
 Their breeches are red, and no longer are white ;
 They also have alter'd the button ;
 No longer they sing, and no longer they spring,
 But hang their heads like dead mutton.
 They now are philosophers all, and quote
 Hegel, Fichte, Kant, over their victuals ;
 Tobacco they smoke, and beer they drink,
 And many play also at skittles.
 They're all, like us Germans, becoming mere snobs,
 But carry it even further ;
 No longer they follow in Voltaire's steps,
 But believe in Hengstenberg rather.
 As to Alfred de Musset, indeed, it is true
 That he still to abuse gives a handle ;
 But be not afraid, and we'll soon chain down
 His tongue, so devoted to scandal.
 And if he should play off his wretched wit,
 We'll punish him most severely,
 Proclaiming aloud the adventures he meets
 With the women he loves most dearly.
 Then be contented, good Father Rhine,
 Bad songs treat only with laughter ;
 A better song ere long thou shalt hear.
 Farewell, we shall meet hereafter.'"

We have had some scruple in quoting the second last stanza ;
 but as all who take an interest in French literature are well
 aware of the way in which, since Alfred de Musset's death, two

¹ This charming French poet had answered Becker by a song, commencing,
 "We have had your German Rhine."

years ago, his name has been brought before the public by the publication of George Sand, "*Elle et Lui*," and the far more amusing, as well as, we suppose, more truthful, reply to it by the deceased's brother Paul, "*Lui et Elle*," there can be no new propagation of scandal in giving it. It, of itself, is enough to show the unscrupulous personality of Heine. Assuredly he had small right to set up as a moral censor. One can excuse, though with difficulty, in a person of irreproachable character, the dragging another's personal failings before the public; but for Heine to seek to play the part of Cato—*Parisiensis*!

Our last extract is from the last part of that poem in the *Romancero*, called "*The Poet Ferdusi*." The East has, within the last forty years, attracted, especially in the three chief literary countries of Europe, a very large amount of attention. What a difference of understanding and interest in Oriental matters since the old quarrel between Europe and Asia seemed re-opened by the breaking out of the Greek insurrection! For France, the literary interest, commenced by Chateaubriand's "*Itineraire*," was carried on by the "*Lascaris*" of Villemain, and still more by "*Les Orientales*" of Victor Hugo. What their young Romanticist had done for the French side of the Rhine, was effected somewhat earlier by the patriarch of Teutonic literature in the "*West-östlichen Divan*," for the German. We do not find in Heine anything like the continuous influence of Eastern subjects and feelings which is manifest in these works of Goethe and Hugo. Of Brahmanism and Buddhism, so thoroughly studied by Parisian as well as German Orientalists, and which have affected other and younger poets, we find in his writings very scanty traces. By the classical mythology he is far less affected than either Schiller or Goethe. Mediæval legend has moved him more than either of the sources of interest previously mentioned:—

"Shah Mahomet paused, and presently said,
'Ansari, a thought has come into my head:

To my stables make haste, and with hands unthrifty,
Take a hundred mules, and camels fifty,

And lade them all with every treasure
That fills the heart of a mortal with pleasure.

* * * *

Ansari, when all these things thou hast got,
Thou must start on thy journey, and linger not.

Thou must take them all, with my kind regard,
To Thus, to Ferdusi, the mighty bard.'

Ansari fulfill'd his lord's behest,
And loaded the camels and mules with the best,

And costliest presents, the value of which
Was enough to make a whole province quite rich.

In propria persona he left at last
The palace, when some three days had pass'd,
And with a general's banner red,
In front of the caravan he sped.

At the end of a week to Thus came they—
The town at the foot of the mountain lay—

The caravan the western gate
With shouts and noises enter'd straight.

The trumpets sounded, the loud drums beat,
And songs of triumph rang through the street.

'La Illa El Allah!' with joyous shout,
The camel-drivers were calling out.

But through the east gate, at the farther end
Of Thus, at that moment chanced to wend

The funeral train, so full of gloom,
That the dead Ferdusi bore to his tomb."

In his prose writings, Heine has given many just criticisms, many striking sayings, many felicitous pictures of men and things. If to call Madame de Stael "a whirlwind in petticoats" was mere impertinence, and to say, "Nature wanted to see how she looked, and created Goethe," was sheer enthusiasm, how happy is the *mot* about Talleyrand: "If an express should suddenly bring the news that T. had taken to a belief in accountability after death, the funds would at once go down ten per cent.!" How beautifully characteristic the description of a man insensible to artistic beauty! "He is like a child, which, insensible to the glowing significance of a great statue, only touches the marble and complains of cold." As striking, though in another style, is his description of Rubens: A "Flemish Titan, the wings of whose genius were so strong that he soared as high as the sun, in spite of the hundredweight of Dutch cheeses that hung on his legs."

Heine might have become a thoroughly national poet—the German Poet of the first half of the nineteenth century. He preferred becoming a sectional one. Poetry saturated with unbelief, never is long-lived. Where is the epigrammatic anti-Christianism in verse of the age of the *Encyclopedie*? Even Voltaire is little read out of France, and not a great deal in it. That clever *persifleur* Arsene Houssaye will not succeed in writing up "Le Roi Voltaire" again. In an age of revived religious feeling and action, Heine was obtrusively irreligious, rudely anti-Christian. There are passages which, under a wrong view, as we think, of a translator's duty, Mr Bowring has given, for

which the only fit place would be in the columns of the coarsest part of the newspaper press. We shall not, even once, quote any of these. "Would he had blotted a thousand lines!" is the alleged criticism of envy on Shakspeare. It is the just verdict of disappointment in those who would fain admire Heine, but feel themselves repelled by his mockery at all they hold most in veneration.

A few months ago, the German people in the Fatherland, and out of it, celebrated the centenary of the birth of Schiller. We cordially indorse the approval of that festival, as a whole (however objectionable some details in various places may have been), which has been lately, in the "*Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung*," pronounced by Professor Lechler of Leipzig, on the twofold ground, that "Schiller, as a poet and thinker, stands upon Christian ground;¹ and Christianity neither can nor will dissociate itself from true beauty and art." But we can anticipate no such future recognition of Heine. A distinguished name in the second period of a country's literature never can stand on the same ground as a great name in the first. Schiller was one of a band, and one of the greatest of them, who gave to Germany, for the first time in modern history, a poetic literature. So Burns gave again to Scotland a national poetry, which, since the sixteenth century conflicts, that nation had not possessed. He was the immediate poetic heir of Dunbar and Lyndsay. Perhaps it may be added, he only of all poetic sons of Scotland may be placed with Shakspeare and Chaucer, Spenser and Milton, among the princes of the literary blood-royal of Britain. More fortunate than her sister land, England never lost her poetic tradition. She had not the Scottish two centuries break. She could not therefore owe to any one, what last year Scotland recognised as her deep obligation to Burns. So Heine was but one of many. He was distinctive, unique, in many respects original, in intellectual gifts. He wrote much, and fast. It was the age's fault as much as the man's. One he was among the stars, but far enough from being a sun. Among the best biographies of our time, are those of Schiller and Goethe—books not to be exhausted by one reading, but worthy of several—from which the young student of German, and the matured man of culture, to whom German is but one of many literatures, may alike derive intellectual profit. But we do not consider that any British man of letters could acquire or increase lasting renown, by seeking to make a third classic biography out of the chequered and saddening career of Heinrich Heine.

We part from Mr Bowring with high respect for his talent

¹ Lechler adds, "Not indeed at the centre of Christianity, but still within its circumference."

and industry. With proper regard for the public and for himself, we hope he may win a lasting reputation, not on the lower platform of translation merely, but on ground altogether his own. There is danger in these days of our forgetting that Southern Europe has had, and still possesses, a literature; and Mr Bowring will allow us to say, in conclusion, that he will translate none the worse from the German, and will none the less appreciate that one century old literature, if Spain and Italy should claim a share of his attention and regard. Neither of the southern literatures can be expected to influence our country as they did in the age of Elizabeth and James. The intellectual relation of the countries has changed too thoroughly for that. In the great historian, whose remains in the first week of this year were laid in our National Walhalla, we had, perhaps, the last eminent literary man by whom German was little known.¹ The tendency now is, to study German to the disparagement of all the Romanic tongues. For this linguistic kindredness may be a motive, but is no justification. Proportion is the rule here, as elsewhere. The choicest parts of all accessible literatures,—such is the intellectual food which the true man of self-culture will choose.

¹ A eulogistic reviewer asked that week, "What had he not read?" Will any one tell us (now that the very natural enthusiasm is over) how many allusions to German can be found in Macaulay's writings?

ART. VI. — *Church and State; the Spiritual and the Civil Courts.*

1. *Fragment on the Church.* By THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D. London.
2. *The State in its Relation with the Church.* By W. E. GLADSTONE, Esq. London.
3. *The Cardross Case. Proceedings at the Commission of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

THERE are three possible ways in which the Church and the State—the body ecclesiastical and the body political—might exist in reference to each other. *First*, the State might be regarded as possessing a rightful sovereignty over the Church, and hence the religious society be put under the rule of the civil magistrate. Or, *secondly*, the inferiority of the Church to the State might be asserted, and the temporal government subjected to the regulation, or at least the control, of the spiritual authorities. Or, *thirdly*, the two societies might be viewed as distinct and independent bodies, entering into alliance, or existing separately, but each complete in itself, and supreme within its own province and for the determination of its own affairs. It is seldom, or perhaps never, that the idea of Church and State, according to either of these theories, is purely or accurately realized in fact. Still it is to one or other of these types that all existing examples of the relation between the two bodies more or less closely approximate, and in reality belong.

The controversy as to the preference due to one or other of these theories must very much turn upon the question,—Are the Church and the State originally and essentially two distinct and independent societies, with separate spheres and functions, or only one society under two names? Are they two bodies, different in their origin and nature—in the kind of authority belonging to each—in the character of the members that they include—in the class of matters with which they are conversant,—so that they cannot be merged into one or confounded without altering their true character as Church or State; or are they in reality but one body, with no more than one province and function,—dealing with things nominally but not essentially different,—and exercising the same identical jurisdiction with reference to all causes and persons, whether known as secular or known as spiritual? Assert that there is no valid or true foundation for the distinction commonly acknowledged between things secular and things sacred, or that there is no greater difference between matters belonging to the faith and worship of God, on the one

hand, and matters pertaining to civil life on the other, than between various classes of temporal rights among themselves, and it is plain that they may all be properly dealt with in the same way and controlled by one common governing body. If questions of truth and falsehood in religious doctrine, or right and wrong in religious worship, or what is lawful or unlawful in religious order, do not require a different treatment, and are not to be decided on different principles from questions relating to person and property, and if the authority which is competent to deal with the understanding and conscience of man in spiritual things be not essentially distinct from the authority that is conversant with his outward and civil obedience, then the ruling power in the State may also be the ruling power in the Church; and it will, to a large extent, depend on the comparative importance conceded to the religious or to the civil element in society at any particular time, whether we see an approximation to the Ultramontane doctrine of the subordination of the State to the Church, or witness an example of the Erastian theory of a civil jurisdiction in spiritual things.

The notion of the identity of the spiritual and temporal powers, or at least the practical denial of their separate and essential independence, has been exemplified in various ways. In times before the introduction of Christianity, and in our own day among nations where Christianity is unknown, we very commonly see the King and the Priest to be one and the same person; and because usually he is much more of the King than the Priest, and because the civil element throughout the nation is more largely developed than the religious, the temporal power lords it over the spiritual. But a similar result may be brought about in a Christian nation by a process somewhat different. Among a professedly Christian people, where the subjects of the Commonwealth are, to a large extent, numerically identical with the members of the Church, and where the laws of the State are more or less borrowed from Christianity, there is a danger that the real difference between Church and State may be overlooked, from the idea that they are merged into each other, and that the two are become virtually one. Such substantially is the doctrine of Hooker in his "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," and also of Dr Arnold in his "*Fragment on the Church*," although they arrive at their conclusion by different roads. With Hooker, the fixed and predominant idea was the supremacy of the civil power, which he had to defend against the Puritans, who regarded it as unlawful in the ecclesiastical province; and, accordingly, while asserting that in every professedly Christian nation the Church and the Commonwealth become "one society,"¹ he does so by teaching.

. . . ¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book viii., chap. 1.

that the spiritual is merged into the civil body, and becomes subject to the king as the "highest uncommanded commander" in the united society. With Arnold, in whose eye, not the State, but the Church, as the "society for putting down moral evil," was the ideal, the same result was accomplished by reversing the process; and the State, in adopting and endowing a form of Christianity, is merged into the spiritual power, and "becomes a part of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, not allied with it, which implies distinctness from it, but transformed into it."¹ The theory of Warburton, in his "*Alliance of Church and State*," proceeds in reality on the same principle of confounding to a large extent the functions of the two, and making them identical, although starting with the admission of the original distinction between the two bodies. He holds that, in return for the advantages of protection and endowment, it is competent and lawful for the Church to surrender to the State her original independence, and to give up her powers of self-government and action into the hands of the civil magistrate, who subjects them to his direct control, or to the necessity of his approval.² All these theories proceed upon the same fundamental assumption, that it is possible, without destroying the proper idea of the Church on the one hand, or of the State on the other, more or less to identify them in their nature, in their functions, in their authority, or in their objects; as if it were competent for the State to do the work of the Church, or the Church to do the work of the State, or as if there were no impossibility arising out of the very nature of the case, for the civil magistrate, by the employment of his compulsory power, to regulate the religious belief or spiritual obedience of his subjects, or for ecclesiastical courts or functionaries, in the exercise of their office of instruction and persuasion, to arrange for the security of property and life.

Nor is the fundamental idea different when the opposite extreme is asserted, and the State is subordinated to the Church. The Romanist theory of the supremacy of the spiritual power over the temporal, whether advocated in the shape of a direct authority or an indirect, ultimately rests upon the same doctrine, that they are one and not distinct powers, at least in respect of the sphere that they occupy and the jurisdiction they possess. The superiority claimed by the Church over the State is a superiority in authority employed about the same matters, and dealing with the same persons or things; it is the assertion of a right on the part of the spiritual body to control the civil magistrate in civil functions in the same way, or to the same effect, that he himself exercises control over his inferior agents in the State;

¹ *Fragment on the Church*, p. 177.

² *Alliance between Church and State*, Book ii., chap. 3.

and it can be logically defended on no other supposition than the pretence that the Church originally possesses, or subsequently acquires, an office and jurisdiction the same in kind as those which the State exercises in temporal concerns. To the extent, then, that such supremacy is asserted by the Church, it is a claim to the possession of the same sort of power that belongs to the State, but in higher degree than the State enjoys it,—the spiritual society thus taking to itself the office of the political, and borrowing its character when converting spiritual sentences into civil penalties, or giving to excommunication the force and effect of a temporal punishment. It is not necessary, on this theory, that the Church, as supreme over all persons and causes, should employ the same agency for doing its temporal behests as for doing its religious duties; it may commission civil officers for the one description of work, and ecclesiastical officers for the other. It may have its orders of secular agents distinct from its orders of religious servants. But they are servants equally of the same master. The duties they perform are done in the name of the one authority that holds in its hand both the spiritual and the temporal supremacy; and the departments in which they labour, whether in sacred or secular offices, are not essentially separate or distinct, but are merged together under the unity of one common and ultimate jurisdiction. The doctrine of the subordination of the State to the Church, and the opposite extreme of the subordination of the Church to the State, alike proceed on the idea that their peculiar powers and functions may be accounted of the same kind, or in reality identified.

But can this theory of the essential identity or sameness of Church and State, in their nature and functions, find countenance or support in Scripture principle, or reason, or experience? Or is it not expressly and conclusively disowned by them all? Is it possible, on the one hand, without a sacrifice to that extent of the true idea of a Church, to conceive of it borrowing or usurping the compulsory powers that belong to the State, and employing them for the purpose of establishing a particular religious creed, or enforcing the order of Divine worship, or giving to its spiritual decisions command over the conscience and heart? Or is it possible, on the other hand, without the sacrifice to that extent of the true idea of a civil government, to imagine it clothing itself with the character of a Church, and using the spiritual machinery of persuasion, and instruction, and admonition, in order to punish crime and protect property, or to enforce the national arrangements for internal taxation, or for defence against foreign attack? Do the objects contemplated by a Christian Church admit of their being accomplished and secured by any power or authority similar to that which is proper to the State? Or do the ends which the State has in view suggest or allow the

use of authority identical with that which the Church employs, to tell with effect on the understandings and consciences of men in their relations to spiritual things?

We are advocating no narrow theory of civil government, as if it had nothing to do with anything beyond the secular relations of life, and had no interest or office in what concerns man in a higher capacity. We believe that there can be no sound view of political government which restricts it to the care of man's body and bodily wants, and does not assign to it a wider sphere, as charged, in a certain sense, with the advancement of human well-being in its moral as well as its material interests. But still there can be no doubt that the State was instituted, in the first instance, for other purposes than that of promoting the Christian and spiritual good of its subjects; and that, however much the acts of government, if wisely shaped, may be fitted, and even intended, indirectly to advance that object, yet, in its first and essential character, it is an ordinance for civil and not for religious objects. As little would we assert that it is necessary to regard the spiritual society as strictly limited to the one object of seeking the Christian well-being of its members, and as sublimely indifferent to all that affects their temporal or social condition. There are blessings even belonging to this life which the Church can scatter in its way, even while we hold that the first and distinctive object for which it was established is to declare to men the promise of the life that is to come. In the case of the State, it may indirectly, and by the use of its proper power as a State, promote to no inconsiderable extent those moral and religious ends which it is the Church's distinctive duty to work out; but still political government is a civil institute, and not a spiritual. In the case of the Church, it may, by the indirect influence which it puts forth upon society, become the right hand of the civil magistrate in repressing wrong, and the best instrument for advancing the temporal prosperity of the State; but still it is a spiritual ordinance, and not a civil. It is impossible for the State to do the work of the Church; nor is this its primary object. It is equally impossible for the Church to do the work of the State; nor can this be alleged to be its design, except in a very secondary and subordinate sense.

In arguing for the original and essential distinction between Church and State in their primary character and functions, we do not feel at all embarrassed in our argument by the position, which we believe to be defensible on grounds both of reason and Scripture, that there can and ought to be a friendly connection or alliance between the two. It were beside our present purpose to enter upon the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of civil establishments of religion. But this much we may say, that no intelligent advocate of the lawfulness of such connection

will ever seek to rest his argument on the denial of the original and essential independence of Church and State, or the possibility of a partial surrender of it on either side. On the contrary, the Scriptural alliance of the spiritual and civil powers is possible only because they are originally and unalterably different. If the Church and State could properly be identified or merged into each other, there could be no such thing as an alliance rightly so called. It is because they are different in their primary characters, in the provinces that they occupy, in the powers which they administer, in the membership that belongs to them, that they can unite without confusion, and be allied without danger to each other. To use a form of words better known in the controversies of other days than of our own, there is much which the civil magistrate may do "*circa sacra*" without involving him in the charge of interfering "*in sacris*,"—much that he may do, when in friendly alliance with the ecclesiastical society, to promote its spiritual objects, while he is in no way departing from his own sphere as the minister of the State, or assuming the character or powers that belong to the Church. But to whatever extent the State may go in thus aiding the objects and furthering the views of the Church, any alliance between them, when contracted on Scriptural terms, presupposes that the parties to it are, in the first instance, independent and distinct. It is founded on the idea, that the two societies that enter into connection are alike possessed previously of powers of separate existence and action,—each complete within itself for its own purposes and objects, and sovereign in the ordering of its affairs; and each capable of acting apart as well as in concert, and only consenting to be allied on terms that do not compromise, but rather acknowledge, their independence. The advocates of civil establishments of religion, so far from being called upon by the necessities of their argument to admit the essential identity of Church and State, can never truly or rightly state it without laying down the proposition that the two are fundamentally and unchangeably unlike. It is only two societies self-acting and self-governed with whom it is possible to enter into alliance at all; and it is only two societies having powers unlike, occupying departments unlike, and dealing with matters unlike, with whom it is possible to enter into alliance safely.

The doctrine, then, that the State is bound to promote the general well-being of man, moral as well as material, and that the Church cannot be indifferent, amid the higher interests committed to it, of his civil and social rights, does by no means involve the conclusion of the sameness in nature and function of the civil and spiritual powers. Neither does the further doctrine of the lawfulness of some kind of alliance between the two imply, that, in entering into connection, any one of them abandons its

own personal or corporate identity, and becomes lost in the other.

But what is the light that Scripture casts on this sameness or diversity of Church and State? Does it afford any justification of the theory, that the Church is nothing other than the State acting in the matter of religion, or the State nothing other than the instrument of the Church ruling in civil as well as spiritual affairs? Is there any warrant from such a quarter for saying that the Church is no more than one department or organ of the State, limited to a special class of State duties and objects, or that the State is but one amid the orders of ecclesiastical servants, to do the bidding of the Church with a view to Church ends? On the contrary, we have scriptural authority for asserting that the Christian Church and the State differ in all that can make them two societies and not one, being fundamentally and unalterably distinct even in a Christian community, and in the case of a friendly alliance. They differ in their origin, in their membership, in their powers, and in the matters with which they have to deal.

They differ in their *origin*,—a truth illustrated historically, in the fact that civil government in one form or other has always existed whether the Christian Church was known or unknown, and has been acknowledged to be valid and lawful among all nations, whether Christian or not; and a truth founded on the general principle, that the one is an ordinance of nature, and the other an ordinance of grace,—the one the appointment of God as the universal Sovereign, the other the appointment of God as Mediator, or the special Ruler and Head of His own people. Whether the community be Christianized or not, civil government is a natural ordinance, not dependent for its power or validity on the religion of ruler or subject, and not more binding in a nation of Christians than in one ignorant of Christianity. And hence it is that “difference of religion does not make void the magistrate’s office,—presenting in this respect a contrast to the ruling power in the Christian Church, which is only binding within the circle of those who have voluntarily submitted themselves as professing Christians to its jurisdiction.

They differ in respect of their *members*,—a fact exemplified most palpably, in the case of a State ignorant of Christianity, or hostile to it,—where the Christian Church consists of a society of individuals, perhaps small in number in comparison with the rest of the nation—persecuted by the magistrate, or, at best, only tolerated as a necessary evil—detached from the general community, and acting apart; but not less really true in the instance of a Christianized State, within whose borders all, or nearly all, conform to a profession of the national faith. Even in those cases in which the Church becomes co-extensive

with the commonwealth, and the two may be regarded as almost numerically one, the distinction between the citizen and the Christian, the member of the Church and the subject of the State, is never lost, and cannot be disregarded. The conditions of membership in the two societies are fundamentally unlike. A man may be an outlaw from civil society, or suffer for treason to the State, who is yet welcomed to the privileges of the Church, and revered not only as a member but as a martyr here; and a man excommunicated by the spiritual powers may suffer no loss in his rights as a citizen. It is not in his character as a subject of the commonwealth, but in his capacity as a professing Christian, that a man becomes a member of the spiritual association; and his rights there give him no title to political privileges, and no protection from the consequences of the legal forfeiture of the status and immunities of civil life. Two societies, constituted upon conditions of membership so dissimilar, cannot themselves be alike, but must remain essentially distinct, even when approaching most nearly to numerical identity.

They differ in respect of the *powers* they possess and employ to effect their objects. Here, too, there is a contrast between them that admits of no reconciliation. To the civil government belongs the power of the sword, or the prerogative of capital punishment, involving in it a right to employ all those lesser penalties affecting the person or property or temporal rights of men which are included under the greater, and which in their varied measure and severity are all necessary, and not more than sufficient to secure the order, and peace, and well-being of civil life. To the religious society belong, on the contrary, the weapons of a warfare not carnal, but spiritual; the armoury supplied by truth and right; the obligations of conscience, and the fear of God; the power that is found in a sense of duty to be done, and wrong to be avoided; the influence that springs from spiritual instruction, and persuasion, and censure; the force that there is in the doctrine of a world to come; the command over the understanding and hearts of men, that is given by speaking to them in the name of Heaven, even under the limitation of speaking nothing but what Heaven has revealed; the mighty authority to bind and loose the springs of life and action in the human heart, by appealing to its feelings in the word of an ambassador for Christ, even while rendering to all the liberty which the Bereans claimed of asking at his own word, Whether these things be so or not? Powers so different and so strongly contrasted cannot reside in the same governing body, without neutralizing each other. The one ends where the other begins; the same hand at the same moment cannot grasp the twofold prerogative: the Church, without the sacrifice of its character and influence as a Church, cannot arrogate the powers of the State; and the State, without foregoing

to that extent its position and action as a State, cannot enter upon the functions of the Church.

They differ in regard to the *matters* with which they have to deal. Here likewise there is a separation between the body spiritual and the body political, which forbids approximation. The objects immediately and directly contemplated by the State, in the proper exercise of its coercive authority, terminate in the present life, and are bounded by that earthly range which fences the territory of the civil ruler when he deals with the administration of justice between man and man—the preservation of peace and social order—the advancement of public morals—the security of person and property and temporal right. Whatever indirectly a Christian government may feel to be within the sphere of its duty or power, when looking upward to higher interests, it is plain that its first and distinctive office is to make men good subjects, and not saints ; and with that view, to employ all the civil aids and instruments that secure such an end. On the other hand, the direct and immediate object of the Church is the salvation of souls,—the making of men not so much good citizens as true Christians ; and with this aim, it has to deal not with the lives and properties, but with the understanding and consciences of its members,—to administer to the inward rather than to the outward man,—to regulate the motions and springs of human action within,—and to turn and sway the heart out of which are the issues of obedience and life. The truth of God, and the conscience of man ; the claims of the Divine law, and the responsibilities of human guilt ; the ruin by sin, and the salvation of the soul by grace,—these are the things with which the Christian Church is primarily conversant ; and not any of those questions of civil or pecuniary right, in the determination of which the magistrate of the State is competent to sit as a judge or a divider. The subject matter in the one case is spiritual, involved in man's relation to God ; in the other case it is temporal, belonging to his relation as a citizen or member of the commonwealth.

Such, without doubt, are the grounds in Scripture principles for the necessity of drawing a line of distinction, broad and deep, between Church and State, and for refusing to regard them as either originally one, or as capable of being subsequently identified. The admission of such a total distinctness, when intelligently made and consistently carried out to its logical consequences, reaches much further than to a condemnation of the extreme views on either side, that would assert that the Church is no more than the religious department of the State, or the State nothing other than the civil servant holding office from the Church. There may be a very general acknowledgment of the Scripture principles, which forbid us to regard the spiritual

and temporal societies as the same in themselves, or in the duties to be discharged by them; while, at the same time, the independent power in each, to regulate its own proceedings, to apply its own rules, and to govern its own members, exempt from all foreign control, may not be held as involved in the acknowledgment. And yet the separation between Church and State so strongly asserted in Scripture, can be nothing more than nominal and illusory, if it admits of the one party to any extent, however inconsiderable, occupying the province of the other, and stretching forth its hand to control its neighbour's affairs within its neighbour's borders. The distinction between them as to powers and functions must be very much a distinction without a difference, if the authority of the Church is to any civil effect a valid authority with the servants and in the proceedings of the State, or if the commands of the State can carry lawful force and obligations, in however small a degree, with the members of the Church, in the arrangement of spiritual concerns. A line of demarcation between the territory of the spiritual and the temporal is no line at all if it can be crossed at any point, by either party, for the purpose of taking possession of ground fenced off by such boundary, for the exclusive occupation of the other.

There can be no doubt that the principle so plainly laid down in Scripture, of the entire separation between the religious and political societies, as to the nature of their powers, and as to the subject matter of their administrations, legitimately and inevitably carries with it the conclusion, not only that each is complete within itself for its own work and its own objects, but also that each is independent of any control not lodged within itself, and brought to bear from any foreign quarter upon its internal arrangements. To assert that the spiritual rulers can competently exercise power in the department of the State, in the way of depriving kings of their civil estate, and absolving subjects from their civil allegiance, of visiting men by means of its sentences with civil pains or the forfeiture of civil rights, is nothing else than to allege that the authority of the Church is of the same kind as that which belongs to the State, and that it rightly deals, not with different, but with identical matters. To assert, on the other hand, that the civil magistrate must have the right of effective interference in the affairs of the Church, in the way of keeping ecclesiastical courts and officers within the line of their duty, and reversing and controlling their proceedings is, in like manner, nothing else than to affirm that the power of the State is of the same nature with that which the Church administers, and that it belongs to it to judge in the same subject matter in which the Church is appointed to judge. An exemption on the part of the State from spiritual control in the management of its own affairs, is necessarily implied in the very proposition, that the authority which

would interfere is spiritual, and that the matter interfered with is not. An exemption, in like manner, on the part of the Church from civil control in managing its own affairs and governing its own members, is necessarily involved in the very idea that the authority pretending to regulate the Church's duties is civil, and that these duties are not.

But the argument may be slightly varied. We have said that, admitting the primary and indelible distinction between them, it is impossible for the Church to assume authority over any department of the State, and, *vice versa*, impossible for the State to assume authority over any department of the Church; because this, in either case, would amount to an assertion that, in so far, their powers were not different, but one and the same. But with no less truth it may be argued, that if it were possible to do so,—if it were possible for the civil power to surrender more or less of its proper responsibilities, and for the Church to assume them, or for the Church to abandon certain classes of its obligations, and for the civil magistrate to take them up, the result would only be, that to that extent they would deny their own character, and divest themselves of the peculiar functions which make them what they are,—as the one the public ordinance of God for temporal, and the other His public ordinance for spiritual good. By the sacrifice of its proper functions, and the consignment of them into the hands of the spiritual rulers, the State would to that extent forfeit its character as a State, and assume the mongrel form of a politico-ecclesiastical corporation. And no less, by divesting itself of its distinctive responsibilities and duties, and by abandoning them to the civil magistrate, the Church would in so far renounce its claim to be accounted a Church, and be contented to take up the equivocal place and character of a semi-religious and semi-political society. It may be a question of casuistry not easily answered, at what time in the process by which its essential features are lost or obliterated through the sacrifice, one after another, of its powers of life and action, the Church and the State must cease to be regarded as such. The living man may suffer the amputation of limb after limb, and the paralysis of member after member, from the hand of the surgeon or by disease, and live on still; but however long the process may be protracted, and the result delayed, in the end it is fatal. And so it is with the body politic or spiritual. The "States of the Church," in their unhappy position of incorporation with the Romish See, would hardly come up to any true definition of the ordinance of civil government. And there are Churches secularised under the control of an Erastian supremacy, which can hardly be called the body of Christ.

We have dealt with the question as on the footing of the

scriptural distinction drawn between Church and State. But this distinction rests on no positive appointment of Scripture, but on a deeper foundation, apart from Scripture altogether, and forces itself upon our notice and convictions independently of any arbitrary definition to be found in the word of God, of the ordinance of the Christian Church on the one hand, or of civil government on the other. The argument, then, for the essential difference and mutual independence of the spiritual and temporal powers may be placed on a wider basis, and bring out in a manner more unequivocal still the freedom from foreign control which necessarily belongs to each when dealing with its own matters, and ministering within its proper walk of duty. The lines traced deeply and indelibly between the spiritual and the civil element in human life, and which divide into two classes, not to be confounded, what belongs to God and what belongs to Cæsar, appertain to the very constitution of things: they have been drawn as they are drawn by the hand of nature; and Christianity does no more than adopt, as it found, them,—adding the sanction of revealed authority to the light of nature, and giving clearer expression and fuller effect to a distinction known before. The independence of Church and State is no pet theory of divines, drawn from an artificial system of theology. The difference between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world—between the sacred and secular element in human affairs—is not due to Christianity at all, although it stands out in bolder relief, and having a more unmistakeable obligation in the teachings of Christianity. But the difference itself is founded in nature, and the universal and undying belief in the distinction is the instruction of natural religion, even to the most untutored heart. There are but two elements necessary to develop this thought in every mind, namely, a God and a conscience,—a belief in a supreme moral Governor over us, and in our responsibility to Him. The man who knows these two truths, even though he should know little more, knows that his relations to that mysterious Being are distinct from his relations to his fellow-men,—that his obligations to God belong to a different order, and involve a different authority from any implied in what is due to his superiors on earth, and that the civil allegiance owing to the ruler of the people is not the spiritual service to be offered to the Ruler of all. Such a man may know nothing of the theory of a visible Church, and of its relations with the State—he may know nothing even of Christianity, or of any teaching beyond that of nature—he may know nothing of what revelation has declared as to the ordinances or manner of Church worship, but he knows that he cannot render to God what it is sufficient to render to Cæsar, and that things spiritual are not the same as things civil. What is this

truth, except the very truth which Christianity has developed into the doctrine of a visible Church, in its faith, and worship, and government distinct from the kingdoms of men, and independent of their control? The essential elements of the distinction are recognised by every human conscience, even though unenlightened by revelation; the disregard of the distinction, and, in consequence, the subordination to man of man's relations to God, is felt to be a violation of its rights, and with nothing short of the emancipation of the spiritual element from the fetters of human control can these rights be vindicated. We must go much deeper down than Christianity, before we can understand the foundation and warrant of the distinction so universally, in one shape or other, acknowledged even by nations ignorant of the Bible. There are truths that have their root and the source of their authority in the eternal relations between the creature and the Creator. And this is one of them. Christianity teaches it; but it is older than Christianity. It is the truth that grows up unbidden and irresistible in every human heart that knows that there is a God, and knows that man's relations to Him are more than man's relations to his king.¹

It is not needful, then, to turn over the pages of the polemical theology of other days, in order that we may see the meaning and be able to defend the doctrine of the two kings and the two kingdoms which the Bible would set up within every Christian commonwealth,—each having subjects and jurisdiction, and each sovereign and free. The elements of such a theology are found wherever natural religion teaches that there is a God who claims to be the ruler of the human conscience, and to be the only ruler there; even although the man taught darkly and imperfectly in this school should know religion only as a personal thing between his soul and his Maker, and should never have felt its influence or understood its commands calling him to unite himself to others in a society gathered out of the community at large, and uniting together apart for the purpose of joint or church worship. There is a mighty interval between the complete doctrine of a visible church under Christ its Head, as taught in Scripture, and the rudimentary doctrine of natural religion, which, out of the fundamental relationship of man to his Creator, educes the necessity and duty of worship; but yet there underlies both the same essential idea of the difference between what is due to the Divine Being and what is due to the civil superior. In vindicating, then, that distinction, and the consequences involved in it, we can afford to dispense with all these articles of theology, controversial or controverted, by which divines,

¹ Neque enim cum hominibus, sed cum uno Deo negotium est conscientiis nostris. Quò pertinet illud vulgare discrimen inter terrenum et conscientiæ primum.—*Calvin, Inst. IV. 10.*

drawing from Scripture their weapons of defence, have sought to explain and vindicate it. We can dispense with much, if not all, that Scripture has taught as to a rightly organized and fully constituted Church, standing in well-defined relationship to Christ as Head, and contrasted in bold relief with the kingdoms of the world. It is not necessary to summon to our aid the doctrine of the Headship of Christ—the key-stone of any right Scripture theory of a Christian Church. It is not necessary to recall the distinction between the Church and the civil power, as the one founded in grace and the other in nature. It is not necessary to call to our help the difference between the two societies in respect of the conditions of membership in each. All these are Scripture doctrines that directly and conclusively bear on the question of the essential distinction between Church and State, and the inalienable independence that is the prerogative of each. But passing these, let us seize upon the one idea that underlies them all—the revelation of nature as well as of Scripture—the dogma that all churches take for granted, and which all, whether belonging to churches or not, believe to be true,—the dogma that “God alone is Lord of the conscience,” and that into that domain the king cannot enter; and we have in this single truth all that is necessary to enable us to draw the line between what belongs to God and what belongs to Cæsar, and to justify the claim for churches and for individuals of exemption in spiritual things from civil control. That doctrine can stand firm upon the foundation of natural religion and the universal beliefs of mankind, apart altogether from the authority which it justly claims as a truth of Scripture, and from any confirmation it may receive from the Scripture definition of a Christian Church. And that doctrine, rightly understood and applied, is sufficient to vindicate for Christian societies not less certainly or less largely than for Christian men, freedom in all that pertains to God from the commandments and authority of the State.

For, after all, is not the doctrine of the independence of the Church in matters spiritual but another form of the ancient doctrine of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment? And is not the claim on behalf of the Christian society to be free as regards its creed, its worship, and its order, nothing more than a demand for toleration? Upon what grounds and within what limits do we claim liberty of conscience at the hands of the civil magistrate in the case of individuals? We claim it because there is one department of human duty and obligation in which man is primarily responsible to God, and cannot therefore, in the same sense and at the same moment, be responsible to human authority. We claim it because in these matters his obedience is forestalled, and himself the servant by prior right of another master; and seeing that he cannot serve two masters in the same

walk of duty, and that he must be at liberty to obey God, he ought to be made free from foreign interference or control. Beneath the shelter of his previous responsibility to his Maker, liberty of conscience is secured to the meanest citizen of the commonwealth, not because it is a civil right due to him as a citizen, but because it is a more sacred right due to him as the moral and accountable creature of God. Within the sanctuary set apart for worship and for duty to his Creator he can stand erect before the face of earthly rulers, because the representative of earthly rule may not there intrude; another has taken the seat of authority, and a higher obligation decides the question of obedience; and because he is acknowledged to be, in the first instance, the servant of God, the ministers of the State cannot bind him to their service, but rather must loose him and let him go. This is the ground on which we argue for liberty and right to every man to inquire and believe and act in spiritual matters as his own conscience and not another's shall dictate,—a claim acknowledged on all hands to be good and effectual in the case of individuals against civil authority, which by coercive power cannot, and likewise against ecclesiastical authority, when by instruction and persuasion it may not, succeed in changing his conscientious convictions. And is there one word in the plea which does not apply with equal relevancy and undiminished force to the case of churches as well as individuals? Can the argument be regarded as good for each man, taken apart and by himself, in his claims to liberty of conscience, and as not equally good in the case of men joined together in a Christian society, and acting not in their private capacity as individuals, but in their public and official character as members or officers of a Church. In this latter capacity, no less than in the former, as church members no less than private men, they have to deal with God; in their conjunct or public proceedings the element of conscience is equally brought in; the Church, in all departments of its duty and actings, has especially, or rather exclusively, to do with those spiritual matters in which its rulers and members are primarily responsible to God and not to man. And if conscience is a plea which not only ennoble the exercise of private judgment in the humblest individual, but casts over it the shield of right and law to protect it against the encroachments of human power, is it not also an argument sufficient to vindicate the claims of a Christian society to be allowed to frame its own creed and administer its own worship, and regulate its own spiritual order, without in these articles being subject to State control.

Were the Christian society dealing with questions of mere expediency, in which an unlimited discretion were allowed, and in which conscience, strictly speaking, had no share, it might be otherwise. Were there no law to which ecclesiastical courts and

officers were amenable beyond their own will,—were their rules and decisions to be considered right and wrong in no higher sense than the resolutions of a farmers' club, or the regulations of a society for mutual improvement in sacred music, or the prospectus and bye-laws of a copartnery for the manufacture of lucifer-matches,—were their judgments not matters of conscience, and their acts not done in the name of God, it might comparatively be a small matter of complaint that some authority foreign to the Christian society claimed right to review and reverse them. But in no aspect of them can the Church and the Church's acts be regarded as set loose from the authority of conscience, and not under law to Him who is its Lord. On the contrary, if we take the Scripture account of the matter, we shall be constrained to confess, that, in its three great departments of doctrine, worship, and discipline, the Church is brought into a nearer relationship of responsibility to God than any other society can be; and that its organs for spiritual action and duty are, in a higher sense of the words, God's *ministers*, than can possibly be affirmed of the agents or officers of any civil corporation in civil affairs, or of private individuals in the duties of private life. In doctrine, the Church can teach nothing but what God has taught, and as He has taught it; in worship, it can administer no ordinances but those He has appointed, and as He has appointed them; in discipline, it can bind and loose only in His name and by His authority. There is no room left, then, for the interference of its own or that of others in any of its matters. Its office is simply ministerial, and nothing more, charged as it is with the duty, first of ascertaining, and then of carrying into effect, the will of another. In nothing that the Christian society does in the way of teaching truth, or administering the ordinances of worship, or exercising discipline, is there any place allowed for a capricious power; it is tied up straitly, in all the conduct of its affairs, to the necessity of following out its own conscientious belief of what is the commandment given to it to walk by in the particular matter with which it is appointed to deal. In every case, the Church is bound to carry into effect the law of its Head, and not its own; and the demand for liberty to do so, without interference or constraint from abroad, is simply a demand to be allowed to perform its duty to God as His law has declared and conscience has interpreted it, and nothing more.

But we may take a lower position than the scriptural one, in reference to the Church's duty, and yet the argument remains substantially the same. It is not necessary for us to enter upon the debateable ground of the extent to which Scripture may be regarded as furnishing a law for the proceedings of the Church

in all its departments of duty: in questions, for example, of government, and worship, and discipline, as well as in questions of doctrine. We can afford to dispense with the help derived from what we may regard as the complete and accurate Bible view of a Church of Christ. We believe that there is no principle that is consistent with itself, or justified by the word of God, except the Puritan principle, that nothing is lawful within the Christian society but what, directly or indirectly, is contained in Scripture; and that Scripture, in its precepts, or principles, or precedents, furnishes a full and authoritative directory for all that the Church, in its distinctive character as a Church, is called upon or commanded to do in any one department of duty. It is easy to see how such a doctrine exhibits the courts and office-bearers of the Church in the very peculiar light of the ministers of God, commissioned and required to carry into effect His written word in all that they do in spiritual things; and that, therefore, in claiming immunity from civil control in such matters, they are only claiming freedom, in their official character, to administer His law. But it is not necessary for the argument to press this view. We can agree to waive it. We can dispense with all positions in regard to which Christian churches, or even Christian men, may be found to differ. It is enough for our purpose that we are allowed to stand on that common ground occupied by all,—namely, that the territory of the Church is a spiritual territory, and its duties spiritual duties; that the administrators of the Christian society have to deal with those things of God in which pre-eminently the element of conscience prevails, and that in these matters their responsibility is, in the first instance, to God, and only in a secondary and inferior sense to man. The plea of conscience is a plea competent to every church, in the same way as to every individual, when the question is one between the soul and God; and the argument is effectual against the claims of authority of all except of Him. It is not necessary for us to ask, in the case of such a church, whether, according to our standard, its doctrine is orthodox, or its worship uncorrupted, or its discipline pure, before we concede to it the benefit which the plea of conscience carries with it, any more than we require to ask whether an individual holds scriptural views, before we accord to him the right of private judgment and the advantage of toleration. Conscience may err in the case of the society as well as in the case of the individual; and yet an erring conscience is to be dealt with reverently, because it has rights as against a fellow-creature, although it may have no rights as against God. Whatever may be their standing as to scriptural purity and attainment, churches, unless they have renounced their spiritual character and become mere secular copartneries

are entitled to plead that they deal in their proceedings with matters of conscience; and their demand to be let alone by the civil magistrate, in their ecclesiastical duties, is like the claim of the individual for his religious life,—a demand for nothing more than spiritual freedom.

The plea of spiritual independence as regards the Church, and the plea of liberty of conscience as regards the individual, must stand or fall together. They are but two forms of one and the same principle, and they ultimately rest on the same foundation. Grant the right of private judgment to the individual, throw around his exercises of conscience, in regard to religious truth, and worship, and service, the fence of toleration, and we cannot conjecture even a plausible reason for denying to him the same privilege when, as a Church member, he forms one of a religious society constituted for the performance of the same spiritual duties. The difference between his private and official character can make no difference, in the eye of right reason, for a difference in the treatment of him by the State. The, in one sense, accidental circumstance of his acting in concert with others in a religious association, can give the civil magistrate no right of interference or control which he did not possess before. Nay, is not union into society of a spiritual kind, similar to a Church, a *necessity* arising out of the fact of the toleration by the State of individuals holding the same religious faith, observing the same religious worship, and performing the same religious duties,—more especially when one of the articles of the faith in which they are tolerated is just the belief of the duty of joining together as a society for the social and public worship of God? It is impossible not to see that the right of toleration for the one involves in it the equal right of toleration for the other; and if a society for the worship and service of God is to exist at all, it must of necessity have all those powers and rights which are found to be necessary for the existence of every other society. It must have some principles of order for the regulation of its affairs; it must have some kind of organs to express its views, and to conduct its proceedings; it must have the power of admitting and excluding members. Laws, officers, and authority over its own members, are essential to the existence of the Christian Church, even as they are essential to the existence of any organized society; and, without them, no orderly community could be constituted, or at least continue to act.¹ It is not necessary to fall back on the Scripture command, which makes the joint or public confession of God a duty, and not a matter of option, to Christians. It is not necessary to have recourse to the Bible for the appointment of government, and rulers, and discipline, in the Christian society. All these things arise

¹ Whately's *Kingdom of Christ*, 4th edit., p. 92.

out of the very notion of a number of men holding the same views of religious doctrine, worship, and duty, and knit together among themselves, and separated from the rest of the nation by their common profession. And the toleration of all these things by the State is involved in the fact of toleration of religious men at all; the right to the free possession and use of them by a Church apart from civil interference, as well as the existence of a Church itself, rests on the same footing as does the liberty of conscience for the individual, and the denial of the one would lead to the denial of the other also.

The intimate, and, indeed, inseparable connection between liberty of conscience in the case of the individual and the spiritual independence of churches, can be more than established by reasoning: it can be illustrated historically. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether the idea of religious liberty, as applied to the individual in all the walks of spiritual life and activity, has preceded in point of time, and practically wrought out, the idea of the same liberty as applicable to churches and societies; or whether the reverse of the process is true, and the spiritual independence claimed by the Church has been the har-binger and origin of individual freedom. If we take counsel of theory alone, we may be ready to conclude that the urgent craving for personal rights in religious matters, dictated by conscience, may have given rise to the desire of the same privileges in ecclesiastical societies, and have step by step developed itself in all the relations in which man is found, and made itself to be felt in his public and official, no less than in his private and individual, capacity. But if we examine the history of human progress and civilisation, we shall find that the opposite view perhaps approximates more nearly to the truth, and that the separation of the spiritual from the temporal society, and the doctrine of the entire freedom and independence of each within its own sphere, have been the bulwark of the right of private judgment, and the great instrument for developing the principle and practically extending the blessings of liberty of conscience. So at least the philosophic statesman, who has written the history of European civilisation, has interpreted its lessons. Unlike to many in the present day, who can see nothing in the principle of the spiritual freedom of the Church but an approach to the Popish tenet of the subordination of the civil to the ecclesiastical powers, Guizot can recognise in it one of the prime agents in the introduction and progress of liberty and right in modern Europe. Speaking of the violence to which the Church, as well as society at large, was exposed from the barbarians after the fall of the Roman empire, he continues: "For her defence she proclaimed a principle formerly laid down under the empire, although more vaguely,—this was

the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power, and their reciprocal independence. It was by the aid of this principle that the Church lived freely in connection with the barbarians. She maintained that force could not act upon the system of creeds, hopes, and religious promises,—that the spiritual and the temporal world were entirely distinct. You may at once see the salutary consequence resulting from this principle. Independently of its temporal utility to the Church, it had this inestimable effect, of bringing about, on the foundation of right, the separation of powers, and of controlling them by means of each other. Moreover, in maintaining the independence of the intellectual world, as a general thing, in its whole extent, the Church prepared the way for the independence of the individual intellectual world,—the independence of thought. The Church said that the system of religious creeds could not fall under the yoke of force; and each individual was led to apply to his own case the language of the Church. The principle of free inquiry, of liberty of individual thought, is exactly the same as that of the independence of general spiritual authority with regard to temporal power.”¹

And so has it ever been found to be in practice. The two ideas have advanced or declined together. Liberty of personal thought and action claimed by the member of the commonwealth in opposition to arbitrary power in the State, and liberty of spiritual thought and life claimed by the Church as against the same, may be separated in theory, but can never be far apart in the world, not of speculation, but of fact. The right of private judgment belonging to the citizen can only be seen in its true value and sacredness when seen to rest on the same foundation of conscience which gives force and holiness to the Church's demand for freedom in all that belongs to the relations between itself and God. The plea of liberty of conscience on the part of the subject of the State can never be asserted as it ought to be, unless it be demanded as that same *liberty to serve God*, in virtue of man's prior responsibility to Him, which the Church, in its claims of spiritual independence, does nothing more than seek to vindicate for itself. Both pleas rest beneath the same shield; and the security of both is found in the primary and inalienable right of individuals and societies, of private men and public churches alike, to be exempted from the authority of the State in order that they may be free to obey God. And hence the love of civil liberty in the breasts of a people has never burned so ardently as when it has been kindled at the altar. Nations and individuals have been free from the yoke of arbitrary power, and have prized their freedom very much in proportion as

¹ Guizot—History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 99.

religious liberty has flourished along with it; and where the ascredness of the latter has not been felt, and its claims have been practically disregarded, there the former has never extensively or for any length of time prevailed. The history of the long contendings for freedom to the Church, both in England and Scotland, pointedly illustrates this truth. Though no friend to the Puritans, and pretending to no sympathy with their religious tenets, Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," has felt constrained to acknowledge that their struggles and sacrifices in behalf of spiritual independence kept alive the flame of political freedom at a time when the cause was almost lost in England, and that the Puritan controversy has left its permanent mark on our national polity in the principles of right and liberty which it impressed. And the same thing may be said with equal, if not greater truth, of the fiercer struggle through which religious freedom was won in Scotland. The actors in that struggle were unable to separate between the two ideas of religious and civil independence: their controversy with the house of Stuart, begun and carried on in the name of spiritual liberty, in reality embraced not less the cause of political freedom; their love to each, springing from the same root of reverence for conscience, became one passion in their hearts; and while they were ready to give all for a free Church, they were prepared to sacrifice only a little less for a free State. "Take away the liberty of assemblies," said Knox, "and take away the liberty of the evangel;" but with a kindred and equal ardour, Knox was the foremost to stand up in behalf of the nation's freedom, and not to fear the face of man. And so it was with his successors in the contest. Their banner that they bore in their hands, while there was inscribed upon it, "for Christ's crown and covenant," was equally an expression of their hatred of civil misrule. While others conspired or mourned for national liberty in secret, they publicly displayed the symbol which declared that "all that is past is not forgotten, and all that is in peril is not lost;" and that sign, seen upon the mountains of Scotland from across the sea, told to William that the hour for the Revolution had come.

Nor, in advocating the doctrine of the virtually fundamental sameness of the right of private judgment in individuals, and of the right of spiritual independence in churches, and of their equal claim to civil recognition, are we giving a broader meaning or more extensive application to the principle than the common law of this country warrants. That law takes under its protection the principle of conscience as a principle available, in matters of worship and duty due to God, equally and in common to religious bodies and to religious men. It acknowledges the

distinction between things secular and things sacred, and the right of complete independence in the latter, both in the case of societies and in that of individuals, and in the same measure in both. Mr Hallam has referred to the famous case of the Corporation of London against Evans, decided by Lord Mansfield in 1767, as the case which has finally settled the law of toleration for this country, and fixed its limits and application; and to the opinion delivered on the occasion by that eminent lawyer, as giving articulate and lasting expression to the principles of the British constitution on the point. In the course of his speech, Lord Mansfield lays down the position, in which all constitutional lawyers will concur, that "it cannot be shown from the principles of natural and revealed religion, that, independent of positive law, temporal punishments ought to be inflicted for mere opinions with respect to particular modes of worship;" and that, whatever may have been the number or severity of the statutes previously directed against religious views or practices differing from those of the Established Church, "the case is quite altered since the Act of Toleration," so that, "by that Act the Dissenters are freed not only from the pains and penalties of the laws therein particularly specified, but from all ecclesiastical censures, and from all penalty and punishment whatsoever, on account of their non-conformity, which is allowed and protected by this Act, and is therefore in the eye of the law no longer a crime." And not only does the Act of Toleration refuse to construe as a crime, and to interfere with as such, "mere opinions" or "modes of worship;" but it lends to them positive sanction, as known to the constitution, and known to be as lawful in the eye of the constitution as the opinions or modes of worship of the Established Church. "The Toleration Act renders that which was illegal before now legal; the Dissenters' way of worship is permitted and allowed by this Act; it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; *it is established*; it is put under the protection and not merely the connivance of the law. In case those who are appointed by law to register Dissenting places of worship refuse on any pretence to do it, we must, upon application, send a mandamus to compel them."¹

Two things are plain from this judicial opinion of Lord Mansfield—*First*, it is plain that religious bodies, or churches, stand upon precisely the same footing as individuals, with respect to toleration by the State, the law knowing no difference between the two cases. The frequent use of the expressions, "*modes of worship*," "*places of worship*," and so on, applicable only to societies, in addition to the expression "*opinions*," applicable to

¹ Parliamentary History of England—Speech of Lord Mansfield in the Cause between the City of London and the Dissenters. 1767.

individuals as well, sufficiently establishes this. And, *second*, it is no less plain that toleration, in the view of Lord Mansfield, extends not only to that one department of the Church's affairs which comprehends doctrine, or, as his expression is, "*opinions*," but also to the departments of worship and order, or, as he words it, the "*Dissenters' way of worship*." This latter point indeed is manifest, from the consideration that, in Lord Mansfield's day, three-fourths of the Dissenters neither asked nor needed toleration for their doctrines, which were identical with those of the Established Church, but only for their worship, government, and discipline, in which they differed. Here, then, we have a judicial recognition by this great constitutional lawyer of the justice of the claim put forth by churches of all classes and denominations, that they may be tolerated in the same way as individuals in all that belongs to faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order; and that what they shall, in obedience to conscience, do in this department of duty, shall not be considered as unlawful, or interfered with in any way, or declared null and void because alleged to be so, by the civil tribunals.

But the principle on which he founds his interpretation of the Toleration Act, is fully as instructive as the interpretation itself. All positive statutes imposing penalties in respect of religious opinions or modes of worship being removed out of the way by the Act of Toleration, it is necessary, in order to interpret the right and limits of free opinion, to fall back on those original principles of right and wrong anterior to positive statute, and everywhere the same,—the universal practice and common jurisprudence of nations known as *common law*. "The eternal principles of natural religion," says Lord Mansfield, "are part of the common law: the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law." So far from it being true, as is sometimes alleged by the warm assertors of the prerogative of the State, that it knows no difference between things temporal and things sacred, between religious societies and civil corporations, between churches and trading copartneries, between the province that belongs to God and that which belongs to Cæsar, that, according to this eminent authority, the distinction is itself embodied in the common law of England, inasmuch as the principles of natural religion, of which the distinction forms a part, are so embodied. Nay, if we are disposed to go beyond what natural religion may teach of the distinction, and take the fundamental principles of the Bible as our key to the understanding of it, we should not travel beyond the limits of the British constitution, or place our plea beyond its ken, for the essential principles of revealed as well as of natural religion, according to the dictum of Lord Mansfield, are part of the common law. It is impossible, then, to argue, that the dis-

inction for which we contend cannot be respected in the proceedings of the civil magistrate, because, however it may be known to theologians, it is not known to him. It is impossible to allege that in the eye of the law churches have no other character than have civil societies, and that the spiritual duties about which the former are conversant, have no other privilege than belongs to the matters of temporal interest or right with which the latter have to deal. The magistrate of this country knows all that natural religion teaches, for its principles form part and parcel of his own law. He knows much even that revelation teaches, for its essential principles are no less embodied in the constitution of the State. And when we speak of God and man's relation to God, of conscience and the things of conscience, and say that, in regard to these, individuals and societies are not under law to the State, because previously under law to the Creator, we are using no language strange to the constitution, and which is not strictly and expressly sanctioned by the common law of the land, as a plea applicable for the purposes of toleration to all religious denominations and parties. A toleration founded on such principles of natural religion as the constitution makes part of itself, embraces all bodies of men associated together for the worship of God, whether Christian or not Christian,—not being confined to those societies who claim an authority flowing from Christ as Head, and who are constituted on the model of that Church delineated in His word. And without repudiating the principles of the constitution, and running counter to common law, such societies must have freedom in all that concerns their faith, their worship, and their discipline, to act as their own conscience dictates, apart from civil interference, unless one or other of two things can be made out,—either, *first*, that the act done by the society is not *bona fide* a spiritual act; or, *second*, that the society itself avows principles and favours practices so hostile to the order and well-being of the State, that it cannot be tolerated at all.

Either case may possibly occur. A Church favoured by its spiritual character may indulge in proceedings not spiritual. Under pretence of declaring for its own purposes what is scriptural and unscriptural in doctrine, it may gratify private feeling by branding a man as a heretic. Concealed by the cloak of a zealous discharge of the duty of Divine worship, it may hold secret meetings for civil if not treasonable purposes. Under colour of discipline, it may maliciously and wrongfully stain a man's character, and injure both his reputation and his interests in society. In such cases the Church can no longer plead its character as a spiritual body, or its right to toleration, as a bar against the interference of the civil magistrate in the way of reviewing its proceedings and granting redress, for this simple

reason, that its proceedings have changed their character, and have ceased to be spiritual.

Or a body of religionists, without, in a certain sense of the words, losing their spiritual character, may hold opinions and inculcate practices hostile to public morals or the well-being of the community: their creed, like that of the Jesuits, may embody articles subversive of the distinctions of right and wrong; or their religious observances, like those of the Mormons, may be fatal to the order and happiness of social life; and, conscience, familiarized to the evil, may teach its members that they are doing God service. In such extreme cases it must become a question with the rulers of the State, whether it is possible to extend to them the benefits of toleration at all, or whether it is not rather necessary to fall back on the last resort of nations as of churches, to expel from among them the offending members. The limits of toleration is a question for rulers, which it is as difficult to solve as the parallel question for the people, of the limits of obedience. But if the right of resistance is one which the people should seldom remember, and which princes should never forget, the right of refusing toleration is also one which Churches cannot question, even although the State ought to be slow in seeking an occasion to exercise it. But short of those extreme cases of so-called religious societies, which, by their teaching or by their practice, compel the State, in self-defence, to deny to them the right of toleration altogether, there can be no justification for the interference of the civil power with spiritual societies when dealing with spiritual affairs. If the freedom of any church in Divine worship and discipline ought not to be permitted apart from civil control, the only consistent alternative to assert is, that such a church ought not to be tolerated at all. The State may consistently put it beyond the pale of the Act of Toleration, if its character or practice so demand; but the State cannot consistently tolerate a church, and, at the same time, repudiate it in the exercise of its essential and distinctive functions.

Taking the law as it has been authoritatively interpreted and settled by the decision of Lord Mansfield, there are two points to be inquired into before the civil ruler is at liberty to interfere with alleged wrongs done by a religious body in name of a church.

He may properly ask, *Is this a church* coming within the meaning and intention of the State, when, after full consideration of what was safe for itself or right for its people, it framed the Act which defined what bodies ought and what ought not to be so accounted, and therefore to be recognised and tolerated, or the reverse? It were absurd to allege that any number of men calling themselves a church, and claiming its privileges, are

entitled, without inquiry, to be held to be such. In the provisions of the Act of William and Mary, the State reserves to itself the means and the power of deciding this question as to each individual case, by enacting that every religious body or place of worship that may seek to avail itself of the benefits of toleration, shall be duly registered by parties appointed by law for the purpose ; and that the doors of such place of worship shall be open to the State or its servants. Such provisions were obviously designed to furnish to the State those means of information, with respect to the character and proceedings of the body tolerated, as might enable it to decide for its own purposes whether the privilege should be continued or withdrawn. Independently indeed of positive statute, it seems to be implied in the very nature of the State, as the ordinance of God for the security and advancement of the temporal well-being of its subjects, that it has a right to make itself acquainted with the character of any society, of whatever kind, within its borders ; and for that end, is entitled to be present at its meetings, and to be cognisant of its transactions. Secret societies are in their very nature dangerous and unconstitutional ; and upon this ground, were there no other, a public declaration of the faith taught, and the order observed, and the rights claimed by every religious body, such as creeds and confessions of faith furnish in the case of churches, might be defended, as in fact necessary and indispensable in one shape or other for the information of the State and the protection of the community. But in whatever way or form the information may be obtained, the civil magistrate has a right to know and be satisfied that the church which claims toleration at his hands, is in truth what it imports to be,—a spiritual society in reality and not in pretence.

But there is a second question which he may ask, and it is this : Are the *proceedings* of the church brought under his notice properly to be referred to the class of spiritual things, and is the subject matter of them such as to place them beyond the cognizance of a civil tribunal ? To answer this further question, it may be necessary for him to inquire not only into the character of the body whose proceedings they are, but also into the occasion, the circumstances, and the nature of the proceedings themselves, lest, through haste, or passion, or deliberate wrong intention, they should cover what is in reality not a spiritual but a civil wrong. We put aside as simply childish the argument that, because the church or its officers may unintentionally commit a wrong in proceedings which are *yet truly spiritual*, that therefore the wrong ought to be redressed by the civil courts,—as if the fact that the former are not infallible, were any reason for asking redress from other parties as little infallible as themselves. In all

cases of courts or judges of last resort there must be the probability of occasional wrong, and the certainty of no attainable human redress. But when, under the colourable pretence of religious duty, the church or its officers are actuated by malice in what they do in their spiritual proceedings, or when, without any malice or wrong intention, the act done is, in its proper nature and effects, a civil injury, then the civil tribunal may be called upon and warranted to interfere upon the plain ground, that the malice in the one case, and the nature of the act in the other, properly bring it within the range of its jurisdiction. To ascertain whether it is so or not, the magistrate is entitled to demand, and the Church is bound to give, all such information, as to the history and circumstances of its proceedings, as may be necessary to enable him to construe them aright; and the demand, and the obedience to it, cannot be regarded as implying supremacy in the one party, or subordination in the other, as respects spiritual jurisdiction.

These two cases in which the State may warrantably deny to professedly religious bodies freedom in their proceedings, do not form properly any exception to the doctrine of the full toleration that is to be granted in spiritual matters to societies as much as individuals, inasmuch as in both cases the *subject matter* with which the State has to deal has ceased to be spiritual,—either the society, by its doctrines and practices, having forfeited its character as a church, and become a conspiracy against the safety and good of the nation, or the action done, from its motives or its nature, being truly civil. And they are cases that must be of very infrequent occurrence. It must be in very rare cases in which the State shall be called upon to judge whether a professedly religious society is a church, constituted for the worship of God, and not rather a conspiracy against law and order. And the instances can hardly be more frequent in which a spiritual society, under the check both of public opinion from without and a sense of duty within—to at least as great an extent, if not to a greater, than in the case of a civil court, and in which a member continues under its jurisdiction only by his own voluntary act—can be betrayed into the wilful perpetration of a civil injury. Looking at the restraints under which they act, such trespasses into a province not their own must be still more rare than the parallel and opposite error, of the encroachment by civil courts upon matters spiritual. But however this may be, it can be no denial of spiritual freedom that a professedly religious society, that has become a mere copartnery for treason or immorality, should be dealt with as Jesuit colleges and Mormon churches have been dealt with, or that the incongruous offence of a civil injury done by spiritual authorities, should, like the excommu-

nication by the Pope, deposing princes and absolving subjects from allegiance, be placed under the ban of the law.

Beyond these, the right to toleration for religious opinion, recognised in common law, covers the whole territory that the independence of churches requires. No plea that the religious opinions of an individual are in themselves false and unfounded, will set aside his legal right to adopt and hold them, if his conscience so teaches him; and, in like manner, no plea that the proceedings or deliverances of a church are, in substance and upon the merits, wrong, will warrant the interference of civil authority, if the Church is acting within its own province, and *in re ecclesiastica*.

As little can the right of the civil courts to review or reverse such proceedings be argued on the ground that the Church, although acting within its own sphere of spiritual duty, has acted informally, by departing from or violating its own rules of procedure. Of course it cannot be imagined, and is not to be assumed, that a church will be brought to confess to having acted in any case contrary to its own laws; that so the fact on which the argument is founded must always be a disputed one, and would ultimately come to be a question as to whether the civil court or the Church knows its own laws better. But, independently of this, the plea of informality of procedure and of a departure from right rule, as a reason for calling in the interference of the civil courts in spiritual matters, plainly amounts to a denial of toleration altogether. Take the case of the individual, and what would be said of the consistency or the justice of the State if it professed to accord to him full freedom in regard to religious opinions, conscientiously arrived at, and yet this freedom was actually granted *only* when his inquiries were conducted according to rules and methods approved by the civil court, and his liberty of conscience was to be denied when any departure from such rules could be established against him? Would the argument be listened to for a moment which should assert that a man had violated the right forms of reasoning by reasoning wrong, or had violated the compact with the State on which the privilege of free inquiry was granted to him, by conducting his inquiries after his own erroneous fashion; and that, therefore, the privilege must be withdrawn? Is it not, on the contrary, essential to the very idea of toleration, that, arrive at his conclusions by what road or method he may—though it should be in defiance of all logic, and by a system of fallacies disowned by every logician, from Aristotle to Archbishop Whately—he is free to adopt and hold them still? And so it is with religious societies. To concede to them independence in spiritual matters, only on the condition of their deliverances being reached in

accordance with their own rules, as these rules are interpreted by others ; to grant them freedom in regulating their proceedings and pronouncing their sentences, only in the event of the forms by which they walk approving themselves to the minds of other parties as regular and appropriate, is practically the same thing as refusing them the privilege altogether.

Forms, no doubt, are in many instances the safeguards of justice, and in all kinds of judicial procedure have been found more or less necessary to secure its equal and convenient administration. But, in order to gain that end, they must be varied and adapted to the nature and the case of the subjects and tribunals, spiritual or civil, in connection with which they are used and applied. The same forms of process will not be equally adapted to both ; but, on the contrary, what may be found admirably fitted to promote the ends of practical order, and justice, and truth in the one, may be wholly unsuited to the other, and, in fact, productive of results very much the reverse. If the ends of justice, then, are to be easily and effectually attained, or indeed attained at all, it must be within the power and duty of each court of independent authority and action to frame, interpret, and apply the rules that are to regulate its own procedure, as, in fact, the only party competent to vary and adapt them to the purposes contemplated ; and any interference from without would only tend to defeat the object in view. But more than this. It is plain that a power to set aside or cancel spiritual decisions, on the ground of irregularity in form, amounts, in so far as regards the practical result, to a power to set them aside on the merits. It gives to the party in whom such power may be vested the command of the result. Forms of procedure, and rules for ordering the course of dealing with questions brought before judges for judgment, are so intimately and extensively intermingled with the grounds and elements of the judgment, that it is impossible to separate between them ; and while this consideration is enough to show that it must, from the very nature of the case, be the right of the tribunal who has to decide upon the merits to decide also upon the forms of the cause, it no less demonstrates the impossibility of giving to any party jurisdiction over the latter, without surrendering at the same time a practical power over the former. Perhaps it were too much to assert that forms of process and rules for the order of business, even in a spiritual court, are to be held in their proper character to be spiritual. But it is not too much to assert that, in so far as they are necessary and conducive to the attainments of justice, they are essential means toward spiritual ends ; and as a right to accomplish the end must always imply a right to employ the means by which it is to be accomplished, the Church's title to judge in spiritual matters

without civil control, must involve a title to freely regulate, and interpret, and apply its own forms for that object.

The church whose misfortune it is to have the law of its courts or officers, to a large extent, identical with the law of civil tribunals, and to be amenable to their decision in applying it to spiritual things, must be fettered and helpless in the discharge of its proper functions, and liable to be checkmated at every step. In the exercise of its power to declare for its own purposes and members what is scriptural and unscriptural in doctrine, it may pronounce a man to be a heretic, and, acting on the apostolic rule, may, after a first and second admonition, reject him from its communion, and then be liable to the injury and humiliation of having him restored to office because of some alleged technical informality in its proceedings, which was no informality at all in its own judgment, or as affecting either the evidence or the amount of guilt, but was only fancied to be so by a civil tribunal judging by a standard applicable to civil affairs. Or, in the exercise of the powers of discipline, it may cut off some wicked person for public and gross immorality; and, because the notice of citation to the offender to answer for his offence was, in the judgment of a civil judge, twenty-four hours shorter than it ought to have been, the Church may be compelled, under the coercion of civil penalties, to receive him back again. The doctrine that informality of procedure in the conduct of spiritual matters by a spiritual body may make void its authority, when a civil court shall differ from it in opinion as to what is regular or not, is fundamentally subversive of its independence. If it be right and necessary for the State to acknowledge the freedom of religious bodies in judging of the merits of spiritual causes, it must be no less right and necessary for the State to acknowledge the same freedom in judging of the forms, just because the greater includes the less.

Nor, in asserting the incompetency of the civil courts, consistently with the principles of toleration, to declare to be illegal and to set aside spiritual decisions on the ground either of the merits or alleged irregularity of procedure, are we forgetful of the close connection that such decisions may have, or rather, perhaps, must have, with civil interests. The spiritual and the civil element are so nearly and strangely linked together in every department of human affairs, that perhaps it were not possible to name a single proceeding of any man that might not, in some of its aspects or consequences, be regarded as civil, and in others of them as spiritual. The very same fact may thus properly come under the cognizance of both the spiritual and civil courts, according to the view in which it is dealt with. But shall we, because of this close and constant connection between spiritual and civil interests, say that there is no real distinction to be re-

cognised between them, and that both may be regulated and disposed of by one common governing authority residing in the civil ruler or his servants? Not so. The great fact made public to the universe, of the twofold ordinance of God in His Church and in the State—the one to rule the spiritual and the other to rule the temporal world of human life—is His answer to the question, and His standing assertion of the distinction between the things that belong to Himself and the things that belong to Cæsar. The universal belief of mankind, whether Christian or heathen, that the duties within the domain of conscience, and that pertain to the relations of the creature with the Creator, are more than the obligations of civil life, is the testimony of humanity to the same effect. And the law of toleration embodying the distinction is a decision of the same import pronounced by the common jurisprudence of nations. Civil interests may oftentimes be affected by spiritual acts, and, reversing the proposition, spiritual interests may often be affected by acts in themselves civil; but even when most closely connected, there is a fundamental and indelible distinction between the two. It cannot be said, therefore, that in the performance of spiritual duties which may, in their consequences, very nearly affect the temporal interests of men, churches are to be held as dealing with these interests and judging of patrimonial rights; or as thereby trespassing beyond their own province, and making their decisions justly amenable to civil review. There can hardly be any proceeding of a religious society, however purely spiritual the act may be, that may not in this way affect the civil interests of parties concerned. But it must not be alleged, on that account, that the proceeding is not spiritual but civil, and subject to the cognizance of civil tribunals. When the ecclesiastical authorities are pronouncing a man to be guilty of heresy, according to the standard which they and he have both consented to abide by, they are not pronouncing any sentence as to his pecuniary interests, although these, as a consequence of the proceeding, may be nearly and greatly affected by it. When the same authorities remove from an office in the ministry a man for public immorality, they are dealing with a question *in re ecclesiastica*, and not pretending to judge of his civil right to the emoluments that happen to be connected with the office, although these may be forfeited in consequence. Such indirect and consequential connection between the spiritual act and the civil interests affected by it, does not change the nature or true meaning of the Church's proceedings, nor subject them to civil supervision or control. Could the opposite be truly alleged, it would really amount to the assertion that no church can exist in freedom and exercise discipline at all.

Still there are civil results which follow from spiritual pro-

ceedings. These proceedings themselves may properly be within the competency of the parties who are responsible for them ; they may not, consistently with the principles of toleration, be liable to the review of the civil courts, so as to be declared by them to be illegal ; they may be beyond the reach of any authority, not lodged within the Church, to cancel or set aside. But the consequences of these may affect the pecuniary interests, or the character and worldly reputation, of the parties concerned. Is there no redress if, from any cause, these proceedings are wrong ? if, from haste or misapprehension, or the involuntary infirmity that marks all human transactions, the ecclesiastical decision is erroneous, and leads by consequence, more or less near, to civil injury ? In so far as regards the civil consequences, the party affected by them may obtain redress in one or other of two ways, corresponding to the character of the injury that he has sustained.

First, There may be, and, in the case of office-bearers, there commonly are, certain pecuniary interests or civil advantages connected with the possession of office or membership in a religious society, and made dependent upon such possession ; and, as civil courts are the proper guardians of property and other temporal interests, and spiritual courts are not, it must belong to the former, and not to the latter, to consider and judge of the conditions on which such civil privileges are held, and to award them to the party who can make good his legal claim to the possession of them. The same methods competent to any other of the subjects of the State to vindicate his right to patrimonial advantages, are also competent to the members of the Church in respect of pecuniary interests affected by spiritual decisions. In exercising, in these cases, their undoubted powers of jurisdiction, civil courts may be called upon to judge of spiritual acts and sentences in so far as these are conditions on which pecuniary interests depend, and to determine whether in this light they do or do not carry with them civil effects. They may be called upon to say whether the proceedings of Church courts are good, not as spiritual sentences, but good as legal conditions of temporal rights. To deny them such a prerogative would be to deny them their full and proper jurisdiction. But it is not necessary, in order to explicate that jurisdiction, that they should have a title to judge of spiritual acts for any other purpose or to any other effect : the power to do so—to declare them to be illegal and to set them aside as null and void—does not belong to courts of the State, and is not required in order to give effect to their proper decisions ; the reduction or cancelling of the spiritual sentence is no part of the process, as means to an end, by which

redress, in cases of injury to patrimonial interests, is to be afforded; and without taking upon them the incongruous and incompetent task of judging what is scriptural or unscriptural in doctrine, and what is right or wrong in discipline, the civil courts can do all that is necessary to judge and determine in regard to the civil interests that may be affected by ecclesiastical proceedings.

Or, *second*, apart from pecuniary interests, a man may be affected in his public character, and injury done both to his feelings and his worldly standing, in consequence of the erroneous proceedings of spiritual judges. And as the courts of the State are the guardians of a man's character as well as of any other of his civil rights, they must have the power, no less than in the former case, of granting redress when character is maliciously injured. The same powers in a civil court that would secure for a man compensation for a malignant and unfounded slander, perpetrated by a private party, will no less avail for that purpose although the wrong should be inflicted by a spiritual court in the course of spiritual proceedings. The element of malice, if proved to be present in the doings of a religious body, will take the case out of the protection of the ordinary privilege granted to tolerated churches in their proper discipline; for it, strictly speaking, changes the character of the transaction, and makes it to be a civil offence instead of an act of ecclesiastical discipline. But even in this case, when granting to the party injured civil reparation, it is not necessary or competent for the civil court to deal with the ecclesiastical proceedings in their spiritual character, or to judge of their merit or demerit in that respect.

Still more is it *ultra vires* for the courts of the State to deal with these proceedings when no malice is alleged, and when all that is asserted amounts to this, that by the proper discipline of a church, acting within its line of duty, the feelings or character of the party interested have suffered. If the power of discipline is to remain with religious bodies at all—if the simple privilege, not denied to any voluntary or private society, however humble, is to be conceded to religious societies, of saying who shall and who shall not be their members and office-bearers,—it is plain that this power cannot be exercised without in many cases bearing with painful effect upon the feelings and reputation and public standing of those subjected to it. But such indirect and incidental consequences cannot properly be made a ground of action in a civil court, without subjecting the whole spiritual territory of the Church to civil control. In exercising the right of admitting and excluding members, and enforcing the terms of membership and office, the Church is strictly acting within the province of its religious duty; and although private

individuals can plead no privilege of being exempted from responsibility in what they do if it affect the character of another, yet this is a privilege which must of necessity belong to churches if they are to be tolerated in the exercise of discipline at all. In the case of private and voluntary societies, indeed, the right of fixing and enforcing at their will their terms of membership is exercised to an almost unlimited extent, free from any legal responsibility for the consequences which admission or exclusion may infer. A fashionable club, admission to which is a passport to the highest society, may blackball at its pleasure any man, without the risk of an action of damages. A scientific society, whose membership confers fame, does not hold itself legally responsible for the injury to feeling and reputation inflicted by the rejection of a candidate for its honours. A banking copartnery may refuse to discount a merchant's bills, and ruin his credit in the marketplace, without being held accountable at law. A man may be expelled from the Stock Exchange, and in consequence become a bankrupt in means as well as reputation, and yet may have no redress in a civil court. And if freedom almost unlimited is exercised in this way every day by private societies not privileged by law, much more must a similar freedom be granted to Christian churches, which, if tolerated at all, must be tolerated in all that is necessary to their duty as churches.

The law, then, is open ; and competent methods of redress are at hand for all who can plead that their civil rights or patrimonial interests have been affected by spiritual proceedings in the way of unjust loss of income or malicious injury to character. But beyond these two classes of cases, raising, as they undoubtedly do, questions civil, and rightly liable to civil review by the courts of the State, this control can properly reach no farther ; and even in these cases the spiritual proceedings of the Church cannot be set aside or interfered with, even at the moment that redress for civil wrong arising out of them may be liberally and justly awarded.

The question of the spiritual independence of civil control claimed by religious societies has sometimes been represented as a case of contract between the Church on the one hand, and its office-bearers and members on the other, and as if the terms of the contract necessarily expressed and defined the extent and limits of the Church's freedom. Upon this view, the liberty conceded to spiritual societies is no more than a liberty for the members to unite together under engagement to each other, and to lay down their own rules for the regulation of their affairs ; while the power reserved to the civil courts is a power to judge of the precise nature and conditions of the contract thus entered into in the same way as of any other, and to allow freedom to the

Church in its spiritual proceedings so long as these are in accordance with the terms of the contract, and no farther and no longer than they are so. We believe that this is a defective and erroneous view of the question. It would allow of any office-bearer or member, cut off by the discipline of the Church, calling in the intervention of the civil courts in every case in which a breach of contract could be alleged; and it would justify the civil courts, upon the ground of such an allegation, in at once proceeding to review or reverse the spiritual sentences complained of. It is carefully to be noted that it is not the *form* of the obligation, whether arising out of contract or otherwise, but the *nature* of it as spiritual, which forbids the office-bearers or members of the Church from appealing against its authority to that of the tribunals of the State. And it is no less carefully to be noted, that it is not because the liberty of the Church may or may not be embodied in the shape of a contract between itself and its own office-bearers and members, but because of the subject matter in which that liberty is claimed, that the civil courts are forbidden to interfere. It is the nature of the matters as spiritual and not civil,—as requiring to be dealt with by spiritual and not civil authority,—that protects the Church in the exclusive jurisdiction claimed in regard to them, and bars the servants of the State from intervention. The accident that in some cases there may be a written, or at least formal obligation, that may be construed as a contract come under by its office-bearers on their admission to office to submit to the spiritual authority of the Church in all Church matters, is not the proper ground on which exemption from civil control for these matters may be asserted. Without such contract the authority of the Church in these things would be equally valid, and the exclusion of the State would be equally absolute. It is the spiritual nature of the proceedings, and not the contract inferred or implied, that gives the authority; it is the same reason that necessitates the exclusion. Whether the proceedings of the Church within its own peculiar province are protected by express and formal contract between itself and its members or not, they are equally removed from the rightful cognizance of the civil tribunals. The deep and everlasting distinction between the things of conscience and the things of the commonwealth, is what gives lawful authority to the Church to deal with the former and not with the latter, and to the servants of the State to deal with the latter and not with the former; and there is no contract needed either to warrant or protect the freedom of each party from the encroachments of the other. If a contract do exist in any shape that makes it to be a formal or substantial engagement between the contracting parties, it must depend

upon the nature of it, as spiritual or civil, whether the tribunals of the State are at liberty to judge of its conditions and enforce its terms or not. If it is exclusively spiritual, and having nothing to do with civil matters, the civil courts can have no power to deal with it, or to redress alleged breaches of its conditions. If it be a civil contract, or one of mixed nature, partly civil and partly spiritual, and embracing matters belonging in some measure to the one class, and in some measure to the other, the courts of the State may, to the extent of its properly civil character, be called upon to judge of it.

The obligations under which the Church comes to its own office-bearers and members, and they equally to the Church, which have been called, perhaps improperly, a contract, may embrace matters exclusively spiritual, or embrace matters partly spiritual and partly civil. The authority of the civil tribunals will be different in its bearing on these two cases. The engagement between the Church and the ordinary and private members of the Church is, in common cases, wholly spiritual, embracing no pecuniary or civil right at all,—implying, as it does, the duty of the Church to minister to them in doctrine and sacrament, and their duty to be obedient to the Church in word and discipline. Than this nothing can be conceived as a more purely spiritual engagement, or, if it is to be so called, *contract*; and with obedience to the terms of it, or disobedience to them, the courts of the State can have nothing to do. The engagement between the Church on the one hand, and the office-bearers of the Church on the other, may be spiritual likewise. It may amount to nothing more than an obligation on the part of the Church to give them its commission and authority to preach the Gospel and dispense the ordinances of Christ in some particular congregation, leaving it to the State or to the congregation to give the pecuniary support, and an obligation on the part of the ministers so commissioned to subject themselves to the government, discipline, and authority of the Church. In such a case the “contract” is wholly a spiritual one, of the nature and conditions and fulfilment of which the Church courts, and not the civil, must be the judges. Whatever relates to the pecuniary rights of the party ordained to the office of the ministry, and discharging its duties, is a question between him and the State in the case of a church endowed by the State, or between him and the congregation in the case of many non-established churches, whose ministers derive their support from their flocks.

There may, indeed, be an engagement between the Church and its office-bearers embracing more than spiritual matters, and of a mixed nature. There may be an engagement in which the Church, in return for the spiritual services of its

ministers, comes under an obligation to pay them a certain pecuniary remuneration, drawn out of a common fund under its charge, and contributed for that purpose, in addition to granting them the benefit of its spiritual authority and commission for their work. In this case, exemplified in some non-established churches, the contract is partly spiritual and partly civil, comprehending matters that plainly belong to each category. In so far as regards the spiritual matters of the contract—the spiritual commission granted by the Church on the one side, and the spiritual services to be rendered by the minister in return—these are things which, from their very nature, the civil courts have no jurisdiction in, and no power to enforce, and the Church alone has. In so far as regards the pecuniary arrangements of the contract, and the breach or fulfilment of its terms in respect of them, the civil courts alone have power to judge, and alone are competent to enforce the conditions in the case of a violation of them by either party. But although the contract in this instance may, in a certain sense, be regarded as a mixed one, giving to the contracting parties certain temporal rights, as well as laying upon them spiritual duties, yet the line of demarcation between the two is plain, and not to be overpassed from either side: the Church, as trustee of certain funds committed to its charge for the payment of its ministers, may, in that character, be a civil party, subject to civil control in the discharge of its pecuniary engagements, while the same Church, as a spiritual body, requiring certain spiritual duties from its ministers, and giving to them its ordination, is altogether free; and the State has no more the right or the ability in such a case to attempt to enforce the purely religious engagements between the parties, or to punish the violation of them, than the Church has the right or power to dispose of the temporal rights.

A sort of mixed obligation of this kind, securing certain pecuniary rights or advantages, on condition of a certain spiritual act being done, or a certain spiritual profession being maintained, is not unknown in our legislation, and serves to make plain the distinction between the two. Under the Test and Corporation Acts, now happily repealed, it was unlawful for any man to hold any municipal office who had not within a year preceding the time of his election taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Intolerant as the spirit of the Act was, and unscrupulous as were the courts at the time, it was not in the contemplation of the one or the other, that, in the event of some municipal magistrate failing to comply with this condition, it was possible for the civil tribunals to enforce equally the one branch of the alternative as the other, and to compel a man to take the bread and wine of the communion-table as easily or

competently as they could compel him to demit his civil office. Although the holding of office according to the statute implied that a spiritual act was to be performed, yet the illegal disregard of this obligation did not give to the civil courts the power to compel the performance of the spiritual act, but only left them the power of enforcing the civil penalty. In like manner, the holding of the office of Lord Chancellor of England, according to the Emancipation Act, is, in our own day, fettered with the condition that the holder of it make profession of the Protestant faith. If the present eminent lawyer who fills the position were to go over to the Roman Catholic Church, the law, notwithstanding the statutory connection between the office and the spiritual character, would never contemplate the possibility of enforcing by means of civil authority his return to a purer religious profession, although it might contemplate the application of its power and authority to the depriving him of his official position. Or, to take a case still more similar in its character to the one under review : a domestic chaplain, hired on the condition of ministering to a family according to the faith and rites of the Established Church, might abjure its doctrine, and yet insist on retaining his salary. In such a case the aggrieved employer would find it hard to persuade the civil courts to send the offender to prison to unlearn his heterodoxy, although quite easy to induce them to lend their proper authority to deprive him of his salary. The argument is not different with respect to the contract which may be alleged to exist between some non-established churches and their ministers, in which the Church gives ordination and pecuniary support, as the condition on its part of certain spiritual services being rendered on theirs. The civil courts have power to enforce the civil element in the obligation, but not the spiritual : they might, on the one hand, protect the Church in withholding the pecuniary payment, if, in their estimation, the religious duties had not been performed, but they could not compel the performance of these duties ; or, on the other hand, they might authorize the minister when deposed to exact the payment, if they believed the duties to have been performed, but could not compel the Church to renew and continue the ordination.

It is the line drawn by the finger of God between things spiritual and things civil that must ever limit the power of the Church on the one side, and that of the State on the other. The landmarks between were not set up and adjusted by contract, but of old had their foundations laid deep in the nature of things. Make light of the distinction, and practically disregard it, and there is no length to which it may not lead in the way of spiritual domination on the part of the Church in the concerns of civil

life, or Erastian encroachment on the part of the State in the province of religious right and duty. If a power of any kind, direct or indirect, is conceded to the Church of disposing to the smallest extent of temporal matters, there can be no limit set to its encroachments: it may pervade every department of the State with its tyranny, and subject all in turn to its control, creeping like a palsy over a nation's heart, and extinguishing all that is valuable in the civil liberty, the individual independence, and the manly energies of a people. Or if a power, however small, of rightful authority in spiritual things is acknowledged to belong to the State, it will soon come to make itself to be felt as the weightiest and least tolerable part of its sovereignty. If the liberties of religious bodies in the way of discipline or government are denied to them, and handed over to the civil magistrate, it is a concession which can plead for itself no argument not equally available for dealing in the same way with their doctrine: their conscience, when once fettered in its religious actings, can show no cause why it should be free in religious opinions; and with the independence of its courts and officers, the sound faith, and the living piety, and the active power for spiritual good of the Church must die out also. These are not the deductions of reason only, but the lessons of history as well, and lessons which the nations that have not been taught from the past are learning at the present day. Between the extreme which makes the State to be the slave of the Church, and that other extreme which makes the Church to be the slave of the State, there is no position that is safe or consistent with sound principle, except that which asserts their mutual and equal independence.

ART. VII.—*On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races, in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.L.S., Author of Journal of “Researches during H. M. S. Beagle’s Voyage round the World.” London: John Murray. 1860. 5th Thousand.

IF notoriety be any proof of successful authorship, Mr Darwin has had his reward. Seldom has an avowedly scientific work had public attention turned to it so speedily as Mr Darwin’s “Origin of Species.” *His* Theory has already become historical. It has assumed a position in which it commands the attention of all who take an interest in the generalizations of natural science. Some leading naturalists affirm that it is incontrovertible; others, less bold, yield a qualified assent. Royal Societies discuss it, and it is talked over at the Clubs. It is received with smiles in drawing-rooms, and frowned down in churches as “a second edition of the ‘Vestiges.’”¹ Has this wide-spread notice been gained by the work as one of true science? Or has the substantial food which, without doubt, it contains, been received for the sake of the spice mixed up with it? If so, is the attractive element to be chiefly found in a somewhat unreverential walk in fields of investigation, into which the greatest thinkers have never entered but with bent body and head uncovered?

Mr Darwin’s well-earned reputation as an accomplished zoologist, was sure to gain for him a patient hearing from all who are working in any one of those branches of natural science, from which he profusely draw illustrations in proof of the soundness of his theory. The whole subject under discussion is, moreover, in every respect, one of the most difficult which can engage the attention of a philosophic naturalist. But, on this very account, it is also one which will lavishly reward the student who shall be able to shed new light on it. Has Mr Darwin done so?—is the query for which we propose to seek an answer in the work now before us.

Man is the interpreter of nature. This place has been assigned to him by the Creator, and, obeying his own instincts, he has ever been forward to occupy it. Here, however, it ought to be borne in mind, that, on the one hand, the interpreter is not infal-

¹ Whether justly or not, we hope to show in the sequel. Meanwhile it is but fair to quote Professor Huxley’s caveat: “Lamarck’s conjectures, equipped with a new hat and stick, as Sir Walter Scott was wont to say of an old story renovated, formed the foundation of the biological speculations of the “Vestiges,” a work which has done more harm to the progress of sound thought on these matters than any that could be named; and, indeed, I mention it here, simply for the purpose of denying that it has anything in common with what essentially characterizes Mr Darwin’s work.”

lible; and, on the other hand, that, even when in the main true, the interpretation will always be more or less marked by the intellectual, and often by the moral, characteristics of the one making it. It is all very well to talk of a perfectly unbiassed mind, complete impartiality, and the like, in the examination of questions in science which have necessary moral or theological relations. We believe that, in the circumstances, freedom from bias is impossible. But, granting all this, we are not to despair of ever attaining absolute truth even in such questions. Men will agree in admitting certain observations as in themselves reliable, who would widely differ as to the bearings of these on favourite theories. Given, we might say, the point of view of prejudice, and the amount and direction of divergence may be calculated as certainly as that of the ship's compass, when we know where the disturbing metal on board is. Some naturalists are satisfied with collecting facts; others are never satisfied till they have set these in relation to other facts, in order that they might have material for generalizations regarding laws of life. The former are apt to hold that this is the highest, and, indeed, the only legitimate work of a man of science, while the latter are convinced that facts are worthless until they are seen shedding light on the working of natural laws, or revealing to us the thoughts of the great Creator. Yet it is from those who really take the highest views of nature that truth has often most to dread, for it is here that the disturbing elements have scope. Kingsley represents his *Andromeda* as

“Shading her face with her hands; for the eyes of the goddess were awful.”

Such an effect has the first clear discovery of the thoughts of a present Creator in His works on many observers. They were faithfully questioning these, when, suddenly, they found themselves on a threshold upon which the glory of a Divine One was cast from the other side; but, instead of courting a clearer view, they drew back, “shading their face with their hands.” From that moment the idea of a Creator is bearable only as they see it, as Edward Irving loved to see theological dogmas, “looming in the mist;” and in all they write they seem ever distrustful of views of nature which, even remotely, tend to set them or their readers in direct relation with a personal God. Now, though we are very far from alleging that this must be a leading characteristic of the author of the theory now under review, we yet hope to show that the tendency of his book is very strongly in that direction. It would not be dealing fairly by our readers, and, especially, it would be unmindful of the apologetic value of natural theology, were we to look at this theory from any other point of view, than the twofold one of science and theology. We feel,

however, that, in making such a statement as this in the outset, we are liable to be misunderstood.

If called to dissent from Mr Darwin's views on the origin of species, we are not to be held as making light of his present work. On the contrary, we shall ever be found ready to acknowledge the great ability shown in it—the varied information contained in almost every page—the classic beauty of style in which the work is written—and, above all, its value as suggesting new lines of investigation, and as pointing out all the weak points in present generally accepted systems of classification. The two characteristics last mentioned have, at one point and another, forced upon our notice the resemblance between “The Origin of Species,” and the “Zoonomia” of the elder Darwin. We could point out many passages in both which warrant this statement. In both we find a skilful exposition of the scientific *status quo*, a bold dissent from it, and the proposal of theories which are brought out, not only as craving a hearing, but as the only satisfactory basis for the explanation of all the phenomena of the past, and the only key to all progress in the future. In the least attractive pages of both works, also—pages in which strong belief hankers on the very edge of weak credulity—you meet with most suggestive remarks, lying like bits of gold in lumps of quartz. In other respects the likeness holds good. In the midst of the physiological and psychological romance in “Zoonomia,” are many hints, such as genius only makes, in which we can now recognise the foreshadowing of generalizations which have become generally acquiesced in by men foremost in such branches of human knowledge. Thoughtful readers of “The Origin of Species” will have an instinctive feeling of the presence of such hints in Mr Charles Darwin's work.

With this acknowledgment of the suggestive character of the work, we have a preliminary remark to make, on the general value of the facts in proof, which are scattered so freely over the volume, and which, though so numerous, we are informed, are but as one to a million, compared with what is in store, when the great work which is promised shall be given to the world. In almost every page we meet with facts which, as we shall have occasion to show, may be found as useful to an opponent as to an advocate of Mr Darwin's views; while of many of them one cannot help standing in doubt as to their value, when considered even from the author's point of view. Facts which call up the common expression, “much may be said on both sides,” lead to a state of mind as unfavourable to correctness and precision of thought, as it is damaging to theories on the spread of which their authors are earnestly set. In the case now before us, however, there is a double disadvantage. In addition to what is now

stated, we are asked to take the proofs without references, and to believe that, if those thus adduced are not sufficient to establish important propositions, it is because the author could not, in a work like the present, bring out all he has in store. Now we may state at once, that while we have entire confidence in Mr Darwin's statement, we have met with so many alleged facts, which, to say the least of them, are questionable, that we must be excused if we do not place such confidence in this *corps de reserve* as our author would like his readers to do.

"No one," says Mr Darwin, in his Introduction, "ought to feel surprised at much remaining as yet unexplained, in regard to the origin of species and varieties, if he make due allowance for our profound ignorance in regard to the mutual relations of all the beings which live around us. Who can explain why one species ranges widely, and is very numerous, and why another allied species has a narrow range, and is rare? Yet these relations are of the highest importance; for they determine the present welfare, and, as I believe, the future success and modification of every inhabitant of this world. Still less do we know of the mutual relations of the innumerable inhabitants of the world, during the many past geological epochs in its history. Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate study and dispassionate judgment of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists entertain, and which I formerly entertained, namely, that each species has been independently created, is erroneous. I am fully convinced, that species are not immutable; but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species, in the same way as the acknowledged varieties of any one species are the descendants of that species. Furthermore, I am convinced that Natural Selection has been the main, but not exclusive, means of modification."—P. 6. Such, in few words, is Mr Darwin's profession of faith. It must be acknowledged, that the numerous contradictory definitions of the term *species* now current, and the universal proneness of naturalists to multiply species, so called, by elevating well-marked varieties to this rank, are enough to provoke students, who have no desire to have their names associated with their discoveries, to take refuge in any theory that might hold out hopes of rest, as regards a satisfactory scheme of nature. Will Mr Darwin's be to them what the ark was to the dove in the waters of the deluge? Now that so many have been turned to it in hope, the question is of grave import. In seeking the answer, our criticism must of necessity appear somewhat fault-finding; but we shall much regret, if, in our desire to reach the truth, we shall ever be led

to leave out of view considerations, on the acknowledgement of which the author has a right to insist. We feel the difficulty of the task; not so much, however, as regards the certainty of our ground, as in grouping Mr Darwin's scattered facts in proof, so as to help us to see the strength or weakness of the positions laid down.

Much of the interest of the discussions now under review will be found connected with current views of a philosophical system of classification. Mr Darwin does little more than glance incidentally at these, until near the end of his book. For obvious reasons, we prefer to direct attention to them in the outset.

In 1798, Cuvier gave, in his "*Tableau Elementaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*," a rough outline of those principles of classification which working naturalists have, since that time, found wonderfully equal to the wants of advancing science,—a circumstance which, apart from their philosophical simplicity, is a strong testimony to their truth. But, if Mr Darwin's views have any just claim on our attention, we have been retrograding since 1798. The principles laid down in the introduction to the *Tableau* possess great value, when we associate them with the labours of Cuvier in after life, in accumulating corroborative facts. The "*Regne Animal*," and the "*Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles*" tell everywhere the same tale as to the soundness of the principles in chapter third of the introduction. Cuvier's review of living forms, and his survey of Egyptian monuments, which enabled him to follow the history of certain species for several thousand years, hastened to proclaim that species are immutable. And, we may add, the examination, from the palæontological point of view, of species which had been in existence during periods which are to all the years of Egyptian history as a million of years are to a moment, is ever ready to bear witness to the same fact. But we anticipate remarks to be made on the chapter in Mr Darwin's work on the "Imperfection of the Geological Record." We have now to do with classification. The appeal to structural peculiarities, as bases for a system in harmony with the demands of science, should not, as M. Agassiz has clearly shown in his recent work on this subject, exclude every other element. Conclusions drawn therefrom may be strengthened or modified by phenomena in embryology, in physical condition, as climate, food, and the like—the former being studied with reference especially to *species*, the latter with reference to *varieties*—to which frequent allusion will be made in this paper. There is yet another element requiring to be taken into account in all generalizations on this subject. We mean, as much of Divine plan in creation as we may have attained to the knowledge of in the study of nature,—the recognition, in short,

of a present Creator in all quarters of creation, and at every point in its history, from the time at which He laid the foundation of the earth to the present moment, when He invites us to the examination of those works which are "sought out of all who take pleasure therein." We state this at the risk of being misunderstood, and of appearing to drag into the discussion questions which may be held foreign to it. But the fact is, you can no more come to a just conclusion as to the relations between one department of science and another, and between different forms of life, with both of which classification must deal, without the recognition of a living, purposing mind in regulating these relations, than you can form a correct estimate of the working of any piece of mechanism without looking at the intention of its inventor. Even in the fine arts, just appreciation comes to turn upon our sympathy with the artist. But if we break up the historical picture into bits, though they may be bits of beauty, and refuse to look at all the parts from the point of view of the intention of the artist, so far as he has made that known to us, we must blunder in our estimate of the parts which we have refused to look at in this light. In the case now before us, the Creator has opened up to man much which is fitted to make us acquainted with His intention; and the more we see of this, the nearer we get to an understanding of that one true plan which systematists are seeking to bring fully out, and which will attain to reliable historical expression only in the measure in which man, the interpreter of nature, shall succeed in understanding the intentions of the Creator revealed in His works. It is to be regretted that little value is attached to this thought, and that many even studiously exclude it from their researches, as if to introduce it implied disqualification for their work. Mr Darwin is not slow to intimate how he regards this subject. "Many naturalists think," he says, "that something more is meant by the natural system (than a scheme for arranging together those living objects which are most alike); they believe that it reveals the plan of the Creator; but, unless it is specified whether order in time or in space (why not both, and order in place likewise?), or what else is meant by plan of the Creator, it seems to me that nothing is thus added to our knowledge."—P. 413. Again, at p. 435, he remarks, in a way which, to say the least of it, does not bear witness to very enlarged views of creation: "Nothing can be more hopeless than to attempt to explain this similarity of pattern in members of the same class, by utility or by the doctrine of final causes. The hopelessness of the attempt has been expressly admitted (?) by Owen, in his most interesting work on the 'Nature of Limbs.' On the ordinary view of the independent creation of each being, we can only say that so it is; that it has

so pleased the Creator to construct each animal and plant." A good deal more can be said of each animal and plant than this; but if in ten thousand instances, in which we find unquestionable evidence of final cause, are we not to conclude that, if our knowledge were complete as to one instance, in which we do not at once observe this, the same testimony might be expected as in the others. We are not shut up to the *sic placebat* so much in His absolute sovereignty, as in regard to our ignorance and the limited character of our powers. What is a mystery to a child in the actions of his parent, may be well understood when he comes to be a man. What would be implied if we expressed our present knowledge of the use of the serrated claw on the anterior toe of *Caprimulgus Europæus* in the phrase, "It has pleased the Creator to distinguish this bird from all the other fissirostres by supplying it with a comb-like claw, the use of which we do not see?" Not, certainly, that there is no illustration of the doctrine of final causes here, but only that we are not sufficiently acquainted with the habits of the goatsucker to be able to say what its true use is. The numerous illustrations of this same doctrine in the structural relations of animals widely differing in general form and habits, but ranged under one great type, had as true an existence from the beginning, as they have now that Owen's researches in homology have given us the key by which they can be read. But is there only one great type, and one great plan? Or do we meet with a far higher thought than Mr Darwin is willing to acknowledge, in connection with several great types whose leading divisions are constructed on different plans? Do the radiata, for example, follow in structure the plan of the vertebrata? The whole direction of the most philosophical investigations in natural science is to accumulate proofs of four distinct plans, after one or other of which all animal life has been formed. And it is at this point that *sic placebat* may most naturally be affirmed. In the evolution of these, under the four great types—vertebrata, articulata, mollusca, and radiata—we find the basis for the doctrine of final causes which Mr Darwin has no favour for, but apart from the recognition of which all nature would be a scene of confusion. It is not unnecessary to call attention to these things. There are many evidences that some most accomplished naturalists are drifting from moorings which ablest systematists and most profound thinkers, from the days of Bacon, have regarded as not only safe, but also most suited to the requirements of advancing science. We have heard of a learned instructor gravely asserting, that "the more deeply he examined nature, the greater confusion he found prevailing." Yet we suppose the same person could no more interest half a dozen of intelligent young men, in any one branch of natural

science, without a system of classification, than Buffon, who set out from the confusion point of view, could get on with his work without looking at animals in groups, formed on the basis of general resemblance. It might be worthy a passing thought from such students, that they find material for classifying, not because nature is a chaos to be reduced to order by their great attainments, but because order and beauty existed everywhere before they condescended to devote their talents to the study of it. But it is well that men's lives are often better than their principles, and their practice often far ahead of their theories, as was the case with that sage who, though firmly and consistently confident in the denial of the existence of a God, did not dare sleep in a room by himself for fear of the devil !

Objections to the present generally accepted system of classification proceed on the assumption that a perfect scheme is possible. But it is forgotten that this implies not only a knowledge of every object in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but acquaintance also with all the relations of distinct forms to those nearest them. It is well to strive to approach this as the *beau ideal*, just as in morals it is the duty of each man to strive after attaining to the perfect likeness of the sinless One. The standard in the former case, as in the latter, is one which no man on the earth will ever be able to say he has fully reached. But the existence of well-marked divisions is not the less real on this account. All agree in making a distinction between animal life and vegetation, notwithstanding the wide field for controversy at those points where the two kingdoms seem to meet. Here, as in every department of human knowledge, mankind have come to a general agreement as to a fact ; but this has not been reached through a series of definitions, equal to the demands of purely scientific observers. It has been attained through the apprehension of well-marked differences. The questions, What is an animal ? what is a vegetable ? would, however, land us in the heart of controversies, to settle which the life of any man is too short. We all remember how doctors recently differed, when the question was put in a court of law, "What is coal ?" The conflicting answers showed that a *perfect* definition is impossible. Yet it is not on this account less true at the present moment, that coal is coal, and that we are all understood when we use the term to distinguish certain substances—we dare not say minerals, for this would lead to controversy—with which we are all more or less familiar. Looking at discussions on terms from this point of view, it can be clearly shown that, nevertheless, the forms of life generally referred to, where we use them, have a distinct existence and a well-marked place in nature. Agassiz¹ has pointed out

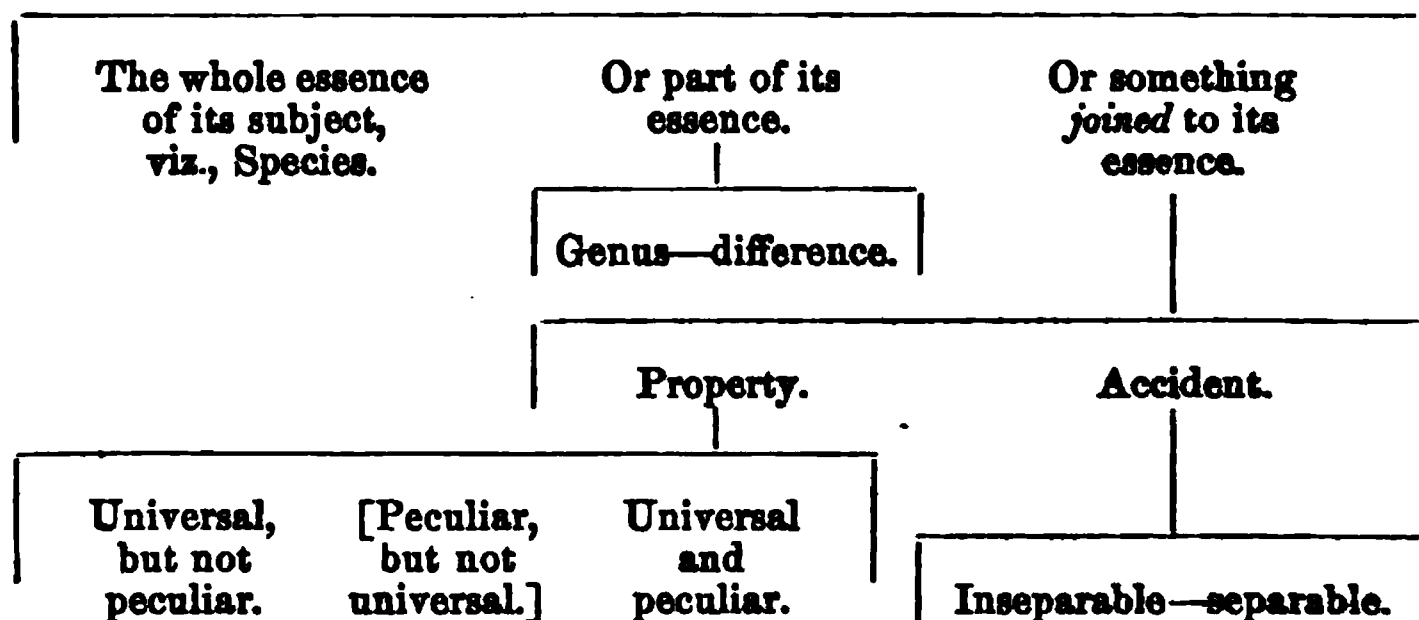
¹ Contributions to the Natural History of the United States, vol. i., p. 28.

how the leading groups of zoology came to be broken up into subordinate divisions, on which all competent naturalists may be held to agree, notwithstanding the multitude of doubtful questions which would be raised, were they to adduce the grounds on which each may have satisfied himself that his conclusions are warranted. Thus, in radiata, "polyps would be placed lowest, acalephs next, and echinoderms highest; a similar arrangement of molluscs would bring acephala lowest, gasterepoda next, and cephalopoda highest; articulata would appear in the following order: norms, crustacea, and insects; and vertebrata with the fishes lowest, next reptiles and birds, and mammalia highest." Our object in referring to this is to show that, whatever doubt may exist when observers come to define terms, and to assign reasons for their generalizations, the existences included under these have a sphere in the great scheme of life, which is theirs in virtue of the special arrangements of the Creator, and beyond which they cannot pass. The interpreters of nature of one generation may make mistakes which their successors in another may be found qualified to correct; but it does not augur the possession of much wisdom, for anyone to find in the error a vindication of doubt as to the existence of any such plan in creation as the aggregation of unquestioned phenomena demand. Cuvier had assigned a distinct class to the barnacle under mollusca, but it is now ranked in crustacea under articulata. The removal from the former to the latter should not surely incline any observer to the conclusion, that because Cuvier made a mistake as to the place of the cirripeds, he has not discovered the plan of the Creator in connection with other divisions of the mollusca! On the contrary, these modifications in arrangement as science advances, afford us the strongest evidences that we are rightly interpreting the Divine plan. It is, moreover, one of the most deeply interesting studies which can be followed by a thoughtful observer, to trace the history of opinion as to the true place in nature of one form of life and another, to note the great gap between their present position and that at which we first meet with them, and to mark the gradual way in which most competent observers come to concur in leaving them in a niche which had been waiting for them, or from which other forms had to be excluded, in order to make room for the pre-ordained occupant.

There is little doubt but that Mr Darwin is much impressed with the difficulty of giving a verbal definition of species which will satisfy every one. This doubt has cast its shadow over the individual form of life itself, to which the name and rank of "distinct species" has been assigned; and he has virtually come to occupy the Lamarkian point of view, and to regard the doc-

trine of the immutability of species as the dead fly in the precious ointment—the error which vitiates all nineteenth century scientific generalizations. Our readers will have seen that we have no great desire to demand a definition which shall be beyond cavil. This, we believe, men with Mr Darwin's views renders impossible, because they constantly introduce a foreign element. Not satisfied with what is essentially characteristic, they raise the question of origin; and this, as might be shown, influences all their inductions, if such a word may be used with reference to discussions strung so closely together as are those in this work.¹ All that we care for, in speaking of species, is the presence of such a thought of distinct and unchanging individuality as every naturalist has, when, for example, in looking at the European Falanidæ, he characterizes *Falco gyrfalco* (Linn.) as one species, and *Falco tinnunculus* as another, or, when classifying the British Corvidæ, he marks *Corvus frugilegus* as originally and persistently separate from *C. monedula*, or *Garrulus melanoleuca* from *G. glandarius*. This distinction has, by Cuvier, Owen, and, indeed, by all the ablest zoologists, been associated with the creation of species. They continue distinct, because, to use the words of Professor Dana, “the specific amount or condition of concentrated force defined in the act or law of creation,” has continued till now as it was at the beginning. This has set bounds to intermixture hitherto, and *all* that we know of the past warrants the conclusion, that spe-

¹ Such writers might study Archbishop Whately's elementary work on Logic with advantage. Many of the principles briefly stated in it are as deeply interesting to naturalists as they are to psychologists. Take the following on *Species*, *Genera*, and *Differentia* :—“ Every predicable expresses either



Any naturalist can apply this formula to beast, bird, reptile, fish, or insect. He will find it helpful in giving precision to his thoughts, in tracing those inseparable marks in form and structure, which originally established the claim of certain individuals to be ranked as *species*; the *differentia* associated with genera will indicate the propriety of the term *genus*, as his sphere of observation widens, and the accidents will enable him to assign their true place to *varieties* in species. The remarks on “Definition” are equally worthy of attention. See Logic, Book II., chap. v., § 3 and § 6.

cific identity will continue in the future. Even Mr Darwin has not been able to adduce one fact directly in the face of this. And in so far as his theories of families now widely differing ever having been one, we will credit them when we behold his plain possibilities drawing even remotely in the direction of the threshold of that which is probable ;—when we see some tapir caught in the act of becoming a horse, and some ambitious whale sprawling up to the dignity of a polar bear,—transformations which seem quite easy to Mr Darwin, to whom Ovid's "Ascalaphus in Bubonem" must appear tame, the "selection" being removed from the "natural," and made to turn upon the less noble "divine choice," and the powerful agencies of the unseen world :—

"——Sparsumque caput Phlegethontide lymphæ
In rostrum, et plumas, et grandia lumina vertit.
Ille sibi ablatus fulvis amicitur ab alis,
Neque caput crescit, longosque reflectitur ungues,
Vixque movet natas per inertia brachia pennas :
Fœdæque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus,
Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen."

It appears scarcely probable that Mr Darwin can seriously believe any great number of men will be found willing to accept the long list of assertions and suppositions contained in the opening chapter on "Variation under Domestication," as of any value in the argument. The assertions are, no doubt, backed by alleged facts ; but almost every one of these "facts" gives occasion for a controversy, and the suppositions are held to be strengthened by the discoveries and observations of others. But the worth of these may be understood when we affirm, that Mr Horner's Nile-mud hypothesis is one of them. Besides, were the views brought out in this chapter all founded on facts which could not be questioned, they would not contribute anything to the strength of Mr Darwin's positions as to "Natural Selection." They are all associated with the presence of man's intelligence. The plants and animals are under his care. He is ever observant of occurring exceptional features, by watching over which he may gratify his taste for variety, and add to the number of existing forms, as evidences of his power, to a certain well-defined limit, over the creatures put under him. Admit the full play of man's intelligence, and we will agree with much affirmed by Mr Darwin as to the marked characters of varieties. But apart from this, it is not within the range of our belief, that, even though you assign a personality to "Nature," while you banish God from the scene, this, to some all-potent, *she* would be equal to these results. Of course, if Natural Selection has been at work up through the great ages which are represented by the fossiliferous rocks lying between the first layer of the lower Silurian and the last of the

Pleistocene, Dame Nature must have done all; and to bring in man's influence as the same in its results as hers, is to spoil the argument. In this chapter on variation, when alluding to reversion to original types, Mr Darwin says:—"Having alluded to the subject of reversion, I may here refer to a statement often made by naturalists, namely, that our domestic varieties, when run wild, gradually, but certainly, revert in character to their aboriginal stocks. Hence it has been argued, that no deductions can be drawn from domestic races to species in a state of nature. I have in vain endeavoured to discover on what decisive facts the above statement has so often and so boldly been made. There would be great difficulty in proving its truth; we may safely conclude that very many of the most strongly-marked domestic varieties could not possibly live in a wild state. In many cases, we do not know what the aboriginal stock was, and so could not tell whether or not nearly perfect reversion had ensued. It would be quite necessary, in order to prevent the effects of intercrossing, that only a single variety should be turned loose in its new home. Nevertheless, as our varieties certainly do occasionally revert, in some of their characters, to ancestral forms, it seems to me not improbable, that, if we could succeed in naturalizing, or were to cultivate, during many generations, the several races, for instance, of the cabbage, in very poor soil (in which case, however, some effect would have to be attributed to the direct action of the poor soil), that they would, to a large extent, or even wholly, revert to the wild aboriginal stock. Whether or not the experiment would succeed, is not of great importance for our line of argument; for, by the experiment itself, the conditions of life are changed. If it could be shown that our domestic varieties manifested a strong tendency to reversion,—that is, to lose their acquired characters whilst kept under unchanged conditions, and whilst kept in a considerable body, so that free intercrossing might check, by blending together, any slight deviations of structure,—in such a case, I grant that we could deduce nothing from domestic varieties in regard to species. But there is not a shadow of evidence in favour of this view: to assert that we could not breed our cart and race-horses, long and short-horned cattle, and poultry of various breeds, and esculent vegetables, for an almost infinite number of generations, would be opposed to all experience."—P. 14.

It might be difficult to gratify Mr Darwin as to the desire expressed in the last part of the extract now made; but we believe reversion to type, when domesticated animals are left to become wild, is capable of very varied and copious illustration. In the former case, nature—to use a favourite word with our author—nature is found ever ready to remind us of the original

plan. We know of a case in which a peculiarly marked Spanish ram was mated with a Southdown ewe; and after several years' breeding in-and-in, a well-marked variety was obtained, which appears to have become permanent,—under one condition, however, for in the case of a cross the characteristic marks are at once lost. Yet, even while keeping the strongly-marked variety apart, ewes which drop two lambs are sometimes found to have given one to the world the perfect image of the original sire. The variety which interbreeding preserves is invariably brownish black, with constant white lines on the face. May not those cases, which periodically occur among the negroes of Africa, of fair complexion and flowing locks, be nature's reminder of original type? We do not refer to Albinos, which Livingstone and others have met in circumstances where they would have least been looked for, but to varieties much more like the Caucasian type. We give in a foot-note a suggestive fact in regard to goats.¹

As to the reversion to original type, when animals now domesticated by man are suffered to run wild, Pritchard, in his valuable "*Natural History of Man*," gives us some interesting examples:—"The original stocks of our domesticated animals," he says, p. 27, "are rarely to be recognised, in their primitive state, among the wild animals of the earth. We know not what

¹ "The great utilizer of alpaca wool, Mr Titus Salt, is likewise the man who has given a greater impetus to the trade in Angora goats' hair than any other person in the United Kingdom. He has, moreover, imported the animals themselves (in 1852), and they are thriving well on his property at Bradford. But here again our far-sighted American cousins are considerably ahead of us; for in 1849, Dr James B. Davis of Columbia carried with him, from their native habitat, seven females and two males of this breed of goat to the United States. Immediately he arrived at his home, he obtained a number of she-goats of the common breed (worth about three shillings each), and crossed them with his Angora variety, obtaining, even in the first cross, a coat of fine hair, whereas the third cross could not be distinguished from the pure breed.

"Now, it is to this most valuable and interesting experiment that I would call particular attention; for I have seen its results, and can bear witness to its complete success. During a week's visit to the gentleman in Georgia (U.S.) who bought up Dr Davis' flock, I had ample opportunities of inspecting them most minutely, and I assert, that nothing could exceed the vigour and healthfulness of these animals, both the pure and cross breed.

"Professor Bachman inspected this flock just after my visit to them; and in a report published by him on the subject, he says: 'Familiar as I have been, through a long life, with the changes produced by crosses amongst varieties of domestic animals and poultry, there is one trait in these goats which is more strongly developed than in any other variety that I have ever known. I allude to the wonderful facility with which the young of the cross between the male of the Asiatic goat and the female of the common goat assumes all the characteristics of the former. It is extremely difficult to change a breed that has become permanent in any of our domestic varieties, whether it be that of horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, into another variety by the aid of the male of the latter, for there is a tendency to run back into their original varieties; hence the objection to mixed breeds. But in the progeny of these Asiatic and common goats, nine-tenths of them exhibit the strongest tendency to adopt the characteristics of the male, and to elevate themselves into a higher and nobler grade.'"

has become of them, unless it be supposed that they have been wholly subdued by man. There are indeed wild oxen, sheep, goats, horses; but the most of these are tribes which appear to have returned, in some degree, to their original state, after having been more or less completely domesticated. We are ignorant of the time and circumstances under which most of these races became wild, and of the particular breeds from which they descended. There is, however, one great field of observation, in the tribes of animals which are known to have been transported from Europe to America, since the discovery of the western continent by the Spaniards in the fifteenth century. Many of these races have multiplied exceedingly on a soil and under a climate congenial to their nature. Several of them have run wild in the vast forests of America, and have lost all the obvious appearances of domestication. The wild tribes are found to differ physically from the domesticated breeds from which they are known to have issued; and there is good reason to regard this change as a restoration, in part, of the primitive characteristics of the wild stocks from which the tamed animals originally descended." Mr Pritchard illustrates these remarks by facts drawn from a paper by M. Roulin, published among the "*Contributions des Savans Etrangeres*," in the memoirs of the French Institute. Hogs were first introduced into the Spanish settlements in 1493. They multiplied so rapidly, that man gradually left them to their own habits. In St Domingo they overran the country, and had to be hunted down. On the continent they took to the vast forests, and resumed the mode of life which belonged to the original stock; and now "their ears have become erect, their heads larger, and the foreheads vaulted at the upper part; their colour has lost the variety found in the domestic breeds; the wild hogs of the American forests are universally black. The hog which inhabits the high mountains of Paramos bears a striking resemblance to the wild boar of France. . . . The restoration of the original character of the wild boar, in a race descended from domesticated swine, removes all room for doubt, if any had really existed, as to the identity of the stock."—P. 31. The same line of remark is continued by Mr Pritchard with reference to oxen,¹

¹ The following supplies another hard nut to crack:—"A very remarkable fact relative to the oxen of South America, is recorded by M. Roulin, to which M. Geoffroy St Hilaire has particularly adverted, in the report made by him on M. Roulin's memoir before the Royal Academy of Sciences. In Europe, the milking of cows is continued through the whole period, from the time when they begin to bear calves till they cease to breed. This secretion of milk has become a constant function in the animal economy of the tribe; it has been rendered such by the practice continued through a long series of generations, of continuing to draw milk long after the period when it would be wanted for the calf: the teats of the cow are larger than in proportion, and the secretion is perpetual. In Columbia, the practice of milking cows was laid aside, owing to

dogs, gallinaceous fowls, etc.; but we cannot afford more space for extracts.

In looking at man's power in modifying species, we are far from believing that Mr Darwin's conclusions drawn from this are warranted. All he has made out, is a necessity for the introduction of a term into the nomenclature of science, which has been too much overlooked by working naturalists, namely, "Permanent Varieties." Not indeed that he feels the need of this term; but his facts and assertions will suggest its importance to many of his readers. The recognition of this will do good work in clearing the ground, and in exposing the danger there is in that amiable weakness, of hastening to rank as distinct species what are only varieties, in order that the finder's name might be associated with them. Thus we would say, 'Species are immutable, Common Varieties are short-lived and ever changing, and Permanent Varieties, gained by man's selection, or through climatal influences, but mainly by cross or interbreeding, or breeding in-and-in, perpetuate themselves so long as the accidental circumstances in which they originated continue. Removed from these, there will be a reversion to the original type.'

Mr Darwin's admission of a difficulty, which however we do not think called for, in regard to the dog is important, when looked at in the light of the remarks made on domesticated pigeons. It appears to us that the same grounds which lead him to demand a plurality of original types for the dog, should have weighed with him as to the pigeon. He holds the rock pigeon (*Columba livia*) to be the parent of all our domestic pigeons; but as this might have shut him up to orthodox views in regard to other animals, and especially as to man when he shall come boldly to apply his theory to man, he claims for domestic dogs several wild ancestors. M. Frederick Cuvier and many other

the great extent of farms, and other circumstances. 'In a few generations,' says M. Roulin, 'the natural structure of parts, and withal the natural state of the function, has been restored. The secretion of milk in the cows of this country is only an occasional phenomenon, and contemporary with the actual presence of the calf. If the calf dies, the milk ceases to flow; and it is only by keeping him with his dam by day, that an opportunity of obtaining milk from cows by night can be found.' This testimony is important, by the proof which it affords, that the permanent production of milk in the European breeds of cows, is a modified function of the animal economy, produced by an artificial habit, continued through several generations."—Pritchard, p. 34. In a word, not only is there a constant readiness to return to the natural type in structure and in ornamentation, but in habits also. So long as man is present to guide artificial habits, they continue persistent; but, due time being allowed, they will cease when the animals are left uncared for. Man's influence over the dog has guided instinct into channels useful to himself; and the influence, again, of this artificially taught instinct on the physical frame of the dog, is well seen in the pointer. The pup will point when first taken into the field; but in a few generations its descendants, if untrained, will cease to do this.

most accomplished naturalists are at issue with Mr Darwin on this point. Their views harmonize with his as to inherited variation, so far as he is willing to allow this; but they go much further, and hold that, as in the case of *Columba livia* it is not unlikely we have the parent of the varieties of domestic pigeons, so our widely differing varieties of domestic dogs may have had only one parent species. If the carrier pigeon, the tumbler, the bald, the powter, the fantail, the beard, the jacobin, the runt, the dragoon, etc., are to be regarded as descended from different original wild ancestors, then we are right when we assign to them the name of species; but if they are from one, as we believe, with Mr Darwin, they are, we must characterize them not as species, but as permanent varieties, whose wide divergence from the original type is impossible without the interference of man. So, as to domestic dogs, we hold with M. Frederick Cuvier that they have descended from one pair; and that, in virtue of man's power over them in selection, in cross or inter-breeding, or breeding in-and-in, the Italian greyhound, the bloodhound, the bulldog, the Blenheim spaniel, etc., have become permanent varieties. This will account for their fitness for cross-breeding. But can we, as in the case of pigeons, point out the common wild ancestor? The impression that an answer is necessary has shut up some to claim the fox, others the wolf, and others the jackal, as the wild ancestor of the domestic canidæ. But no answer is needed in order to give force to our remarks. The original type may be lost,—the species which was not selected from any type of life bearing some resemblance to it, but which came fresh from the hands of the Creator, may not exist in any one living variety, but may have its perfect antitype in peculiarities persistent in each. It is so with man. The most devoted advocate of the proximity of the Caucasian type to the pair who walked in beauty and in bliss amidst the bowers of Eden, is not so extravagant as to claim that in this race we have all the characteristics of the first man. In this case the Adamic type has been lost, and in the great diversities of families we have permanent varieties of the one species, yet all having part in the one blood relationship constituted by the Creator himself. The facts here referred to are being brought out under our own eyes. The sexual intercourse between the early Dutch settlers in South Africa and the Hottentot women has given a new variety of man to that country—the *Griquas*—whose children do not follow the likeness of either of the original parents, but of their offspring. The variety has become permanent. Such is the case also with the half-breeds in the Hudson's Bay territories. The union of native South Americans with negrowomen imported from Africa has resulted in a distinct tribe—the *Cafucos*—whose chil-

dren are habitually born with the mixed likeness well defined. Pritchard, in his chapter on mixed races, gives many more examples. As an illustration of the influence of artificial selection and interbreeding, we may refer to the well-known otter breed of sheep of Massachusetts, which in questions of this kind has been so often referred to. "In the year 1791," says Pritchard, "one ewe on the farm of Seth Wright gave birth to a male lamb, which, without any known cause, had a longer body and shorter legs than the rest of the breed. The joints are said to have been longer, and the fore-legs crooked. The shape of this animal rendering it unable to leap over fences, it was determined to propagate its peculiarities, and the experiment proved successful: a new race of sheep was produced, which, from the form of the body, has been termed the otter-breed. It seems to be uniformly the fact, that, when both parents are of the otter-breed, the lambs that are produced inherit the peculiar form."—Pritchard, p. 46. It will be seen, however, that in such cases man's selection is necessary in order to ensure success. Had the lamb which the Massachusetts farmer made so much of, been left to his own sweet will in choosing a partner, he would have followed an instinct of whose controlling influence we have so many illustrations among those men who have not been lavishly dealt with as to size and form; he would have picked out for himself the fairest of the flock. Natural selection would thus have been all in the direction of keeping near to the original type. That this is always the result, when animals are not interfered with, we believe to be capable of varied illustration. One example we may give out of many:—For a couple of years a blackbird frequented our garden, whose motions bore evidence of deformity, and whose colour was suggestive of present disease. The skin is now before us. The feathers of the neck and hind-head are white, and the metatarsal joint of the right foot has become stiff, while the foot is bent up, and a stump is in the place of the foot. When examined after being taken, we found that the last joints of the cervical vertebra gave clear evidence of having been for some time in decay (caries). Had man wished to transmit the disease of the male, he would have sought for a diseased female—for one whose physical features approached in likeness to the male—but the bird, in mating, took to himself a healthy female, and the brood followed the likeness of the mother in each case except one, in which one of the tail feathers was pure white. Yet, distinctly marked as man's influence in these cases is, there are limits beyond which he cannot go, and all his efforts must be directed mainly from one point of view. He may add to distinguishing features in ornamentation, or even in some aspects of structure, but he cannot destroy or even modify any original structural

peculiarities associated with the propagation of the race. The oldest experiment in this direction which is to be found in the world—an experiment repeated for thousands of years, and in millions of cases—is suggestive on this point. The Jewish male child suffered mutilation in circumcision, but this has never become hereditary.

Before leaving the “facts” in this part of Mr Darwin’s book, we may remark that it is not true that “the plantigrade or bear family do not breed freely in this country in confinement.” One species, with whose history and habits we are acquainted—the *European brown bear*—breeds freely in this condition. The reference to Mr Horner’s discoveries (?) is not fortunate. Does Mr Darwin believe that Mr Horner has made out a claim even to attention for his speculations? If so, we can only hope to be kept from his easiness of belief. While we have accepted the statement of probability as to *Columba livia* being the stock from which our domestic pigeons have come, we are not unmindful that as good a case might be made out for other wild varieties of *Columbæ*. The likelihood here, as in the case of the dog, is, that we must look for the primeval type in peculiarities which have a place in individuals of all existing varieties. We accept, too, the fact of great capacity of variation in certain domestic animals and in certain plants, but we would not hence conclude that all animals and plants are equally susceptible of influence in this way. The dog is peculiarly so, the cat is not; the horse is, the donkey is not; the barn-door fowl is so, the goose is not. All that can be said in such instances is, that there are certain forms of life more susceptible of influence from man than others. But when Mr Darwin seems about to receive such views, observe how skilfully, if not adroitly, he leaves a contrary impression in the mind of the trusting reader. “We cannot suppose,” he says, “that all the breeds were suddenly produced as perfect and as useful as we now see them; indeed, in several cases, we know that this has not been their history. The key is man’s power of accumulative selection: *nature gives successive variations*; man adds them up in certain directions useful to himself. In this sense he may be said to make for himself useful breeds.” The *successive* variations, however, which are nature’s free gift to us, are just what we wish proof of. Again, is it a fact, as Mr Darwin alleges, that even his favourite “pigeon argument” warrants the conclusions which he has come to in conducting it? Has man’s intelligence gone out in seeking variation by selection only? If the author had only given us a few facts from his treasures in reserve, which tell only one tale, we would have felt obliged. But he has not done this, and we are left to seek out the truth for ourselves. After more than twenty years’ observation in

regard to pigeons, we are shut up to acknowledge the influence of cross-breeding in modifying structure, and in varying ornamentation, to an extent which is destructive of the conclusions from Mr Darwin's "facts." So is it with cattle. Cross-breeding, and breeding in-and-in, under man's watchful care and discriminating intelligence, can alone give the key to variation.

If Mr Darwin hoped, by putting variation under domestication in the front of his romance—for the work is really such—to gild the pill of "variation under nature," which, in Chapter II., we are required to swallow, he has fallen far short of his aim. The theory here put forward is this—species are not immutable. Realized in the world somehow, they have been ever changing in the march of life, from the lowest stratum of the palæozoic rocks up to yesterday; they have, at one point and another, passed into forms widely different from those that preceded them. Organisms have gradually changed, and the mode in which the strange mutations have been brought about has been by natural selection,—i. e., Nature constantly watchful for peculiarities resulting from food, climate, monstrosities, and the like, has ever been selecting the hap-hazard result, and guiding it until a form, which shall seem to be persistent through a lengthened period, is fairly ushered into the sunlight. In this theory the author meets with both the power and the weakness of Nature. His goddess has power to select the variety when produced, but she has no power to produce the distinguishing feature. She sees the polar bear imprisoned in the basin, up whose ice walls he cannot climb, indebted to another deity, "Chance," for his position; and looking complacently on, she says, "Here is something for me. In a neighbouring basin lives a female, which has been longer imprisoned, and in its pursuit of water-insects it has already begun to think it most convenient to try and become a whale. I will watch for the breaking up of the ice wall which separates the two. The influence of this constant swimming has already begun to tell. Well-marked peculiarities are making their appearance; the two shall breed and perpetuate the distinguishing feature; the young will have a starting-point in advance of the parents; their offspring will get yet nearer to the true cetacea, and in time—what though the ages must be reckoned by millions—I will have the satisfaction of introducing a new form, and my domains shall be honoured by the presence of whale!" That this is no caricature of the author of "The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection," will be evident from his own words, with which our readers must be amused, if indeed a sadder feeling does not fill their hearts when they remember that the writer prepared the admirable monograph for the Royal Society on Cirripedes. "In North America," says

Mr Darwin, "the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale." —P. 184. Such credulity will find no difficulties. Could we only get up, or rather down, to the same platform, we could at once believe that the sauroid fishes were not prophetic types of reptiles, but their true ancestors, from which they have been gradually selected, and that every bird has for its common parent *Pterodactylus crassisostris*! Natural selection is, as we have seen, believed by Mr Darwin to be equal to far more wondrous changes than these, and in his hands will easily explain the origin of *Pterodactylus* itself. But the author's account of the process would be only half as satisfactory as that given by the blackbird, in the old ballad, of the cause of his putting off the gayer plumage of the song-thrush:—

"Said the blackbird, as he fled,
I loved a maid, but she is dead;
Ever since my love I lack,
And this is why I mourn in black."

The chapter on natural selection contains some of the most important statements in the book. These are stated in an off-hand way, and they read so pleasantly that we don't wonder they have been found attractive and unanswerable by amateur naturalists. Our remarks on species have already met some of these statements. Referring to variations, Mr Darwin says, "They affect what naturalists consider unimportant parts; but I could show, by a long catalogue of facts, that parts which must be called important, whether viewed under a physiological or classificatory point of view, sometimes vary in the individuals of the same species." Instead of treating us to one out of the "long catalogue," he refers to Mr Lubbock's examinations of the cochineal insects, and says he has found in their main nerves a "degree of variability, which may almost be compared to the irregular branching of the stem of a tree." Without looking at Mr Lubbock's researches, or passing an opinion on them, though they are variously estimated, we must ask for some of the facts referred to in the long catalogue, and then we can estimate their value in connection with the variations noticed in the main nerves of coccus. Meanwhile we accept the important admission contained in the following sentence: "Authors sometimes argue in a circle when they state that important organs never

vary, for those same authors practically rank that character as important which does not vary ; and under this point of view, no instance of an important part varying will ever be found."—P. 46. If our readers will free Chapter II. from the garb of science, under which "Natural Selection" is introduced to the consideration of good society, they will find much to call up a smile at its absurdity, and a good deal to call forth their regret that one with Mr Darwin's talents should have lent himself to spread views of creation whose tendency is to bring the presence and superintending power of the Creator into contempt.

Much has already been written on the "Struggle for Existence," described by Mr Darwin in Chapter III. It has been characterized as "a most remarkable chapter," even by such a clear-headed and accomplished writer as Professor Huxley. It is most remarkable indeed, but neither from its depths, nor its discrimination, nor its just views of the great scheme of life. In the opening page the author asks, "How have all those exquisite adaptations of one part of the organization to another part, and to the conditions of life, and of one distinct organic being to another being, been perfected?" The answer hitherto rendered by all but charlatans in science has been, 'by the Creator, whose work is perfect.' Mr Darwin finds the answer in another quarter. He introduces another of his deities thus—"All these results follow inevitably from the Struggle for Life."—P. 61. With equal force it might be alleged that Mr Darwin's book is the cause of the zoological arrangement in the British Museum.

The whole of this chapter, in which one hears only an

"Universal groan,
As if the whole inhabitation perished !
Blood, death, and deathful deeds
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point,"¹

has been written from the point of view of unbelief in the governing Creator. It proceeds, moreover, on an entire misapprehension of the economy of nature, and, to use an expressive remark of Coleridge, its seeming depth is only darkness. The shadow cast over life comes from Mr Darwin's figure as he moves along, seeing only death everywhere. Let us look a little deeper, and we will find this so-called struggle for existence richly suggestive of the goodness of God. One animal preys upon another, but the effort is not to destroy utterly, but rather to fulfil a law of their nature, which results in maintaining the balance of life. The death is in order to life. The strigidæ glide forth from ruined wall, decayed tree, and ivied tower, when twilight comes, and with glancing eye and soft wing they sweep over the fields, across the

¹ Samson Agonistes.

moss-covered openings in our woods, and prey upon mouse, and shrew, and vole. In a pellet of *strix flammea* we found, the other day, no fewer than six heads of *arvicola agrestis* (our common field vole). The destruction is constant, and on a large scale. But this gloomy "Struggle" need not be hauled in on the shoulders of hypothesis to account for it. Owls must be fed, nature supplies the food. But field mice also require sustenance. Their food, however, is closely connected with that of man, and they need to be kept in their proper place. Hence the owl's province. The line of thought might be followed into a hundred different relations, and in each one of them we would be led to acknowledge wisdom, perfect wisdom, and goodness, perfect goodness, as characteristic of the arrangements by which the balance of life is maintained. Does the elm in the well-kept park hasten to produce its millions of seeds only that it might choke the evergreens planted beyond its shadow, but whose rootlets are beginning to interlace with its own? Is there a struggle between the elm and the bay. That flock of green linnets tells the tale of the large supply of seeds; the bold dash of the sparrow-hawk into the midst of them, and his rising upwards with a linnet in his claw, lets light in upon yet another feature of "the struggle." But species perish; forms of animal life and of vegetation are lost; localities in which certain creatures were once abundant are, in the course of time, deprived of them: in the district where we write, the glead (*Milvus Regalis*) is known to have at one time been common, but the last seen in it, and it even was accounted a great stranger, occurred more than twenty years ago. This bird, once common in Scotland, is now very rarely to be met with. Now, without being shut up to Mr Darwin's grand discovery of "the struggle for existence," we think we have perfectly satisfactory ground to rest on, when we say that such and such forms now extinct had served their day. They had played their part in the great Creator's plan, and He permits agencies to come into action by which their destruction is gradually realized. The outstanding thought, nevertheless, is not struggle for existence, but both existence and death in order to the highest ends in maintaining life. This dreary discourse of our author, so full of morbid views of creation, suggested to us again and again, Richter's expression in his grand dream—it looks as if Mr Darwin believed, or, like the German, dreamed "that God was dead."

A word as to the facts in this "most remarkable chapter." If two seedling misletoe plants spring up on the same branch of an apple tree, we are told there will be a struggle for existence. Of course, because the design of the Creator is, that the misletoe seedling should grow to maturity as a healthy plant, and He carries out His design. The seed which had the start in springing, will,

ceteris paribus, ultimately destroy the other. Certainly not in order to death, but to life—"more life and fuller"—in a word, in order to the propagation of the species. Of two rats shut up in a cage, one will destroy the other, because it seeks to live in order to fulfil the law of propagation, under which every form of life was put when the word "multiply" was given. So with a piece of ground: scatter a number of different kinds of seeds, and there will be a struggle. Those which find the chemical character of the soil most suitable to their nature, will destroy the others, and ultimately the weaker members of their own family, that room may be left for their fulfilling the law of their creation, in bearing seed after their kind. The victory does not necessarily turn in favour of the stronger. The character of the soil has much to do with it. We have seen the furze (*Ulex Europæus*) yield to a vigorous crop of oats in land newly broken up. The balance of life testifies at every point to the presence of an Almighty Preserver. How different the results when man interferes! Let a sportsman wall in his fields, and preserve his game from every intruder, and he will find that the exclusion of nature's mode of keeping all things right will lead to wholesale death. Should a gardener take it into his head to shoot every bird as a nuisance, he will soon discover, to his cost, that his fruits may have worse enemies than the birds. Mr Darwin wishes everything to go on in the most orderly way, in connection with this struggle. He has a great dread of sudden and violent action. Thousands of years of slowest process are his delight, and he has a special pity for the "profound ignorance and high presumption" (p. 73) of naturalists who, because they know no better, "invoke cataclysms to desolate the world, or invent laws on the duration of animal life." We suppose, however, that a cataclysm, like the Lisbon earthquake, might be within the range of belief, as at least possible in the region of the Dodo, and if so, a flock *might* have perished in it.¹ If Mr Darwin knew a little more geology, he

¹ Some of the "facts" in this chapter are characteristic. "No bee but the humble bee visits *viola tricolor*?" "In some parts of Scotland the increase of the messel-thrush has caused the decrease of the song-thrush?" Hive-bees cannot get at the nectar in the corolla tubes of *trifolium pratense*, "because of the shortness of their proboscis." Did it not cause astonishment, when Mr Darwin recollected that the hive-bee has been side by side with the red clover for thousands of years, and yet its attempts to get at the nectar have not resulted in giving greater length to its proboscis? Is not this as unpliant on the part of said proboscis to witness to the truth of Mr Darwin's theories on the influence of habit, as it is on the part of the neck of the Teal. The constant habit of searching for food in the mud, it is alleged, has given the length of neck to goose and swan. How *boschas crecca* has missed a long neck, must be accounted for by the presence of a certain persistent obduracy in its cervical vertebræ. But the Teal may be on the way to a neck proportionally as long as that of the Swan. We need to give the species a million or two of years more, and the form of man to be alive at that time, will see another proof of the wisdom of his ancestors. Ere then, our water rats shall have been selected into ducks, our ducks to geese,

might still hold Sir Charles Lyell's views of general physical action, and yet leave more room in his creed for the much suspected cataclysms. His devotion to the imperfection of the geologic record, might also incline him to acknowledge the possibility in after ages of remains of, say *Myrtus communis*, being found in only one or two spots. The geologic record supplies many analogies, but the inference that their geographical range had been limited to these would not be a very sound one. Where will the half gods, up into whom the after ages are to find men "selected," find the leaves and stalks of *Myrtus communis*? Nature has begun its work of preserving them. Its cabinet is the tuff of volcanos now active, and whether or no there have been cataclysms associated with its deposition, the accounts of the action of Vesuvius and Etna within the historical period will testify.¹

As Mr Darwin proceeds in developing his theory, his imagination comes more and more out as the foundation on which it rests. Here is a picture curiously interesting both to the naturalist and to the poet. A throne is set somewhere, above Olympus, and the goddess of the author's devotion is seated on it. How employed? "It may be said," answers the author, "that Natural Selection is daily and hourly scrutinising, throughout the world, every variation, even the slightest; rejecting that which is bad, preserving and adding up all that is good; silently and insensibly working, whenever and wherever opportunity offers, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life. We see nothing of these slow changes in progress, until the hand of time has marked the long lapse of ages, and then so imperfect is our view into long past geological ages, that we only see that the forms of life are now different from what they formerly were."—P. 84. Does Mr Darwin believe that there is any other basis for this—we were about to say, *induction*, but it would be dishonouring the word—assertion than that which his imagination supplies? If a man presumes to form grand generalizations in natural science, and repudiates the use of the only legitimate mode of reaching them, he is sure to demand from others the recognition of his opinions, as if they were lawful inductions, and of his wayward and baseless imaginings, as if they were all facts. In the above extract, it will be seen the author is forced to confess that, in the action of natural selection on all existing forms of life, "we see nothing of these slow changes in progress." Did it

our geese to gorillas, and the "dreadful gorilla" will, no doubt, be found acting the part of our Indian Sepoys in the empire of Central Africa, to be held by the giant form of the super-human coming man.

¹ Lists of fossil plants and shells, in the volcanic tuff of Etna, belonging to living species, will be found in Sir Ch. Lyell's paper "On the Lavas of Etna." *Philosophical Transactions*, Part ii. 1858.

not occur to him, that in claiming for his theory the support of the Lyellian theory of physical action in the formation of the fossiliferous rocks, this acknowledgment takes away all warrant. The strong point in Sir Charles Lyell's theory is, that we have evidences of the slow changes in progress, which warrant the inference that the process of nature has been precisely the same in past ages as we see it to be now? We have said that the extract is not without interest to the poet. The "Chance" of heathenism has developed into a higher form. It has not only a purpose, but a consciousness of purpose, and may become the subject for a new epic, as "Natural Selection." She has a fair prospect of a crowd of worshippers among those who, being really what Paul¹ describes them to be, *ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, are glad of any extravagance in their weariness. Lamarck's Man from Oysters, M. Maillet's Parrots from Perch, Brory de Saint Vincent's fifteen original species of Man, Virey's true Brotherhood between the Baboon and Hottentot, Oken's "God is rotatory motion," have all had believers, and "Natural Selection" has already now disciples willing to give a qualified assent. We willingly leave the honour to the select few, and rejoice to stand among the crowd who still worship at a higher altar, and even in a more *rational* way, who see the presence of a personal God in creation, "who is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all His works."²

. "Since His word all things produced,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth His goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could He less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense."¹

¹ Ephes. ii. 12.

² We can do no more than glance at the "facts" in this part of Mr Darwin's work. In the propagation of species, he holds that sexual selection (p. 88) will depend on the vigour of the males, or on their possession of special weapons. In gallinaceous fowls, the cock with the longest and sharpest spurs will, in the latter case, be most successful. But, to use Mr Darwin's expression, we could give "a long catalogue of facts," which show that, as among men, so it is with the lower animals,—the whim, the taste, the fancy of the female is to be taken into account. Among birds, we have seen a vigorous female choose a poor, emaciated, more-dead-than-alive male, when she might have taken to her a healthy one. Again, in a time of scarcity of food for wolves, we are told (p. 90) that it is clear the fleetest and healthiest is sure to be selected to resist the effects of the famine. It might be the most cunning, yet the weakest, and the selection would thus be of the bad. "All insects," says the author, "pair for each birth" (p. 96); of several families which do not, we refer to the *aphides*, or plant lice. It is not capable of proof, that *ornithorhynchus* and *lepedosiren* (p. 107) have survived from geological eras, because exposed to less severe competition in the struggle for existence than other forms which have perished.

³ Paradise Regained, Book iii.

In a diagram (p. 117) Mr Darwin illustrates his principles of Natural Selection and of Divergence from remote types. The time required for the amount of divergence to constitute a new species is immense. Tens of thousands of generations are held to be little in the reckoning. The author is not able to point to one example, among existing forms of life, of progress towards change. We may, then, fairly apply the diagram to the geologic ages, whose records are held by him to be very imperfect, and passing from a^{14} to a^{10} , at which an original species A is supposed to have produced three new forms after 800,000 years (!), we come to A itself. Now, it is at this point we ask what lies beyond A, and how does Mr Darwin account for its existence? Until we have an answer to this, it will not do to denounce the principles implied in the "Vestiges," as Professor Huxley has done, as being wholly different from any that may fairly be drawn from this work. We believe there is good reason for affirming that everything which is false, as to the scheme of life in the worthless development theory, is contained in the "Origin of Species," and a great deal in addition which is more mischievous and profane than anything to be met with in the "Vestiges." Were it possible that the terrible alternative could ever be, "receive either the 'Vestiges' or the 'Origin of Species' as containing a scheme of life with which we *must* be satisfied," we would without hesitation choose the former. Both are burlesques on true science; but the "Vestiges" contains views less dishonouring to the Creator, and less antagonistic to common sense, than those met with in the "Origin of Species," and this is affirming much. However low the views of God in the former, there is more respect shown for those great laws of life, which are manifestations of His will, and whose constant regularity we would no sooner question than we would our own existence; but in the latter there is nothing of this. The mode in which illustrative facts are used indicates on the part of the author a bias which, to say the least of it, is very far from becoming in a lover of science. Our references to these must again for want of space be thrown into a foot-note.¹ For the same reason we only mention Mr Darwin's statement of the dif-

¹ The author holds that the Selection will ever tend to elevate the subjects of it. Not only is there no proof of this, but much suggestive of the opposite. Take the diagram, and suppose A to indicate a point in the geologic scale when the triassic rocks were being formed. Selection had brought a form of life up to *Brontozoum giganteum*, whose footprints Hitchcock has described in his "Researches among the Sandstones of the Connecticut Valley." Its foot was 18 inches long, embracing an area of 13 inches square within its outlines; its stride was from 30 to 60 feet; it must have been 12 feet high, and weighed from 400 to 800 lbs. The Selecting process continued from the time of the trias up to the present epoch, and *Brontozoum* ended as an Ostrich at a^{14} , as a Cassowary at q^{14} , as Darwin's Rhea at p^{14} , and as Apterix at some other 14 ; the result in

difficulties in the way of his theory. They are profounder and more numerous than he imagines, as at one point and another we have already shown. Those met with, in looking at the question from the geological point of view, are not touched by pleading the imperfect character of the geologic record. Why, it is asked, do we not find in the earth's crust any traces of transitional forms? The lame answer is, that "extinction and natural selection go hand in hand." In other words, traces of the higher forms exist, but the transitional ones, having served their end, are lost! You might as well say that, when in after ages the site of a battle between the Caffres and British shall be disturbed, there will be found only the traces of the superior, conquering race. But it will not do to plead imperfection of the geological record. If any data may be relied on in this question, those supplied to us by the palæontologist may be so. Take, for example, the suite of fossils presented to us at any point in which estuary limestone meets that which had been found in deep sea, and what is the result? You find not only a series of well-marked species, continuing without a trace of transitional tendency from the bottom of the deposit up through fifty or sixty feet; but you also notice that at the point where the fresh water species meet the deep sea ones, they retain their respective characteristics, as well marked as any that may be found where the Forth or the Clyde meets the waters of the sea. We may be permitted to say that the geological attainments of Mr Darwin, if they are fairly exhibited in this work, seem to be limited to a not very extensive knowledge of the literature of geology, read entirely from the point of view of those who hold that there have been no great breaks in the building up of the world, since the Creator first laid its foundations on the floods.

Mr Darwin's remarks on other difficulties, and on transitional varieties, are as little to the purpose as his apology for want of proofs in consequence of the imperfection of the geological record. "Look," he says, "at *Mustela vison* of North America, which has webbed feet, and which resembles an otter in its fur, short legs, and form of its tail; during summer this animal dives for and preys on fish, but during the long winter it leaves the frozen waters and preys like other polecats on mice and land

each case being a less elevated form. All nature might be looked at in the same way, if you admit size and vigour as elements.

Are the birds of islands less bright in plumage than those on continents? (p. 133). We refer to Tennent's "Ceylon" for the answer in the negative.

The theory as to the original type of the horse (p. 164) would meet a ready refutation by attempts at cross-breeding with the zebra, and then breeding in-and-in.

The reference to the species of woodpecker at p. 184 is peculiarly unfortunate. The bird referred to is not a true woodpecker, but a species of an allied genus, and one whose structure is in harmony with its habits.

animals.”—P. 179. Our author need not have gone to North America for an illustration. There is one nearer hand. The common otter (*Lutra vulgaris*), the link between which and the true Mustelidæ is to be found in *Mustela vison*, has its usual habitat in fresh water, but Fleming found that in Zetland it frequently took to the sea. In times of scarcity of food it is known to take to the land. “When fish are scarce, it will assume the habits of the Stoats and Weasels, resorting far inland to the neighbourhood of the farm-yard, and attacking lambs, sucking-pigs, and poultry.” Gilbert White’s expression¹—“quadrupeds that prey on fish are amphibious”—might have suggested that there is really nothing transitional in *Mustela vison*. We are no more entitled to conclude that in it we have a weasel about, in course of time, to give up rats and mice for fish only, and to forsake the land for ever, than we are to suppose that *Larus argentatus* is gradually getting a dislike for herring, and may be soon expected to become a true land bird, because it spends weeks in spring among arable lands, often many miles from the nearest shore. The webbed foot of *Mustela vison* is shown by its habits not to have been designed to unfit it, in order to the preservation of the species, for spending a few months on land, for which its make otherwise well adapts it. Everything about the domestic cat indicates the correspondence between structure and general habits. We possess one, however, which was wont to walk into an aquarium up to its belly in water, and stand in it while it devoured the golden carp; but we would have been as little warranted to believe from this that here we had a trace of the original habits of the cat, or of those of the form of ancestral life from which Mr Darwin’s deity had selected it, as we would have been to hold, that the intense pleasure which most young people have in sea-bathing is a remnant of an old form of life, up out of which man had been selected,—that, in a word, the creature now called man was in bygone ages a whale or a dolphin! The references to the squirrels and the flying lemur are equally valuable! We could have helped the author to something more interesting on this point. Might not Dante’s “Vision” have been a reality, and the wondrous form of life which he saw in hell only the true type of *Pterodactylus crassirostris*? Having been selected down to a bat, did it once more get an ambitious thought that resulted in a modification, which ever watchful “Natural Selection” caught at, and set about to make use of in order to gratify “vaulting ambition,” and do we now find it as *Galeopithecus*, “whose extremely wide flank-membrane, stretching from the corners of the jaws to the tail” (p. 181), is

¹ Natural History of Selborne.

waiting to be selected up once more to the true membrane which it lost, when the last layer of the lias was being laid down?

. . . . "O what a sight!

How passing strange it seemed. . . .

Two mighty wings, enormous as became

A (beast) so vast. Sails never such I saw

Outstretched on the wide sea. No plumes had they,

But were in texture like a bat; and these

He flapp'd i' th' air."

It is true that Dante's being had three heads, but, with Mr Darwin's natural selection, these could readily be merged in one. Besides, there is corroborative evidence that such must have been the original form, to be found in those imaginations of "gorgons and hydras and chimæras dire," which hanker about the spiritual nature of us all. It is to be hoped, that if Galeopithecus is on his way up to this again, that he will have a modification as regards food, as Dante's dragon, whose tastes, by the way, are perpetuated in the cannibals of the isles of the Pacific, had not very loveable appetites.

"At every mouth his teeth a sinner champ'd,
Bruisèd as with ponderous engine."

The notice of the Dipper (*Cinclus Europæus*), as a transitional variety, is as little valuable to Mr Darwin's theories as *Mustela vison* or *Galeopithecus*. Its existence, alongside of the true thrushes (*Turdinæ*), and its relation to the ant-thrushes (*Formicarinæ*), with modifications of form which separate it from both, its tail shorter, its bill stronger, its legs thicker, its feathers denser, with an under-coat of down, as in true divers, than those of thrushes,—all suggest distinct specific differences, and not a transitional variety. There are no bristles at the base of the bill, as in *turdinæ* and *formicarinæ*; its mode of nesting and its eggs differ widely from both. It is just one of those links which will suggest to most another illustration of how closely one form of life may approach to another, while the Creator keeps them as persistently distinct, as He does those furthest removed from each other—the *falconidæ*, for example, from the *sylviadæ*. "He who believes," says Mr Darwin, "in separate and innumerable acts of creation, will say, that in these cases it has pleased the Creator to cause a being of one type to take the place of another type; but this seems to me only restating the fact in dignified language" (!).—P. 186. Suppose we were not to say this, as indeed we would not, but to say that the structure or instincts of certain members of great types had been so modified by the Creator, as to fit them for habits unlike the general family?—would this not be as true in science as it is in our acknowledgment of the direct and special arrangement of the Creator?

Want of space prevents us doing little more than naming the chapters on Instinct and Hybridism.

Mr Darwin is not satisfied with current views of instinct. He holds that "a little dose of judgment or reason often comes into play, even in animals very low in the scale of nature" (p. 208). In the aphid and the ant, the reason, we suppose, is the same in kind as in man; the dose being only very small! The influence of structure on instinct, and the power of organic conditions over it, open a wide field for the discrimination of natural selection. "In our Department," wrote the author of the "*Traité du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme*," in 1802, "when sitting hens are scarce, there is a peculiar custom. A young cock is taken, the plumage is plucked from his breast and belly, rubbed with nettles and vinegar; and while thus irritated, the capon is placed on eggs. He remains on them at first to soothe the irritation. Soon agreeable impressions are begotten, which attach him to the eggs until they are hatched; a species of fictitious mother-love is the result, and this, as in the hens, continues so long as the chickens require his care." Looking at this from Mr Darwin's point of view, one wonders whether there is now, in the neighbourhood of Cognac, descendants of the capons referred to by Cabanis, which, in the male branch, bear about with them traces that the original cocks are being, under the influence of this controlling instinct, selected into hens!

As to Hybridism, we accept the admission made at page 252, "I doubt whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid animal can be considered as thoroughly well authenticated." The early recognition of this by the author would have taken more than thirty pages from his book. The sterility of true hybrids affords another evidence of the jealousy with which the Creator regards all attempts to introduce confusion into His perfect plan.

It will be seen what value we attach to the zoological aspects of Mr Darwin's work. But if the zoology be so very far from satisfactory, when we come to the purely geological portion we are made to feel that it is far worse. It is the most feeble part of the volume; and no apology which Mr Darwin may make for it, even in his most insinuating style and greatest smoothness of speech, will ever be reckoned a substitute for the fact, that in that one department of nature in which we have a right to ask the author to show us the proofs, or even the remote corroborations of his theory, not one is to be found. Tracing the fossiliferous deposits, from the uppermost of the tertiary series down to the bottom of the silurian, we are called everywhere to notice the presence of the highest types of the varied forms characteristic of great periods, existing from the introduction of such periods, and keeping their true typical character, until the period

closes, and a new scene, with new distinctive forms of plants and animals, is ushered in. It were needless to go into details, though any working geologist of moderate attainments is equal to the task. The truth is, that if the author has wholly and signally failed to produce even one unquestioned corroborative proof of true transitional variety among present forms of life, he cannot discover material in the geological record for a chapter on transitional varieties in palæontology. But while we shall not ask our readers to survey the fossiliferous deposits, there are two subjects we wish to refer to ere we close. These are the question of breaks in the introduction of life, and the question of miraculous action.

The author exults over the adherence of Sir Charles Lyell to his views. Those who remember the way in which Sir Charles turned the Lamarkian scheme into ridicule, and especially who have read his anniversary address (Geological Society, 1851), may wonder at the change. But Mr Darwin's theory must have been hailed by Sir Charles, the moment its bearings on his cherished views of physical action were seen. Palæontologically, these views were always liable to objection. In the formation of the crust of the earth, all was held to go on quietly, under the gentle influences of constantly acting natural laws. Yet, at the commencement of every great period, you find new species thrust into the scene of being. These were great breaks in the forms of life, evidences of remarkable climatal changes, judging of these by the living things under them, while there were no corresponding phenomena in regard to organic forms. This was not likely. The highly gifted author of the "*Principles of Geology*" must have felt it to be so. Here, however, is a scheme which, in every point of view, harmonizes the gradual action of physical laws in the formation of the crust of the earth, with the undeniable changes in the living things which peopled it at different eras. Our purpose here is not to review the non-break, continuous theory of Sir Charles Lyell, though we are persuaded that Mr Darwin's work will lead many to reconsider whether they have done well in accepting it, under the weight and authority of Sir Charles' deservedly great name. The question of the presence of miracle, at various points in the history of the earth, is one which has been, with a strange want of logic, almost universally regarded by eminent men with suspicion. Why? We suppose very few, if any, not even excepting Mr Darwin, would be willing to deny that there has been the exercise, at some period of the earth's history, of creative power,—in a word, miracle. But if you acknowledge its presence at any one point, why be suspicious of it, or deny its probability, at any after-point in the history? If in every respect you find,

that what demanded a miracle at A, is again found existing at E, after having ceased to be before it again made its appearance, first at B, second at C, and third at D, is there anything to forbid the conclusion, that at every one of these stages there was miraculous action? One says, it is not God's usual way of working. But we would have needed to have witnessed the change from one well-marked epoch to another, to entitle any one to make such an answer. It would be a waste of power, adds another. But, if intelligence is not to be suffocated in the blackhole of rank atheism, there must have been ten thousand instances of such waste of power in the introduction of new species. This form of answer is even less satisfactory than the other; for it ignores the fact, that with an Omnipotent One there can be no waste of power. But, reply others, you find in the species of successive fauna, very many, with only the slightest differences to distinguish them, and others you find continue through more faunas than one. The answer to both these statements, we believe, is contained in the remarks made in reply to the second objection. We conclude, then, that all geology testifies that species are permanent; that they have continued so under all varieties of influence; and that, in every case, they have been introduced by the miraculous power of a personal God, who is the Almighty and Omniscient One revealed to man in the Bible.

Mr Darwin's work is in direct antagonism to all the findings of a natural theology, formed on legitimate inductions in the study of the works of God; and it does open violence to everything which the Creator Himself has told us in the Scriptures of truth, of the method and results of His working. While in the foregoing remarks we have been careful to deal with the scientific claims of Mr Darwin's book, we have not scrupled to show that we have looked at it also from the point of view of revelation. In both aspects its publication is a mistake. Its author would have done well to science, and to his own fame, had he, being determined to write it, put it away among his papers, marked, "A Contribution to Scientific Speculation in 1720." It would have thus preceded Linnæus and Cuvier, with whom the dawn began to break into the brightness of noon, and might have been found interesting in 1860, as a prophecy of coming Vireys, Brory de St Vincents, and Lamarks. But thrust upon us at this time of day, when science has walked in calm majesty out from the mists of prejudice, and been accepted as a sister by a sound theology, it has reminded us of a word in the oldest and best of books, which we commend to Mr Darwin and his followers: "Shadows as the night in the midst of the noon-day."

- ART. VIII.—1. *A Narrative of the Building, and a Description of the Construction of the Eddystone Lighthouse with Stone.* By JOHN SMEATON, Civil Engineer, F.R.S. With 18 Plates. Imp. Folio. London, 1791. Pp. 198.
2. *Account of the Bell Rock Lighthouse.* By ROBERT STEVENSON, Civil Engineer. With 21 Plates. 4to. Edin., 1824. Pp. 533.
3. *A Rudimentary Treatise on the History, Construction, and Illumination of Lighthouses.* By ALAN STEVENSON, etc., etc. 12mo. London, 1850. Pp. 204.
4. *Treatise on Burning Instruments, in which Lenses are built up of Separate Zones and Segments of Zones.* By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," Vol. V., p. 140–143. Edin., 1812.
5. *Memoire sur un Nouveau-Systeme D'Eclairage des Phares.* Par M. A. FRESNEL. Paris, 1822.
6. *On the Construction of Polyzonal Lenses for Lighthouses, etc.* "Edin. Phil. Journal." By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. Vol. VIII., p. 160. Edin., 1823.
7. *Account of a New System of Illumination for Lighthouses.* By DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D., F.R.S. "Edin. Trans." Vol. XI., p. 33. Edin., 1827.
8. *Report and Evidence from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, August 1834.*
9. *Papers on the Comparative Merits of the Catoptric and Dioptric Lights for Lighthouses.* Issued by the Board of Trade. London, 1857.
10. *Account of the Holophotal System of Illuminating Lighthouses.* By THOMAS STEVENSON, F.R.S.E. Edin., 1851.
11. *Lighthouse Illumination.* By the Same. Edin., 1859.

IN the beginning of 1833, when the writer of this article called the attention of the public to the condition of the British Lighthouse System, he thus indicated the national importance of the subject :—

"Great Britain has, by universal consent, been placed at the head of the maritime nations of the world. To this noble pre-eminence she is justly entitled, whether we regard her in her naval power or in her commercial greatness. Though occupying nearly the site of the *Ultima Thule* of the Roman world, and withdrawn almost to the icy verge of the Arctic Zone, she is nevertheless the focus of civilisation and of trade, and foreign nations, however remote, and states, however barbarous, derive the light and heat of their industry from her direct or reflected radiations. By her manufacturing skill, she has long been the

workshop of Europe; by her commercial enterprise, she embraces in her grasp the wide circuit of the globe; and by her colonies in every quarter of the world, she has become the emporium of an universal commerce.

“ Though Great Britain is indebted for many of those advantages to her insular position, as well as to the bracing temperature of her high latitude, yet these auspicious peculiarities have been less favourable to the development of her commercial resources. Beset, on one hand, by shifting sandbanks, and on another by rapid currents—bounded here by lofty and rugged rocks, and indented there with irregular firths and inlets—exposed on all sides to the severities of a rigorous climate, and the dangers of a tempestuous sea, she presents no inviting exterior to the less skilful or adventurous navigator, and is more likely to scare than to allure the ‘timorous sail’ of less boisterous regions.

“ Thus entrenched amid her wild shelves and bold headlands, and enthroned in the fogs and tempests of her variable climate, we might have expected that Great Britain would have put forth all the resources of her genius, and all the liberality of her wealth, to welcome the seafaring stranger to her shores, to guide him through the mazes of her navigation, and to light him homeward through the thick darkness of her Cimmerian winter.

“ Wherever individual humanity has had free scope in the discharge of such duties, a generous sympathy has been exhibited. Lights, and beacons, and buoys everywhere offer a safe entrance to our harbours. Life-boats, and seamen reckless of danger, are everywhere stationed, for the rescue of the perishing mariner; and Humane Societies are everywhere organized to make the latest struggle for the unhappy sufferer. But individual sympathy, however deep and wide be its current, can flow only in a limited channel. ‘The great safeguard of human life on our coasts is the lighting up of our reefs and headlands, and this can be accomplished only by public boards, composed of qualified individuals, and possessing ample resources and extensive jurisdiction.’”

In the year 1834, a numerous and select committee of the House of Commons, to whom these views were addressed, ratified them with their highest approbation, by appealing to Parliament and the country in briefer but equally impressive terms. As they proceeded in their inquiries, the subject grew in importance, and “they were throughout strongly impressed with *the paramount necessity of having the best lighthouses and floating light establishments for this great naval and commercial country which the state of science can afford*, and that every necessary expense should be incurred for their maintenance. The importance of the department, they add, is to be considered both as it respects the safety of the immense property of merchandise which is brought to

and taken from the shores of the United Kingdom, and also carried outwards from port to port; and as it regards the personal safety of his Majesty's subjects, who navigate the commercial shipping, and man his Majesty's fleets."

The duty of providing *the best lighthouses which the state of science can afford* was entrusted, in Great Britain, to three independent boards—in England, to the Corporation of the Trinity House, founded in the time of Henry VIII.; in Scotland, to the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses, established in 1786 by Act of Parliament; and in Ireland, in 1763, to "the Ballast Board, or Corporation for preserving and improving the Port of Dublin."

The Trinity House, which had been recognised by Queen Elizabeth, received charters of confirmation from James I. and Charles I., and was incorporated by James II., by a charter still in force, which vests the power of the board in a master, deputy-master, four wardens, eight assistants, and *seventeen* elder brethren, *eleven* of whom are either noblemen, heads of departments in the Government, or celebrated admirals, and *twenty* are retired commanders from the merchant service.

Although the power of erecting lighthouses was virtually given to this board, yet such was the prevailing system of corruption, that this privilege, and that of taxing the ships that passed them, was frequently conferred on high officers of State, *as a remuneration for services*; and, without the pretence of service, upon the relatives or the parasites of the reigning monarch. Private individuals thus became the proprietors of lighthouses, levying the tolls with unfeeling severity, and leaving the ships which they robbed in "visible" but perilous darkness. The lessees of the Trinity House, in their economy of light, refused to avail themselves of the improvements introduced by the corporation itself; and such was the amount of this system of mismanagement and corruption, that Captain Cotton, who had been fourteen years deputy-master of the Trinity House, assures us, *that it occasioned the loss of many ships, many lives, and much property*; and he adds, *that the details of those losses would excite the most sensible commiseration and regard*.

The lighthouses in England, in which individuals levied tolls on the shipping of the country for their private benefit, were *fourteen* in number,—*seven* being held under leases from the Crown, *three* under leases from the Trinity House, and *four* under patents and Acts of Parliament. The annual revenue of these lighthouses was L.79,677; and the net surplus, after paying all expenses, L.61,022. The fortunate individuals who, as lessees of the Crown, drew one-third of this enormous sum from the commerce of the country, were General Rebow, Mr Coke of

Norfolk, Lord Braybrooke, and Mr Lane, who, in an application to the Treasury, pleaded that one of his ancestors had, two centuries ago, received the grant as a *reward for faithful services rendered to an exiled monarch*. The *three* lighthouses leased by the Trinity House were held by Mr Smith, Mr Buchanan, and Mr Clark, who cleared L.17,196 annually; and the *four* lighthouses held by patent were possessed by Mr Angell, Mr Thomson, Mr Villiers, and Mr Morgan Jones, who, after paying all expenses, pocketed annually L.24,176!

With the exception of the Isle of May Lighthouse, which the Scottish Commissioners purchased in 1814 for L.60,000, from the Duke of Rutland, there never have been any lighthouses in Scotland or Ireland held by private individuals for their own profit.

The public general lights in England in 1834, including the *fourteen* private and leased lighthouses already mentioned, together with a light at Heligoland, and a floating light at Bembridge Ledge, established by the Admiralty during the war, are *seventy-one* in number,—the lights under the management of the Trinity House being *fifty-five*, of which *forty-two* were lighthouses, and *thirteen* only floating lights.

The following list of them will be interesting to all who are connected with the shipping interest, as well as to the general reader:—

LIGHTHOUSES.		
Air 1	Flamborough . . 1	Nash 2
Bardsey 1	Flatholm 1	Needles and Hurst Castle 3
Beachy Head . . 1	Foreland, N. & S. 3	Portland 2
Bideford 2	Foulness 1	Scilly 1
Burnham 1	Haisborough . . 2	South Stack 1
Caldy 1	Lizard 2	St Bees 1
Caskets 3	Lowestoff 3	Usk 1
Eddystone 1	Lundy 1	
Fern 3	Milford 2	Total 42
FLOATING LIGHTS.		
Spurn.	Stanford.	Gall.
Lynn Well.	Sunk.	South Sand Head.
Dudgeon.	Galloper.	Owers.
North Haisborough.	Nore.	
Newark.	Goodwin	Total, 13

In 1834, the lighthouses under the management of the Commissioners of the Scottish Board, consisting of the sheriffs of maritime counties, of the provost and magistrates of certain boroughs, and of the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General for Scotland, were *twenty-five* in number.

SCOTTISH LIGHTHOUSES.		
Time of Erection.	Name.	Counties.
1787, . . .	Kinnaird Head,	Aberdeen.
1787, . . .	Mull of Kintyre,	Argyle.

Time of Erection.	Name.	Counties.
1789, . .	Island of Glass,	Harris Isles, Inverness.
1789, . .	Pladda,	Bute.
1791, . .	Pladda, Distinguishing Light, . .	Do.
1794, . .	Pentland Skerries, Island, . .	Orkney, 2 Lights.
1803, . .	Inchkeith,	Fife.
1806, . .	Start Point of Sandy,	Orkney.
1811, . .	Bell Rock,	Forfar.
1816, . .	Isle of May,	Fife.
1816, . .	Corsewall Point,	Wigton.
1818, . .	Point of Ayre,	Isle of Man.
1818, . .	Calf of Man,	Do., 2 Lights.
1821, . .	Sumburghhead,	Shetland.
1825, . .	Rhinns of Islay, Oversay, . .	Argyll.
1827, . .	Buchanness or Boddam Point, . .	Aberdeen.
1828, . .	Cape Wrath,	Sutherland.
1829, . .	Tarbetness,	Cromarty.
1830, . .	Mull of Galloway,	Wigton.
1831, . .	Dunnet Head,	Caithness.
1833, . .	Girdleness,	Kincardine.
1833, . .	Lismore, Mousdale,	Inverness.
1833, . .	Barra Head, Bernera Island, . .	Do.

The Irish lighthouses have been managed at different times by a variety of commissioners.

In 1764 they were placed under certain commissioners, and in 1767 they were transferred to the Barrack Board. In 1796 they were confided to the Commissioners of Customs, and in 1810 they were placed under the Ballast Board. In 1708 an Act of Parliament was passed for cleansing the Port of Dublin, and erecting a ballast office; and in 1767 additional powers were vested in the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, etc. of Dublin; but in 1786 both these Acts were repealed, and a new Board erected, called "*The Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin, the Ballast Board,*" consisting of twenty-three members, viz., the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being, three of the aldermen, elected by the Board of Aldermen, and seventeen members appointed in the first instance by the Act of Incorporation, and who are all, on future vacancies, empowered to elect new members, but leaving the city members as members of the Board."¹ The greater number of this self-elected Board "are merchants, bankers, and others of the Corporation of the City of Dublin, who remain members for life, whatever their attendance at the Board may be. It happens," continues the Report, "that Admiral Oliver is now a member, having been elected in 1833, but solely as being a member of the City Corporation; *there is no other seaman a member of the Ballast Board.*"² After a minute account of the composition of the Irish Lighthouse Board, and of the duties and salaries of its various officers, comptrollers, ballast masters, secretaries, clerks, etc., etc., the committee make the following statement:—

¹ Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1834, p. 70.

² *Ib.*, p. 71.

“Your committee have been thus particular in the detail of the manner in which the duties of that large department of the lighthouses in Ireland are performed by the officers of the Corporation; and if attention is paid to the class of gentlemen forming the Commissioners of the Corporation, it must be evident, where such a variety of business is gone through, *how little of that care and attention so essential to the due performance of the important duties of the Lighthouses can be given.*”

This just censure of the appointment of a Board so composed, is equally applicable to the Scottish Lighthouse Board, in which there is neither a single seaman, nor a single engineer or man of science; yet it is difficult to understand why the same opinion of the Scotch Board was not expressed by the committee.

In 1834, the Irish lighthouses under the management of the Ballast Board were *twenty-six* in number.

IRISH LIGHTHOUSES.

Name.	Place.	Nature of Light.
Kish,	North of Kish Bank, . .	Floating.
Wicklow Upper, }	Wicklow Head,	Fixed.
Wicklow Lower, }		Fixed.
Arklow,	S. of Arklow Bank, . .	Floating.
Tusker,	Tusker Rock,	Revolving.
Coningbeg,	Off Coningbeg Rock, . .	Floating.
Hook Tower,	Hook Head,	Fixed.
Cork,	Roche's Point,	Fixed.
Kinsale,	Old Head of Kinsale, . .	Fixed.
Cape Clear,	Island,	Revolving.
Skelligs Upper,	Skellig Rock,	Fixed.
Skelligs Lower,		Fixed.
Loophead,	Loophead,	Fixed.
Arran Island,	Summit of S. Island, . .	Revolving.
Clare Island,	North Point of Island, . .	Fixed.
Tory Island,	North Point of Island, . .	Fixed.
Loughswilly,	Fannet Point,	Fixed.
Inishtrahol,	Island,	Revolving.
Maidens, N.	Maiden Rock,	Fixed.
Maidens, S.		
Copeland Island,	Island,	Fixed.
South Rock,	South Rock,	Revolving.
Ardglass,	Pier,	Fixed.
Carlingford,	Haulbowling,	Fixed.
Balbriggan,	Pier,	Fixed.
Howth Bailly,	Howth Bailly,	Fixed.

As the British lighthouses have been placed under commissioners of every variety of incapacity, it is natural to expect a similar variety of legislation. “The committee of the House of Commons learned with some surprise that the lighthouse establishments have been conducted under entirely different systems,—different as regards the constitution of the Board of Management, different as regards the rates or amount of the light dues, and different in the principles on which they are levied.” As an example of this variety of legislation, and of that inequality of taxation

which has called forth loud complaints, the committee make the following statement :—

“A vessel of 142 tons, on a voyage from Leith to London, is charged by the *Northern Commissioners* L.1, 9s. 7d. for the voyage, or 2½d. per ton, being a charge for the whole twenty-three lights round the coast of Scotland, although she may only pass two of them, and for her return the same amount, or L.2, 19s. 2d. for the whole voyage. But from Berwick to London there is a charge of L.4, 17s. 3d., being 8½d. per ton for the passage, from the nineteen *English lights* the vessel must pass. Another case, on a ship of 439 tons going by the North and South Channels, to and from the Clyde to Bombay, if by the South Channel, she would be charged L.42, 10s. 7d., or at the rate of 1s. 11¼d. per ton; and if by the North Channel, L.13, 14s. 4½d., or 7½d. per ton.”

Under ordinary circumstances, a vessel sailing from Limerick to Plymouth would have to pay for all the lights south of that port; but if driven by stress of weather into a port in the north of Ireland or the Bristol Channel, it is the practice, though not the law, not to charge for the lights thus passed; “but, in England, a vessel sailing from Yarmouth to London, and driven by stress of weather to the north, to Aberdeen, or the Firth of Forth, would have to pay the whole of the northern lights, and all the lights on the coast of England on her way back!”

With regard to fishing vessels, the Scotch Commissioners have been cruel in their taxation. On the coasts of *Ireland*, “fishing vessels, smacks, and boats, are exempted by Act of Parliament from all light dues; and in *England*, the practice amounts to an exemption for all vessels actually employed in catching fish; whilst in *Scotland* the light dues are charged, and become a heavy burthen to the herring and other fishing vessels.”

“In proof of this charge (against the Scotch Commissioners), says the committee, an account has been laid before us, of the light dues paid on five fishing vessels of the burthen of from 32 to 48 tons each, belonging to the port of Montrose, for which the sum of L.26, 7s. 6d. was levied; with four vessels, whose whole cargoes produced only 3268 barrels of fish—a heavy charge. The same rates are charged on all the fishing vessels in Scotland.”

It is a ludicrously singular contrast to this illiberal taxation, that all vessels in the Greenland or other northern whale fishery, in going to Archangel, in Russia, or returning from thence before the 15th September, were exempted in 1786 from the northern light dues, an example of which the committee justly recommends an abolition.

Notwithstanding this variety of financial law in the Lighthouse Boards, there are several points in which their exactions were painfully uniform. Double rates were levied from all

foreign vessels. When the foreign trader brought into our ports the numerous luxuries which are almost necessary to our existence, or when he carried off and replaced with gold our superabundant produce, he was taxed with merciless severity. He was equally taxed when, on his way to distant kingdoms, he was driven by the tempest into the shelter of our bays and headlands, and forced to pay a heavy penalty in the attempt to save his property, and the lives of his seamen and his passengers. British vessels, as we have seen, were subject to the same cruel exaction; "and there can be no doubt that ships and lives were frequently lost in their attempt to shun the *Scylla* of the lighthouses, while they were escaping from the *Charybdis* of the elements."¹

As Great Britain derives singular benefits from its steam navigation, and as steam vessels necessarily derive far less benefit from lighthouses than coasters and ordinary sailing vessels, an entire exemption from lighthouse dues, or at least a great reduction of them, might have been reasonably expected. The committee have wisely and forcibly pressed this exemption upon Parliament; and in support of it they have stated the important fact, that no less than L.3261, 3s. 6d. was in 1833 charged as lighthouse dues upon fifteen steam-vessels plying between the River Clyde and the ports of Liverpool, Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry.

From this severity of taxation there is one exemption which has not called forth the censure of the committee.² The Royal Navy of England pays no lighthouse dues! It is lighted into every harbour, and firth, and river, along every channel, and to every shore, *at the expense of the commercial interest*. While the national treasury made no advances, either in aiding or maintaining our national lighthouses, there could be no just ground for exempting the Royal Navy from the general obligation to support them. The Crown, on the contrary, as a party that leased *seven* lighthouses, shared, like the private or other lessees, in the lighthouse plunder to the amount of L.20,000, and had therefore no "claim to saddle its navy as an establishment of paupers upon the generosity of the shipping interest."

¹ "Many foreign vessels and many lives were annually lost by their keeping the sea in bad weather, rather than incur the heavy expense of *double* light dues, and harbour dues, which they pay on entering our harbours, as the masters received the strictest orders to avoid the English harbours on that account, and often endangered ship and crew."—*Report*, p. xxii.

² The committee, however, plainly indicate their opinion, "that as the consuls and the lights are both intended to aid and to protect the commerce of the country," the one might on the same principle as the other be defrayed from the public treasury. The lights being equally of use to Her Majesty's ships of war as to the merchant service, the public might be called upon to contribute a proportion of the expense for maintaining them."—*Report*, p. xxii.

The reader will now desire to know how much money has been collected in Great Britain under this system of taxation, and to what purpose it has been applied.

The committee has enabled us to gratify this desire by giving the following account of the number of general lighthouses maintained in the United Kingdom, by whom they are held, the amount of light dues received, the expense of collection, the expense of maintaining the lighthouses, and the net surplus in 1832 :—

No. of Lights.	By whom Held.	Gross Collections.		Expense of Maintenance.	Net Surplus.
55.	By Trinity House Directors,	L.83,041	L.6,670	L.35,904	L.40,467
14.	By Private Individuals,	79,676	10,244	9,199	60,322
25.	By the Scottish Commissioners,	35,526	3,261	11,314	20,051
40. ¹	By the Irish Commissioners,	42,061	1,960	18,505	21,596
134	Total,	L.240,304	L.22,135	L.74,922	L.142,436

“ Thus it appears,” adds the committee, “ that a sum amounting nearly to *one quarter of a million sterling*, is annually collected as lighthouse dues from the shipping of the country ; although the expense of maintenance of these 134 lights does not amount to more than L.74,882, exclusive of L.22,135, the charge of collection, which sum alone exceeds twice the amount of the expense of maintaining the whole of the French lights.”²

This enormous sum of a quarter of a million, wrung from the shipping interest of Great Britain, was placed at the disposal of irresponsible boards, or used for the benefit of private individuals. A large portion of it was, of course, employed in the maintenance of existing lighthouses, and in the erection of new ones ; but it is hardly to be credited, that the multifarious and difficult duties involved in the expenditure of so enormous a sum should have been entrusted to unpaid and unscientific commissioners, and that these commissioners should have employed, as their agents, individuals who were neither bred as engineers nor architects, and who were totally ignorant of those branches of optical science which were absolutely necessary to the proper discharge of their duties.

Such is a general view of the state of the British lighthouse system in 1834, when a great revolution commenced both in the administration of the lighthouses, and in the scientific character of their lights. The history of that revolution we shall now

¹ This includes *nine* harbour lights paid for by the Commissioners, and *five* supported by other Boards.

² The expense of lighting the coasts of France amounted, in 1834, to L.8328, exclusive of official charges, and Fresnel informs us that it will amount only to L.16,656 when the lights are completed and improved, in conformity with the orders given by the administration.

proceed to narrate ; but though the necessary details must often have a personal character in reference to the individual reformers by whom the revolution was effected, and to the individuals by whom it was resisted, yet we trust that the reader will view the subject in its national and commercial aspect, and as involving the highest interests of humanity and civilisation.

As the reform of our lighthouses had its origin in Scotland, from which it passed to England, Ireland, and our colonies, we must direct the attention of our readers to the history of our Scottish Lighthouses, in so far as it has not been given in a previous article on "The Life Boat, the Lightning Conductor, and the Lighthouse."¹

Before the year 1822 every lighthouse in Europe and America of any importance was fitted up with hammered parabolic reflectors of plated copper, or with little squares of silvered glass, combined so as to form the segment of a sphere or a paraboloid. When a lamp was placed in the focus of these reflectors, its light was thrown into a widely divergent beam, so attenuated by its divergence, and by the imperfection of the surface which reflected it, that it ceased to be visible at great distances, and was incapable of penetrating the fogs so prevalent at sea.

When the Scottish Lighthouse Board was established in 1786, the Commissioners appointed, as their engineer, Mr Thomas Smith, who was not bred an engineer, but who is described by his relative and partner, Mr Robert Stevenson, as "a tinsmith and contractor for lighting the lamps and repairing everything of that kind."² In 1806, Mr R. Stevenson succeeded Mr Smith as engineer to the Board ; but though he no longer shared in the profits of "making reflectors and supplying wicks and oil," his relatives, the heirs of Mr Smith, shared, and continue to this day to share, in the same lucrative trade. Mr Stevenson had, therefore, a motive, and one by which our frail humanity is too readily influenced, for resisting, as he did, the introduction of any improvement which might supersede reflectors and oil lamps.

Every person who has the least elementary knowledge of optics knows that reflectors and lenses are the only means by which solar and artificial light, which follow the same laws, can be collected in a focus, or thrown from a luminous focus into a parallel beam. On account of the difficulty of making lenses of any size and without colour, or striæ, or other imperfections arising from the badness or imperfect fusion of the glass, reflectors were preferred to lenses. But, in the event of any *decided improvement* being made in lenses, it was obviously the duty of Lighthouse Engineers, and even Lighthouse Commissioners, to inquire into

¹ See this Journal for November 1859, vol. xxxii., p. 492.

² *Report of Committee*, Quest. 1835, 1836.

their new properties, and ascertain whether or not they might be substituted for reflectors.

In 1812, Sir David Brewster was the first person to *introduce into* England the knowledge of *three new forms* of lenses, all of which have since been made of a large size. The first of these was Buffon's lens in one piece, in which all the glass was ground away which was not necessary either for converging rays to a focus, or throwing them from a focus into a parallel beam. This was an obvious improvement, which ought to have commanded the attention of lighthouse engineers, though, owing to its being formed out of one piece of glass, it was not of easy execution, and when executed, was not likely to be free of striæ and other imperfections. The *second* form of lens was that of Buffon, composed of several pieces or circles, which could be ground or polished separately, and afterwards joined by a strong cement. This was an obvious improvement upon Buffon's lens, as it was easier to procure a zone of good glass than a whole lens equally good. This division of the lens into circles had been suggested by Condorcet. The *third* form of lens was to construct each zone of separate segments, which obviously enabled the artist to make a much better lens than one of zones, as it was easier to obtain several small pieces of glass without striæ, than one complete zone of equal goodness. This was the *built-up lens* of Sir David Brewster, invented in 1811, and subsequently invented by Fresnel in 1821.

Now, all these forms of the lens are admitted to be great and obvious improvements upon the common lens. They have all been executed in English glassworks, and those of Condorcet and Sir David Brewster actually used in various lighthouses, and found superior to reflectors. The description of these lenses was published in Edinburgh in a popular work. Mr Stevenson, the Scottish Lighthouse Engineer, was acquainted with them; and it was his duty, as the paid scientific officer of the Board, to have compared them with reflectors, and to have introduced them, if he saw their superiority, into all the lighthouses under his charge. The built-up lens was immediately applied by the inventor of it to the concentration of the solar rays, for the purpose of combustion, and to objects in which he felt a peculiar interest; and it might have been expected that others would have applied it to other purposes, in the promotion of which they were professionally employed.

In order to give additional value and increased power to the built-up lens, or even to the common lens, the inventor, in 1811, connected it with an entirely new *lenticular* apparatus, consisting of *small lenses and concave and plane reflectors for concentrating in one point or focus the light of the sun, or for throwing into one*

parallel beam all the rays of light that diverged from that focus, as represented by a lamp. This apparatus, without the concave mirror, was afterwards, in 1821, proposed by M. Fresnel, and immediately applied in the improvement of the French lighthouses. This apparatus, though it was also well known to Mr Stevenson, he never once thought of applying to the improvement of the lighthouses under his charge. There can be no doubt that any improvement upon reflectors with which he was made acquainted, even if the object of the improvement had been to condense the light of the sun, would have been instantly adopted by him; and that any additional apparatus that could have widened and strengthened the beam given by the reflectors, would have been eagerly introduced into the lighthouses which he superintended. Why he refused to avail himself, for the public safety, of the resources of science presented to him by the improved lenses, and their auxiliary apparatus, will be learned, if it is of any consequence to learn it, from the subsequent annals of lighthouse reform.

Having failed in his attempt to get a built-up lens of great magnitude constructed for the purposes of science, the inventor, so early as 1816, four years after his invention was published, and repeatedly afterwards, pressed its application to the Scottish lighthouses upon Mr Stevenson;¹ but all his efforts were in vain. He could not be persuaded that the lens and its apparatus had any value; and in the article on Lighthouses which he contributed to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, he did not even condescend to notice the suggestion that had been made to him. A new responsibility had now attached to him. He might have pleaded ignorance of the fact that three new forms of the lens had been described in 1812; but they were now urged upon his notice by the inventor of the best of them, and it was ignorance of a different kind for which he was now responsible.

Passing over the history of Sir David Brewster's exertions to introduce the Dioptric System, which has been already given in a previous article, already referred to, we shall now consider what have been the consequences of Mr Stevenson's refusal, and of the refusal also of the Commissioners to adopt the most obvious improvements upon our lighthouses, till the year 1835, nearly twenty years after they were acquainted with the lenticular apparatus, nearly ten years after they were pressed upon their notice, and nearly seven years after they had been appreciated by the most distinguished engineers and naval and scientific authorities in France, and actually introduced into the French lighthouses!

These consequences are of a very grave character; and we bring them prominently before the public, not for the purpose

¹ See this Journal, vol. xxxii., p. 523, 525.

of enhancing the merits of those who invented and introduced the dioptric lights, or of reprobating the obstinacy and ignorance of those who opposed their introduction, but to impress upon engineers and architects, upon the Commissioners and Directors of great public works, the high responsibility of their functions, and the necessity of availing themselves of all the aid which science can afford them. To the public it is comparatively of little importance who invented the built-up lens and its relative apparatus, or who spurned its introduction; but that public will ever watch with a jealous eye those high interests which humanity has rendered sacred, whether they pertain to the protection of life and property from disasters at sea, from railway catastrophes, or from the professional errors of uneducated and incompetent individuals.

In the year 1812, when the built-up lens, etc., was at the service of the Lighthouse Board, there were only *ten* lighthouses in Scotland; and from that time to 1834, no fewer than *fourteen* lighthouses were erected, with the hammered reflectors. From 1816, when the built-up lens was pressed upon Mr Stevenson, *twelve* lighthouses were erected with the old lights, and after 1821, when the engineer knew from Major Colby that the dioptric lights were successfully introduced in France, and when he knew from very high authority that the lens light was *sixteen* times brighter than the reflector light of Dungeness, *nine* lighthouses were erected, and lighted up with the old reflectors!

Without referring to the large sums of money which have been lost, by using perishable reflectors in place of lenses that last for ever, or to the still larger sums which must be expended before those *twelve* or *fourteen* lighthouses are made perfect by the dioptric apparatus, we implore the attention of the philanthropist, or even of the least instructed of our realm, to the loss of life and property which *must* have been the consequence of the erection of *fourteen* imperfect lighthouses on the Scottish coast. We have already mentioned the declaration of Captain Cotton, himself a Lighthouse Commissioner, "that many ships, many lives, and much property was lost," and "excited the most sensible commiseration and regret," in consequence of the lessees of the *three* Trinity House Lighthouses not having adopted the obvious improvements (very small ones, we believe) introduced by the corporation itself? What, then, must have been the losses of ships, lives, and property occasioned by the managers of *fourteen* lighthouses having refused to introduce the most obvious improvements which science and experience had combined to sanction? If we are not entitled to infer the loss of ships, life, and property, from the existence of imperfect lighthouses, we are not entitled to infer the safety of life and property

from perfect lighthouses ; and, therefore, the enormous sums now expended on the conversion of catoptric into dioptric lighthouses, and on the erection of new dioptric ones, must be spent in vain.

If these views are correct, is it cruel, or is it unjust, to assert, that the engineers, or the commissioners, who have maintained for *fourteen* years, or even for *one* year, a system of imperfect lights, when they knew how to perfect them,—is it cruel or unjust to assert, that they are answerable to God and man for the loss of life and property which their ignorance or their obstinacy has occasioned ? If the sailor could rise from his watery grave, and tell the tale of his shipwreck—if he could satisfy an English jury that he was driven upon the fatal reef by the false or feeble lights for which he had often paid, the engineer or the commissioners would doubtless learn, that even human laws would summarily award damages for the offence, if it did not punish the offender. The lawyer who commits a technical error in the conveyance of property, is held liable for the consequences of his mistake. The surgeon who performs an operation, in contravention of the rules of his art ; the physician who neglects to prescribe what the science of the day regards as an infallible remedy ; the railway company who fail to carry their passengers by machinery of the best construction ; and the railway functionaries whose negligence has occasioned those sad disasters which we have so often to deplore,—are all summoned before the tribunal of justice, and righteously punished for their inhumanity or their ignorance. Why, then, should the engineers of our lighthouses, the paid officers of the state, escape from the responsibility imposed upon all other professions ?

In continuing our history of lighthouse reform, there is one branch of it which possesses a peculiar interest,—namely, that which relates to lights which are distinguished from one another, either by difference of colour or other means. We have already treated this subject in a previous article ; but it is one of such *vital importance*, that we must put our readers in full possession of the optical principles by which alone certain classes of these lights can be made truly distinctive, and safe guides to the benighted seaman.

A correct history of the distinguishing lights on the Bell Rock, while it will justify the strictures which have been made on the Engineer and the Commissioners of the Scottish Board, will enable us to illustrate and explain the true principles of this important class of lights.

Sea lights may be distinguished from each other in various ways. The following are a few of the methods which have been used, or which may be put to the test of experiment :—

1. By being *fixed* or *revolving*.

2. By being single, double, triple, etc., the line joining them when double being vertical, horizontal, or inclined 30° , 45° , or 60° to the horizon, when they can be approached chiefly in one direction.
3. By revolving, and being eclipsed at intervals of various magnitudes.
4. By flashing once every 5, 10, 15, or more seconds.
5. By revolving, groups of flashes succeeding each other after certain intervals of darkness, as proposed and exhibited by Mr Babbage.
6. By differences of colour when single and fixed, or when double.
7. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of lights coloured by absorbing media.
8. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of lights coloured by thin plates.
9. By using polarized light, coloured or uncoloured, from which many distinctive characters may be obtained.
10. By analysing polarized light after passing through crystalline plates.
11. By a numerical character obtained from the spectrum of polarized light modified by crystalline plates.
12. By a revolving light, in which there is an alternation of *red* and *white* beams.

The last of these modes of distinction is that which is employed at the Bell Rock, Cape Wrath, Corsewall, Point of Ayre, and Bressay Sound, in Scotland; at Flamborough Head, and at the Rock at the entrance of the Mersey in England; and at Tuskar, Kingston harbour, and Slyne Head in Ireland.

In the first four of the Scotch lighthouses, the red and white lights alternate every *two* minutes, and in the last *every minute*. In the English lighthouse at Flamborough Head there are *two* flashes of *white* and *one* of *red*; at the Rock the *white* light appears *twice* and the *red* *once* every third minute. In Ireland the Tuskar light is described as "*two* sides *white* and *one red*, the *red* light being visible every *sixth* minute;" the Kingston light as "*white* and *red* alternately;" and the revolving light at Slyne Head as having "*one red* and *two white faces*, and making a complete revolution in from *four* to *six* minutes."

All the revolving coloured lights we have mentioned are *catoptric*, or made with reflectors, excepting the Scotch one at Bressay Sound, which is a *dioptric* one of the second order. What is the number of reflectors which furnish the *white* beam, and what the number which furnish the *red* beam, we have no means of knowing, excepting in the case of the *Bell Rock* Lighthouse, in which an alternation of *red* and *white* light was employed, *one* flash of the one succeeding *one* flash of the other.

The reason for adopting this mode of distinction is thus described by Mr R. Stevenson:—

“A question of much importance, however, still remained in some measure undetermined, regarding the characteristic description of the light most suitable for the Bell Rock, so as to render it easily distinguishable from all others upon the coast. There being stationary lights already in the Frith of Forth, this mode could not be adopted for the Bell Rock. Revolving lights had also lately been erected upon the Fearn Islands, the most contiguous lighthouse-station to the southward, as will be seen from the general chart of the coast in Plate III. Considering, therefore, the liability of the mariner to mistake the appearance of lights in stormy weather, or from an error in his course in returning from a distant voyage, it was of the last importance that the Bell Rock Lighthouse should be easily distinguishable.

“The most suitable means for accomplishing this seemed to be by the exhibition of *different colours* from the same light-room. The only colour which had not yet been found to answer, was produced by interposing shades of red glass before the reflectors. But this was the colour used for distinguishing the light of Flamborough Head, on the Yorkshire coast, and, though about 169 miles to the southward, it would still have been desirable to have avoided the same colour. A train of experiments was therefore made from Inchkeith Lighthouse, with plates of glass coloured red, green, yellow, blue, and purple, procured from Birmingham and London. These were fitted to the reflectors at Inchkeith, within view of the writer's windows in Edinburgh. The ‘Tender’ was likewise appointed to cruise, that more distant observations might be made for ascertaining the effect of these coloured shades. But after the most full and satisfactory trials, the red colour was found to be the only one applicable to this purpose. In tolerably clear weather, the light of one reflector, tinged red, alternating with a light of the natural appearance, with intervals of darkness, was easily distinguishable at the distance of eight or nine miles; while the other colours rendered the light opaque, being hardly distinguishable to the naked eye at more than two or three miles. After various trials and observations made in this manner, both on land and at sea, the writer at length resolved on recommending the use of red, as the only colour suitable for this purpose; and, in order to vary the light as much as possible from that of Flamborough Head, a square reflector-frame was adopted at the Bell Rock, with two of its faces or sides having red coloured shades, and the other two exhibiting lights of the natural appearance. At Flamborough Head the reflector-frame is triangular, and on one side it is furnished with red coloured shades, while the other two sides exhibit lights of the natural appearance. The design at the Bell Rock, on the contrary, was to exhibit a light tinged red, alternating with one of the natural appearance; and, upon this principle, the apparatus was put in a state of preparation.”

“Parturiunt Montes—nascitur ridiculus Mus.”

This marvellous apparatus, as we stated in a previous article,

consisted of a rectangular frame with *seven* white lights on each of its two longest sides, and *five* red lights in each of its two shortest sides, so that a *white* flash from *seven* burners succeeded a *red* flash from *five* burners !

When our attention was first called to this extraordinary apparatus in which *the red glass was placed opposite the FIVE reflectors, in place of opposite the SEVEN*, we could not discover any mode of explaining how a person of the most ordinary acquirements could have committed such a blunder, which is founded upon the strange assumption that the *FIVE red* lights would be seen at as great a distance as the *SEVEN white* ones, or that *red* light could be seen at a greater distance than *white* light. Now it is quite true, and had doubtless been known to every student of optics, *that red light of a given intensity would be seen at a greater distance through the lower strata of the atmosphere than white light of the same intensity*, because the blue and green and yellow rays which formed part of the white beam were more readily absorbed than the red rays ; and hence it appeared probable that the engineer, misled by this fact, supposed that each red burner was more intense than each white one, in place of having only one-third or one-fourth of its intensity.

But, however this may be, the *red* light was not seen at distances at which the *white* lights were *visible*, and, as we formerly stated, *the Bell Rock ceased* in clear weather to exhibit a distinguishing light throughout that vast extent of ocean between the short range of the *FIVE red* lights, and the long range of the *SEVEN white* ones. Within that space the hapless seaman believed that he was not approaching the Bell Rock Lighthouse, but some other on which a white light was eclipsed every *four* minutes !

But if this was the result in clear weather, what must have been the condition of the lights in tempestuous nights during fogs, or rain, or snow, when the poor mariner was not far from the fatal reef ; and if he saw anything at all, saw only the white light performing its lazy round, and giving him no information of the dangers which he was approaching. Who can tell how many ships thus lighted through the German Ocean never reached their haven, or how many victims of ignorance and incapacity perished on our shores ?

For nearly *thirteen* years, from February 1, 1811, to November 16, 1823, these dangerous lights gleamed from the lofty summit of the Bell Rock ; but from some cause, which we think we have discovered, the engineer found that his *red* lights were too *feeble* and his *white* lights too *powerful*. Early in 1822, Sir David Brewster was occupied with experiments on the absorption of light by coloured glasses, and some of his specimens were from the red glass shades of the Bell Rock. This paper was read, on

the 15th April 1822, to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and contained experiments and diagrams, showing the quantity of light absorbed or lost in passing through red glass. On the 18th November 1822, a similar paper by Sir John Herschel was read to the same Society, and showing what may be called *the darkness of red glasses*. Mr Stevenson, a member of the Society, may have been present at the reading of these papers; and if he was not, he had them in his possession, when published early in 1829, and certainly knew the results which they contained.

Thus informed, he could not but see that an unshaded white light would penetrate three, or even four times as far as the same light *shaded or darkened with red glass*; and, still more, that SEVEN unshaded white lights would be seen at an immensely greater distance than FIVE of the same lights shaded or darkened with five plates of red glass. He accordingly resolved to correct the Bell Rock blunder; and without consulting any of his scientific friends, or giving any notice to the public or to the shipping interest,¹ he secretly ordered FOUR of the *white* lights to be extinguished, two on each of the long sides of the rectangular frame. This mutilation of the distinguishing light was executed on the 16th November 1823, *twenty-four* reflectors having been used on the 15th, and only *twenty* on the 16th November; and FIVE lights darkened with *red* glass were left to balance, or to be seen at the same distance as, FIVE unshaded *white* lights!

In the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1833, the writer of this article had pointed out the original blunder in the Bell Rock lights; and Mr Hume and other members of the Lighthouse Committee of 1834 were made acquainted with its nature and importance. They accordingly spared the author of the blunder, and thus examined his son, the Clerk of Works, Mr Alan Stevenson:—

“ 2471. The Bell Rock Lighthouse is a revolving light?—It is.

“ 2472. Of what colour?—White and red.

“ 2473. What are the number of burners in the white frame?—Five.

“ 2474. The number in the red?—Five also.

“ 2475. Are you not aware that the light of the white lights from five reflectors will pierce much farther than the red light from five reflectors?—It will, but not very much farther.

“ 2476. Have you never had a complaint that, in hazy weather, the Bell Rock Lighthouse is seen as a single, and not as a revolving light?—I have never heard that complaint; but I am aware that white lights appear redder in fog; at the same time the white light, though tinged red by the fog, when contrasted with

¹ This fact is stated in the *Edinburgh Review*, July 1835, p. 530; and, in so far as we know, was never contradicted.

the red light seen through the same medium, can always be distinguished from it.

"2477. Should you not think it would have been a greater advantage if the red and white light had been made to penetrate equal distances?—I think that it would.

"2478. Would not the addition of perhaps from three or four burners with red glasses have carried that into effect?—I think an addition might; I cannot say how many would be required.

"2479. If, as you state, the white light is seen at a greater distance in a particular state of the atmosphere, why is the red light continued?—In order to distinguish one lighthouse from another.

"2480. Is it not the intention that the red and white lights should be equally seen in all states of the atmosphere?—It is.

"2481. Did you make any experiments to ascertain, as according to the present construction one is not seen at times, by what addition both could be equally visible?—No, we made no late experiments upon that subject; it was tried at the first introduction of the red light.

"2482. Are there any means of making the red light equally visible?—Perhaps the addition of a greater number of reflectors might be tried."

This instructive examination we reprinted in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1835, and accompanied it with the following observations, which were made when we were utterly ignorant, like every other person, of the change in the lights made in 1823:—

"The only remark which the preceding piece of evidence requires regards the strange assertion, that in the Bell Rock Lighthouse there are *five white* lights and *five red ones*; whereas our animadversions (in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1833), though equally just in this case, were particularly directed against the absurdity of *reddening the weak beams of light produced by FIVE reflectors*, in place of *the strong beams produced by SEVEN reflectors*. In Mr Stevenson's folio engraving of the reflector frame, published in 1824, *fourteen* years after the completion of the lighthouse, the reflectors are, as we stated, *SEVEN on one side*, and *FIVE on the other*, and *the red glasses are placed in front of the FIVE*! It is, therefore, an unpardonable attempt in the Clerk of Works (Mr Alan Stevenson) to diminish the force of our reproof, and the magnitude of the engineer's blunder, by making the committee believe that there were *five reflectors on each side of the frame*."

This last passage raised to such a degree the ire of Mr Alan Stevenson, that in an epistle which Mr Napier, the editor of the *Review*, calls "rabid," he threatened him with a challenge if he did not insert a reply to what he called the *false* and *calumnious* charge of the *Reviewer*. The reply to the charge was this:—"On the night of the 16th November 1823, the SEVEN

reflectors on the two white sides were reduced in number by the extinction of TWO on each face ; so that during a period of nearly eleven years before I (Mr A. Stevenson) gave the evidence thus quoted, there was, as I have stated to the committee, FIVE reflectors on each side, white as well as red."

While Mr Alan Stevenson was writing this defence, and calling the reviewer's statement false and calumnious, he himself knew that the reviewer had written *in good faith*, and with perfect honesty and truth ; and he knew also that he had made Mr Hume and the committee believe that the reviewer's statement was *false*, while it was perfectly correct, and he knew it to be so.

"The reviewer, as he himself has said,¹ spoke, and *could speak only* of the original construction of the apparatus which had existed for nearly fourteen years, and *which exists at this moment*, although, from causes and motives still unknown, four of the reflectors are said to have been extinguished. A gun has equally two barrels, though only one of them may have been used ; and a chandelier or a reflector frame has equally *seven* burners, though one or all of them may have been extinguished."

If a lamplighter, employed to light two drawing-rooms equally with lights of different brightness, should place a lamp of *seven* burners, with a bright flame, in the *small* drawing-room, and a lamp of *five* burners with a *fainter* flame in the *large* drawing-room ; and if, when called upon to answer for the professional blunder, he should say that *there were only FIVE* burners in the *small* drawing-room lamps, because in the fourteenth year of its age he had ordered *two* of its *seven* burners to be extinguished, we do not think that his professional character would be improved by such a statement. Had he stated the fact, that he had extinguished *two* of the *seven*, his testimony, however absurd, would have been honest ; but if he kept that fact to himself, his evidence was as false as it was absurd.

That the evidence of Mr A. Stevenson deceived the committee and the public cannot be doubted ; that it deceived the reviewer, is more certain still. When our reproof was written, we had not, and could not have had, the least idea that any change had been made in the Bell Rock lights ;² and so carefully does this change seem to have been concealed, that it was not known in the spring of 1833 to one of the most intelligent members of the Bell Rock Committee.

The reply of the reviewer, of which this passage is but a fragment, was never answered by Mr Alan Stevenson. The subject

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, July 1835, p. 529.

² This is proved by the fact, that in a letter to one of the Commissioners, printed in the House of Commons' Report, App., p. 134, Mr Harrower states that the Bell Rock was a revolving light of 24 reflectors.

of coloured distinguishing lights haunts him as a family apparition which it is impossible to allay. Neither he nor any of his kindred venture to allude to the subject, and in a single line, when he is obliged to refer to the darkness of red glass, he furnishes, as we shall see, the most convincing proof of the *existing* as well as of the *original* blunder in the Bell Rock lights.

That distinguishing lights, discreditable to science and dangerous to life, should exist in our Scottish, and, perchance, other lighthouses, is a fact of serious import, which merits the attention of every friend of humanity. That they are dangerous, and could be easily remedied, may be proved from the evidence of Mr Alan Stevenson, under whose management, as the Engineer of the Board, they have been allowed to exist.

1. He is aware that the *five white lights* will penetrate much *farther* than the *five red lights*, but not *very* much farther.

2. He thinks that it would have been a *greater advantage*, that is, that the Bell Rock lights would be improved, if the *red* and *white* light penetrated to equal distances.

3. He states that it was the intention of the engineer that the red and white lights should be equally seen in *all states* of the atmosphere.

4. He states, that *it was tried* at the first introduction of the light, by what additions (additional red lights of course) both the red and white lights could be made equally visible, and he directly contradicts this evidence when he states,

5. That *it might be tried* if an additional number of reflectors would make the red and white lights equally visible.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary evidence, *five* white and *five* red lights still form the Bell Rock lights! What the number of red lights ought to be, we may infer from facts published by Mr Alan Stevenson himself. He tells us¹ that red glass absorbs from 4-7ths to 5-6ths of the incident light, that which absorbs 4-7ths being less fit for lighthouses than the more absorbing kinds. It is obvious, therefore, that with that glass which absorbs 5-6ths or 80 per cent. of the incident light, it would require *thirty-three* red lights to furnish the same quantity of light as the *five* white lights, and that in an atmosphere equally transparent for rays of all colours, 5 white lights would be seen at as great a distance as a large number of red ones! With the least absorbing glass, 5 white lights would give as much light as far as 11 red ones.

Next in importance to good distinguishing lights, which shall be distinctive at all distances to which they reach, is the exhibition of powerful lights in foggy weather. It is a fact which cannot be contradicted, that *when the PRESENT feeble lights are absorbed by fog, or haze, or rain, or snow, so as to become invisible*

¹ Rudimentary Treatise, etc., p. 108.

at short distances, the navigation of our firths and shores is exactly as dangerous as it was previous to the erection of lighthouses. In order to guide the mariner in such a state of the atmosphere, the writer of this article proposed, in 1826, the occasional use of the Drummond light, or of the electric light, as first suggested by Sir W. Herschel, and, in 1833, he proposed to increase the intensity of oil or gas flames by means of oxygen gas. That such a light would operate injuriously to navigation, only one man could believe, and that one man was Mr Alan Stevenson.

“Are you aware,” he was asked, “of any propositions on the part of Sir David Brewster, that have not met with attention, on the Northern Lights?”

“No; no propositions of Sir David Brewster have been overlooked. He suggested the introduction of gas, and an inquiry was set on foot. . . . *He made a proposition with regard to lenses, which are at present in course of being adopted at Inchkeith.* He also suggested the occasional exhibition of certain lights at particular times, or in certain states of the weather. It is quite obvious, however, that *this recommendation deserves no attention*, and it could not come from any one acquainted with seamanship!”

Thus dogmatizes the Clerk of Works—the son; but the more sagacious engineer, the father, thus testifies:—

“*Important advantages* might, doubtless, be obtained by using this light (the Drummond light) during hazy weather, and the reporter is resolved to spare no pains on his part to bring about its introduction into lighthouses!”

In order to carry out his views of exhibiting a brilliant light, *when the characteristic appearance of every light is entirely lost*, Sir David Brewster invented the *holophole* or *whole light* principle, which consists in *throwing back on the flame, and through the lens into the main lenticular beam, as large an angular portion of the light that diverges from the flame as that which the lens receives.* This may be done by any reflector that will throw back an incident ray to the point from which it diverged.¹

The invention and application of this principle is due solely to Sir David Brewster, Fresnel and no other writer having thought of it; and yet the lighthouse historian, Mr A. Stevenson, has, in his early works, entirely ignored its existence, except when describing his brother's application of it, which he does as if it were his invention. In his latest work, however, published in 1850,²

¹ Sir David Brewster did this by a spherical mirror or speculum, whose centre was the burner. Mr T. Stevenson has since preferred to use totally reflecting prisms of flint glass; but we are persuaded that, owing to each ray having to pass through a very great thickness of glass, more or less striated, glass specula, coated externally with pure silver, will produce a much better effect.

² Rudimental Treatise, Part II., p. 102, fig. 86. The same claim for Mr Alan Stevenson is made by his brother in his *Lighthouse Illumination*, p. 46.

he has the assurance to claim the invention to himself, though Sir David Brewster published it in 1812, for the suns' rays, and in 1827 for lighthouses, in papers which he had perused! The following description of the very figure described is taken from the *Edinburgh Transactions*:¹—

“In the arc, says Mr A. Stevenson, next the land, in fixed lights, a great loss of light ensues from the escape of the rays uselessly in that direction. So far back as 1834, I suggested the placing the segment of a spherical mirror, with its centre of curvature coincident with the focus of the system, so that the luminous pyramid, of which the mirror forms the base, might be thrown back through the focal point, and finally refracted into such a direction as to contribute to the effect of the lens in the seaward and opposite arc. . . . In the best glass-silvered mirror, this accession of light would amount to nearly half of the light incident on them.”

But this method of sending back the landward cone of rays into the seaward beam, has a most valuable application to the occasional introduction of a brilliant light in hazy weather, and this, too, without in any way altering the character of the lighthouse. This is shown in a drawing in the *Memoir on Polyzoal Lenses*² already referred to, and is done by lenses or elliptical mirrors, which throw into the seaward beams one or more cones of rays, produced by a lens from the Drummond or electrical light. This addition to the holophote principle has been entirely ignored by all the Stevensons, although two of them, Messrs D. and T. Stevenson, have given Sir David Brewster the credit of having invented the holophote apparatus.

In his work, entitled the *Holophotal System* of Lighthouses, published in 1851, Mr Thomas Stevenson makes the following reference:—

“See Sir David Brewster's article in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* (published in 1812) for the best method formerly proposed of sending forward diverged rays *by means of a combination of numerous small lenses and plane mirrors.*”

In 1857, Messrs D. and T. Stevenson, in their report “On the Comparative Merits of the Catoptric and Dioptric Lights,” presented to the Board of Trade, made the following statement:—

“A far more complete optical arrangement is that which was proposed so far back as 1812, by Sir David Brewster, and afterwards introduced by A. Fresnel in his revolving lights. By Sir David's plan the whole sphere of rays was usefully employed, and the excessive amount of divergence to which we have just referred was avoided.”

Such was the belief of the Stevensons, the historians of lighthouse inventions, up to 1859. In that year Mr T. Stevenson

¹ Vol. xi., p. 33, *Edinburgh*, 1827.

² *Rudimental Treatise*, plate iii., fig. 1.

published his principal work, called *Lighthouse Illumination*, in which he gives Sir David Brewster the whole credit of being the inventor of the Dioptric system.

“So far back,” he says, “as 1812, Sir David Brewster suggested most important improvements in the illumination of lighthouses, and, among others, that which is represented in fig. 17.”

Here follows a woodcut of the Holophote, from the Edinburgh Encyclopædia referred to, and after describing it he says—

“Before leaving this instrument, we may just notice, in a word, what will be hereafter more particularly referred to, that the same arrangement was adopted in 1822, as a part of his system of revolving lights by Fresnel, who was unaware that Sir David Brewster had conceived the same idea before.”

The following passage is equally important :—

“The last invention to be noticed is that by Sir David Brewster, plate 1, fig. 1, and afterwards adopted by A. Fresnel, as an accessory part in all Dioptric revolving lights prior to 1851.”

The figure here referred to is an original and correct drawing of Sir David Brewster’s system of lenses and mirrors, or holophote apparatus, and has the date of 1812 affixed to it.

After the perusal of the preceding pages, together with our article in a preceding number, and the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, with the relative documents, the reader will have no difficulty in discovering who was the first inventor of the dioptric lights, and who had the honour of introducing them into Scotland, England, and Ireland. But when he has made this discovery he will be surprised to find that Mr Alan Stevenson has, in all his writings, wilfully omitted all mention of Sir David Brewster’s inventions, and of his persevering labours for many years in overcoming the opposition which the two Engineers of the Scottish Board so obstinately made to the dioptric lights.

This pertinacious suppression of truth has, we believe, no example in the history of science, and will appear the less mysterious when we know, that the only lighthouse invention which Mr Alan Stevenson has claimed, or we believe can claim, is taken, without acknowledgment, from Sir David Brewster’s published communications to the Lighthouse Board, of which he was the engineer ;—when we reperuse his declaration to the Parliamentary Committee, already referred to,¹—and read the following documents and letters addressed to Sir David by two of the most intelligent Commissioners of the Northern Lights. After the successful experiments which had been made on the 12th, 13th, and 14th February, had proved to everybody but the engineer the superiority of the lens, Sir David addressed to Mr Macconochie, the

¹ See p. 508 of this article.

convener of the "Lens Committee," a long and elaborate letter in favour of a dioptric system, dated the 16th February.¹ This letter was laid before the Lens Committee at their meeting on the 23d February, when they came to the following resolution:—

"The meeting being of opinion that the information contained in the above communication is of the greatest importance, in the view of introducing the apparatus into the lighthouses in progress, direct the report of the engineer on the experiments already made, and the above communication, to be immediately reported to the Bell Rock Committee, to ascertain whether it could not be done."

When Sir David Brewster's letter was read at the meeting of the Bell Rock Committee, which took place the same day, the Lord Provost insisted, in the most urgent manner, upon having "an estimate of the comparative expense of a light-room at Inchkeith," fitted up for the exhibition of lights from the reflectors, or from an equivalent number of lenses; and when this was agreed to, he wrote to Sir David Brewster, as follows, on the 27th February 1833:—

"The Lighthouse Board have resolved to light Inchkeith *permanently on your plan*, at least they have ordered Stevenson to give in an estimate of what it will cost to do so, with the view of making it a sort of model. My wish was, and is, that you should be directed to procure the whole apparatus, and to fit it up, cost what it may, as, without being very uncharitable, we may suppose *that one so adverse to the experiment as Stevenson is, is not the fittest person to be employed*. Depend upon my zeal and anxiety to redeem the abominable atrocity of my coadjutors."

At the meeting of the Bell Rock Committee on the 25th March, Mr R. Stevenson's estimate was produced, making the expense of *seven* reflectors L.569, 11s. 7d., and the expense of *seven* lenses, L.815, 2s. In this strange estimate, *seven* reflectors are made equal to *seven* lenses, whereas it requires nearly *nineteen* reflectors to be equal to *seven* lenses.

"On the motion of the Lord Provost, the committee resolved to recommend to a general meeting, to be called on Monday next, to have the light at Inchkeith immediately adapted to the lens apparatus."

This resolution was intimated to Sir David Brewster, in the following letter from Mr Macconochie, dated March 26, 1833:—

"We had a meeting of the *Business Committee* yesterday, when it was unanimously resolved to call a meeting of the whole Board, and *recommend the immediate conversion of Inchkeith into a lens light*. This meeting takes place on Monday, when I trust all will be finally settled. Mr Stevenson gives us an estimate of the expense, which is *somewhat* startling; but cost what it may, the thing *ought*, and must be done. I got a copy of it made, which I send you; and *if any remarks occur on it, I beg you may write me before Monday*."

¹ This letter is printed in the Appendix to the *Parliamentary Report* of August 1834, No. 130, p. 130.

In obedience to the request contained in this letter, Sir David Brewster wrote his last and longest appeal to the Board; and having previously procured from M. Fresnel a genuine estimate, in which it appeared that a *nine*-lens lighthouse, such as that at Corduana, would cost L.1083, while, according to Mr Stevenson, a lighthouse with twenty-four reflectors (equivalent to *nine* lenses) would cost L.1387, he addressed an elaborate letter to Mr Macconochie,¹ dated 29th March 1833, in which he placed the question between lenses and reflectors in such a light as to induce the Board to agree to the erection of a lens light upon Inchkeith.

Although Sir David Brewster had thus so far gained the object for which he had struggled for *seventeen* long years, he dreaded that the obstinacy of their engineer might yet overbear the tardy and unwilling proceedings of the Board, and that the experiment at Inchkeith might be the end as well as the beginning of the new system. He submitted the whole case to the public, in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1833, and urged Mr Joseph Hume to obtain a select committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the lighthouse system of Great Britain and Ireland. Lieutenant Drummond and Mr James Jardine bore the highest testimony to the dioptric lights. The Royal Society of Edinburgh declared that they had a *prodigious* superiority over the old ones. The Scottish Commissioners rejoiced in the lens lighthouse in the Isle of May as "the most perfect ever exhibited in any country;" and the obstructive Clerk of Works, Mr Alan Stevenson, who had declared, in 1833, that the old "British and Irish lights were the best in Europe," now confessed that they were less intense, and more expensive than the new ones!

After the dioptric system had been thus fairly introduced into Great Britain, Mr Macconochie addressed to Sir David Brewster the following letter, dated 7th February 1837:—

"Of the vast importance of introducing the dioptric system into the lighthouses, I have never entertained a doubt; and I have every reason to believe that even those of the Commissioners who were least willing to make the change, are now satisfied of the great superiority of the new system.

"I am satisfied that the Scottish Board will never again build a lighthouse on the reflecting system, and I *only hope that you may be able to persuade a much more powerful and important Board to adopt a similar resolution.*"

When the Report and Evidence of the committee of the House of Commons was laid before Parliament, and analysed by the writer of this article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1835, public opinion was directed to the subject, and a severe judgment pronounced upon the conduct of the Scottish Commissioners, and the

¹ This letter, of upwards of two closely printed folio pages, is given in the Appendix to the *Parliamentary Report*, No. 130, p. 133, 136.

engineer who had misled them. Parliament itself took up the subject, and, under the guidance of that truly honest patriot, Mr Joseph Hume, began a system of reform which has been gradually bringing to perfection the administration of our lighthouses.

Under different Acts of Parliament, good and fundamental changes have been effected. By an Act of Parliament passed in August 1836,¹ the lighthouses held by the Crown, by private individuals, and the leases of those leased by the Trinity House, to whose improper lights Captain Cotton ascribed so much loss of property and life, were all purchased and placed under the management of the Trinity House. By the same Act, all the lighthouses in the empire were placed under the same Board, in order to obtain an uniform system of management, and a reduction and equalization of the tolls. No alteration was to be made without the written authority of the three former Boards;—no lighthouses were to be erected in Scotland or Ireland, or removed, or their lights altered, without the authority of the Trinity House; and the tax, when reduced and equalized, was to be a *halfpenny* per ton on all British vessels not navigated wholly in ballast, and *one penny* per ton for passing the Bell Rock, the tax being double on all foreign vessels not privileged by treaties or Acts of Parliament.

Under this important Act the lighthouses of the empire were administered, till the “Merchant Shipping Act” was passed in 1854. The object of this Act was “to amend and consolidate the Acts relating to Merchant Shipping.” It occupies no fewer than 264 pages, and is divided into *eleven* parts, the *sixth part* relating to lighthouses. It places under the Board of Trade the general superintendence of all matters relating to merchant ships and seamen, and, consequently, all lighthouse buoys or beacons. Every proposal to erect new lighthouses, or to change old ones, must be submitted to the Trinity House, and receive the sanction of the Board of Trade. It establishes a *Mercantile Marine Fund*, into which all light dues or tolls are to be paid, and out of which all the expenses of lighthouses are to be defrayed, the Treasury being authorized to lend out of the Consolidated Fund a sum not exceeding L.200,000, for erecting and repairing lighthouses. It provides also, that all lighthouse authorities shall account to the Board of Trade, and that the account of the Mercantile Marine Fund shall be annually submitted to both Houses of Parliament.

While these great advances have been made in the administration of British lighthouses, comparatively little has been done in the improvement of lighthouse apparatus, as an optical instrument requiring as much as a microscope or a telescope, or as the

¹ William IV., 6 and 7, cap. 79.

finest Equatorials or Mural circles in our observatories, all the resources of optical knowledge.

It appears from the Admiralty list of lighthouses, as taken in August 1859, that there are

In England,	.	.	209	} lights, including floating and harbour lights.
In Scotland,	.	.	114	
In Ireland,	.	.	78	
<hr/>				401

The character of these lights, as given in the same list, is as follows :—

- “ 1. *Fixed* or steady.
2. *Flashing*, showing five or more flashes or eclipses, alternately, in a minute, as North Ronaldshay, Buchanness, etc.
3. *Fixed* light, with a *white* or *red* flash in addition (preceded and followed by a short eclipse), at intervals of two, three, or four minutes, as Alpreck Point, Isle Vierge, etc.
4. *Revolving* light, gradually increasing to full effect, or gradually decreasing to eclipse, at equal intervals of two, three, or four minutes, but occasionally as often as *three times* in a minute, as Casquets, Corduan, etc.
5. *Intermittent*, suddenly appearing in view, remaining visible for a certain time, and then as suddenly eclipsed for a shorter time, as at Burnham, in the Bristol Channel, Mull of Galloway, Barra Head, Tarbet Ness, etc.
6. *Alternating*, *red* and *white* light appearing alternately at equal intervals, without any intervening eclipse, as Pontailac, in the Gironde, etc.”

The optical apparatus used in producing these various distinctive characters, consists either of hammered metallic reflectors, or of built-up lenses, and a reflecting apparatus of spherical and plain mirrors and totally reflecting prisms. Lighthouses are therefore divided into *DIOPTRIC*, or those with *lenses*, and *CATOPTRIC*, or those with *reflectors*.

The following is the number of *dioptric* lighthouses in Great Britain of different orders, from No. 1, the largest, to No. 6, the smallest :—

	1st Order.	2d Order.	3d Order.	4th Order.	5th Order.	6th Order.
England,	23	6	0	2	4	1
Scotland,	16	6	1	4	2	0
Ireland,	9	1	4	3	1	0
<hr/>						
Total,	48	13	5	9	7	1

making, in all, *eighty-three* dioptric or D lighthouses.

It is impossible to obtain from the Admiralty list a correct number of the different orders of *catoptric* lights. In the English list, no fewer than 82 are simply marked *catoptric*, or C, without mentioning the order. In Scotland, 19 are simply marked *catop-*

tric ; while in Ireland only 3 are so marked, and the different orders recorded. We may, therefore, provisionally place those marked C by themselves. The list will then stand as follows :—

	1st Order.	2d Order.	3d Order.	4th Order.	5th Order.	6th Order.	C.
England, .	2	0	0	0	1	2	82
Scotland, .	2	1	1	0	0	0	19
Ireland, .	17	10	15	2	0	0	3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total,	21	11	16	2	1	2	104

making, in all, 157 catoptric lights. Four lights are marked C and D,—one being catoptric, and the others dioptric: three in Scotland are called *condensing*, without any description ; and the nature of many of the lights in the Admiralty list is not mentioned.

It is obvious from the preceding lists that much remains to be done, especially in Ireland, in converting the catoptric into dioptric lights. When the superiority of the latter is now so universally admitted, there can be no reason but want of funds for maintaining the old reflectors ; and we have no hesitation in asserting that *lighthouse reform* will not be final till every hammered reflector in our leading sea lights is reduced to its silver and copper ingredients, or made to perform some humbler function, as pier or harbour lights. To maintain a *feeble* light when a *brighter* one can be obtained from a lens, is to peril life and property at sea ; and we can hardly believe that any Government could be so parsimonious as to refuse the obvious means of making our lighthouses what the Committee of Parliament declares they should be, “ *the best that the state of science can afford.*”

This desire of improving our lighthouses was strongly expressed by the House of Commons in 1858–9 in an address to the Crown, and a Royal Commission was in consequence of this appointed, “for inquiring into the condition and management of lights, buoys, and beacons.” The Commissioners named for this duty by the Crown were Admiral Baillie Hamilton, Captain Alfred Phillips Ryde, Dr John H. Gladstone, and Messrs Duncan, Dunbar, and Samuel Robert Graves, gentlemen highly qualified for so important an undertaking. This is the first time that a man of science was appointed to report on the subject of lighthouses, and we anticipate great advantages from the high scientific acquirements of Dr Gladstone. The appointment of two naval officers such as Admiral Hamilton and Captain Ryde, cannot fail to be gratifying to the public, while Mr Dunbar and Mr Graves are excellent representatives of the merchant shipping interest. With Mr J. F. Campbell as their secretary, we look forward with much interest to the important reforms which they cannot fail to effect.

The powers given to the Commission are precise and ample. They are “to inquire into the number, quality, and position of

the lighthouses of the United Kingdom, both absolutely and relatively, as compared with the lighthouses of any foreign countries;" into the sufficiency of the said lighthouses for lighting our coasts; into the expense of constructing and maintaining them, compared with the expense in any foreign countries; and into the present system of management and control under which the lighthouses are constructed and maintained.

The Commissioners have already visited the British and French lighthouses, and they have recently issued a circular, in which they request from scientific men an answer to *sixteen* questions, *eleven* of which are of an optical nature, and well calculated to elicit most important information. We understand that they have already received very valuable suggestions from some eminent scientific individuals, and we have no doubt that they will be able to introduce into their report facts and views which will contribute greatly to the improvement of our lighthouses.

This is not the place to make any suggestions of a technical nature for the consideration of the Board, but there are some points of a general nature which may be worthy of their notice.

1. To every light made distinctive by the alternations of coloured and colourless flashes, it is essentially necessary that the coloured light be seen at as great a distance as the colourless light, whether the lights are weakened by distance or by the state of the atmosphere.
2. Methods of distinguishing lighthouses, which would be useful *only at short distances*, should be introduced.
3. The system of double lights, placed so that the line which joins them may be inclined at different angles to the horizon, though more expensive, may be made to form most distinctive lights.
4. Means should be adopted for introducing into the main beam, in dangerous weather, brilliant lights, so as not to alter the general character of the light.
5. Gas should be introduced into every lighthouse.
6. A distinctive character, to be seen in daylight, should be given to every lighthouse.
7. All the lenses in these lighthouses should be made of flint glass.
8. The commander of every merchant ship should be furnished with a good telescope, with an object glass of large aperture.
9. In every Lighthouse Board there should be men of science, engineers, and naval officers, who should receive liberal salaries from the Mercantile Marine Fund.

The necessity of putting the right man in the right place, has been so strikingly displayed in the recent annals of England, that public opinion will hardly tolerate an exception in the ad-

ministration of our lighthouses, the most important of all our civil establishments. Even if they answered no other purpose than to facilitate the navigation of our shores and estuaries, by shortening voyages and reducing the expenses of transit, they would still be objects of national as well as of individual interest; but when we view them in the light of humane institutions for the protection of life and property, the man of the world, as well as the philanthropist, will regard them with a deeper and a more affectionate interest. If the astronomer appeals successfully to the State for expensive instruments and effective establishments for studying the planets and the stars; and if the State selects individuals of the highest science to superintend these watch-towers of the heavens, it is bound by every motive of feeling and of justice to choose the wisest functionaries for our lighthouses, and to open wide the national purse for the preservation of valuable life.¹

It would be better surely to double the lighthouse dues, than to leave our lighthouses beneath "the state of science in England," glimmering and misleading lights, superintended by unpaid and irresponsible commissioners, and ignorant engineers; but even the greatness of the object to be thus gained would not reconcile us to such an act of confiscation. The merchant shipping of England, the grandest commercial establishment in the world, cannot be regarded as an institution in which individual enterprise selfishly speculates and avariciously accumulates wealth. It is physically the grand commissariat which supplies us with our meat and our drink, our medicines and our luxuries,—with the nectar and ambrosia of climes genial and remote. It hoards for our use the materials of our arts and manufactures; and if a day of danger should ever visit England, its navy will be the safeguard of our shores, and its seamen a living bulwark in their defence.

But it is in its moral aspect also that we must view our commercial marine. It is an electrical chain floating on the surface of the oceanic world—the supermarine cable, which unites into one empire our mother country and her colonies—which connects us by the ties of brotherhood with all other nations, barbarous and civilised, and enables us to send the messages of revelation and of knowledge to the darkest regions of the earth.

To impose, therefore, an additional tax on the merchant shipping, would be to add to the injustice under which they now labour, of paying the lighthouse dues for every ship of the Royal Navy, and for foreign vessels exempted by special treaties and

¹ "The use of light," says Mr Faraday, "to guide the mariner as he approaches land, or passes through intricate channels, has, with the advance of society and its ever-increasing interests, caused *such a necessity* for means more and more perfect, *as to tax to the utmost the powers both of the philosopher and the practical man*, in the development of the principles concerned, and their practical application."—*Lectures at the Royal Institution, March 9, 1860.*

conventions. Rather ought the lighthouse dues to be entirely remitted to every British vessel, and the Consolidated Fund charged with the maintenance of every lighthouse establishment.

Nothing has surprised us more, during the discussion of lighthouse questions, whether in Parliament, by the press, or in the saloon, than the apathy of public men, and even of private individuals. The responsibility which the law, as well as the affections, attaches to all other professions is supposed by some to be inapplicable to a lighthouse commissioner and a lighthouse engineer,—to the one who has an office imposed upon him, of whose duties he is entirely ignorant, and to the other, a self-named engineer, who has less knowledge of his art than the manufacturer or the retailer of a pair of spectacles; and those who, as public censors, have for public interests exposed the ignorance of the one and the incapacity of the other, have been charged with undue severity in the exercise of their functions. The parties thus mysteriously sensitive must be self-deceived in their judgment. They look with indifference, if not with satisfaction, upon the hopeless author, male or female, when cut to pieces by the same tomahawk, or impaled upon the same spear; while they affect a dubious charity when a lighthouse commissioner or a lighthouse engineer—the ministers of life or death to the seaman—are reminded of their duties, or reproved for neglecting them.

With such guardians of public interests we can have no sympathy. As authorized censors we have spoken freely, and, we are sure, justly, of the deep responsibility of lighthouse administrators. We have addressed them personally as well as publicly on the magnitude of their office, and some of them have not only appreciated our motives, but aided us in carrying out the great reforms which we advocated. Acts of Parliament, and the force of public opinion, have since that time effected many of these reforms; and it is but a repetition of the fate of public benefactors when their services are depreciated and their characters maligned.

It will be seen from the preceding pages that humanity has yet higher claims upon science. In advocating these claims, when the jury are not philosophers but men, the rigorous axioms of science, unless accepted by faith, make but a feeble impression. We must appeal to human sympathies if we desire to produce an effect upon hearts of stone, and personal feelings must rest in abeyance when we plead at the bar of public interests. When, in 1833, we implored the House of Commons to treat the great question of lighthouse reform as one of public economy and national honour, we begged them also not to forget that the subject with which they had to deal was that of *human life*—of the lives of the industrious mariner whom they had severely taxed,

and of the helpless seafaring stranger whom they had taxed without mercy; and we reminded them that if they failed in this sacred duty, they would be answerable to a tribunal more solemn than that of their constituency,—a tribunal where benevolence would be their judge, science their accusers, and widows and orphans their jury.

In the same spirit we told the Scotch Commissioners and their engineers, that whatever losses in shipping or in human life *were owing to their delay in applying an invention within their reach*, to the improvement of our lighthouses, these losses were attributable to them alone. We now repeat the charge with another aggravation, that after *their refusal for nineteen years to adopt the new apparatus for lighthouse illumination when pressed upon their notice*, every life lost at sea, *from the continuance of their old and imperfect system of lights*, was a life taken by them.

We now repeat the charge with additional aggravations, that after Major Colby had, in 1821, from personal observation, assured Mr R. Stevenson that the lens light, at equal distances, was *sixteen times* brighter than the light at Dungeness; that after the philosophers, and engineers, and naval officers in France had, in 1822, adopted the lens and its mirrors; that after Professor Barlow had, in 1827, shown to a deputation from the Trinity House the superiority of lenses to reflectors; that after the experiments at Gulane in 1833 had proved to the Commissioners themselves the superiority of the built-up lens; that after he had been ordered by the Board to convert the Inchkeith Lighthouse into a lens light; that after all these facts and warnings had been presented to the conscience, the sympathy, and the reason of a responsible being,—every merchant that had lost his all upon the wild shelves of our coast, every parent that lost his son, every wife that was made a widow, and every child that was made an orphan, *owing to the imperfect lights that he kept up upon our shores*, every one of these victims of obstinacy and ignorance was entitled to point the finger of scorn to the man that refused to light the poor mariner to his home.

We repeat the charge with a more bitter aggravation still; that if any of those heartrending disasters which have occurred at sea—those floods of tears that have bedewed the sailors' hearth—those pangs of conscience which embitter the last moments of every life lost in shipwreck, of the mariner, the passenger, or the returning emigrant that perished on our shores, *were owing to the imperfect lighting of our coast, or to the dangerous and misleading lights on the Bell Rock*, they must rest on the consciences of those who, from ignorance or the sordid interests of themselves or their relatives, refused or delayed to introduce a better system of illumination.

ART. IX.—*The State of Europe.*

THE public opinion of Europe is at this moment oscillating between the grandest hopes and the sternest apprehensions. The spring of 1860 has brought us into a period which, with a striking ambiguity, seems equally to promise a commercial progress never before known, and to threaten a career of military warfare without example since the wars concluded in 1815. On the one hand, France has broken through the frontiers which she had covenanted with nearly all the powers of Europe to maintain ; she has concluded with Sardinia, for this purpose, a secret treaty, marked by every artifice of dissimulation ; and she has spoken in vague, but distrustful language, of a re-acquisition of the natural boundary of the Rhine, which would compromise Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Prussia. On the other, we have just seen in Italy an immense growth in the power of freedom and nationality ; one-half of a great people created into a great State, by the exhibition of a popular grandeur perhaps without a parallel since the great struggles of Athenian independence ; the civilising dominion of Great Britain in the East reassured by a wise legislation, hardly less fruitful than the heroism of her troops ; and the relations of European countries, through the adoption of a principle of commercial alliances in place of a principle of commercial rivalry, apparently moulding themselves on the solid basis of interchange and peace.

This chequered spectacle is the Europe of May 1860. And the result of such a position of affairs, most nearly affecting ourselves, must be either the increased friendship of the British and French nations, or an increased disseverance of their respective Governments. But while we thus stand midway in a path so uncertain in its issues, it may be well to look back to the events from which the present complication has arisen, and to the results of our alliance with France, which has been the first aim of our diplomacy for thirty years.

In such a retrospect, we see much to rejoice at in the course which, either as a nation or as a Government, we have pursued ; and little to diminish our estimate of the future importance of the French alliance, if its preservation shall be yet possible. It must be remembered, that the Italian question of 1859, and the Swiss question of 1860, however artificially confounded by a secret stipulation, are essentially distinct ; and that no reprobation of the policy of the French Government in Savoy can affect the consistency of a concurrence, such as we have before expressed, in the deliverance of Italy from the armies of Austria.

Unless we greatly deceive ourselves, the instrumentality of

this country has done much for the growth of freedom in Europe, since the peace of 1815. The three great peninsulas of southern Europe have been more or less completely restored to the position of sovereign nationalities : the Turkish dominion in Greece, the Ultramontane dominion in Spain, and the Austrian dominion in Italy, have been more or less completely terminated. And the recognition of the independence of Belgium may be added to the benefits which arose from the overthrow of these three worst classes of foreign subjugation in Europe. We cannot too highly appreciate a policy which has resulted in raising thirty millions of civilised and Christian people—a number in which we compute the Italians already emancipated at no more than six millions—to a greater or less degree of civil and intellectual freedom, however much we may criticise the character of their respective Governments. In all these instances, we have co-operated, actually or morally, with France ; and even in Italy, where our support was least considerable, it was probably essential to the formal fusion of the four emancipated states with Sardinia. From the moment that our recognition of their independence was announced in January last, Austria formally sheathed her sword, and her threat of reaction vanished in a protest.

We here trace a marked progress towards that ultimate settlement of Europe, which we believe that the growth of knowledge, and the social development of race and class, must sooner or later bring into conformity with the rights of nationalities. Central Italy has now in great measure vindicated the right of each people to choose its own rulers, and to form itself into a State more or less distinctly in the capacity of a nation. Neither can we acknowledge the change which has just been brought about in the Italian peninsula, as consisting merely in the enfranchisement of six million Italians under a government of their own choice, while thirteen million Italians remain under the triumvirate of Austria, Naples, and Rome. The general voice, both of nations and Governments, has pronounced the right of foreign intervention to be terminated, although a French force yet lingers at Rome. There is, then, ground to assume, that the one national government of Italy may extend itself, and that the three foreign governments of Italy may decline. The extension of Sardinia from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, has also intercepted the territorial communication between the Hapsburgs ruling in Venetia, the Bourbons ruling at Naples, and ecclesiastics (confessedly of no country) ruling at Rome. We may be told, indeed, that the new dominion of Sardinia is merely an experiment ; but the same description was applied to the liberal constitution created by Sardinia ten years ago ; and we now find Sardinia, chiefly through the influence of that con-

stitution, more than doubling her dominion. A State, moreover, of eleven million inhabitants, is incomparably more able to defend its rights than a State of only five millions; and the army of Sardinia available in the field, is now probably more than equal to any force which Austria could make available for an attack on her independence.

There is, however, one measure yet wanting to consolidate the advantages which northern Italy has obtained. We allude to the neutralization either of Sardinia singly, or of the whole of Italy, exclusive of Venetia, to which we called attention in November last. It is true that the conduct of the French Government in regard to Chablais and Faucigny may be held to depreciate the value of any general guarantee of neutrality; but to neutralize a population of eleven millions at the least, would be a measure necessarily more effectual than to neutralize a small community; and we have yet to learn that the recent policy of France has destroyed the value of such a guarantee in Belgium, in the Dardanelles, or in the Euxine. If such a measure be opposed to the apparent ambition of France—and it is scarcely more so than the neutrality of Belgium—her assertion that she has demanded the slopes of the Alps, not in aggression, but in self-defence, precludes her from contesting it. If it be opposed to the apparent ambition of Austria, it would nevertheless ensure her rights in Venetia against an Italian crusade. It would also close the most frequent battle-ground of the two adjoining empires.

In this view of the increasing force of the principle of national government, we do not forget indeed that Hungary, a country beyond the reach of our maritime influence, presents an opposite example. But neither do we despair of a revival of her rights with a more equitable application to the claims of each component nationality; and we trust, meanwhile, that that amalgamation of the dominant with the servile race, which proceeded in England from the common possession of political rights, may be effected in Hungary by their common extinction.

These results, nevertheless, form, in our judgment, an ample fruit of thirty years of alliance, maintained between Great Britain and France, for the general peace and development of mankind, as well as for the direct interests of either country. If, therefore, it should now prove needful to seek the alliance of other States, no conviction of that necessity will impeach the policy of our past co-operation with the successive Governments of France. The alliance first concerted between France and England, in 1830, arose from no arbitrary change in our foreign policy. The successive withdrawal of every other alliance, during the Tory administrations in this country, had then left us in total isolation. The Legitimate Powers of the Continent abandoned Great Britain:

Great Britain did not abandon the Legitimate Powers. Fourteen years after we had restored the Bourbons, the Bourbons were scheming for the acquisition of the Rhine. Fourteen years after Prussian troops had fought by our side at Waterloo, the Prussian Government was attempting the seizure of the crown of Hanover from George IV.; and the Russians, in defiance of our mediation, were advancing on Constantinople. These are facts which we would now cheerfully forget; but they are essential to a just view of our national policy. The choice, then, before us, on the occurrence of the French Revolution of 1830, was between a French alliance and no alliance at all. But the relations thus established of necessity between France and ourselves, were not incompatible with a formation of other alliances by this country, whenever the exigency arose. Thus, by the quadruple treaty of the 15th of July 1840, this country, after ten years of alliance with France, successfully allied itself with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for a settlement of the Turkish question, on which France and this country were then at issue.

We conclude therefore that Great Britain, on the one hand, can have no indissoluble political alliances, while, on the other, she can have no permanent political enmities. If Napoleon III. shall violate the territorial demarcations of France in 1860, as the Bourbons desired their violation in 1830, he will render the French alliance with this country inconsistent with the ends for which it was originally formed, and will compel us to seek again the support of our policy from other Governments. That is a consideration to guide the future—not to incriminate, but rather to vindicate, the past.

Thus far we have glanced at the leading events which have brought Europe into the crisis of the present hour. But as this juncture is marked with extraordinary significance, it may be worth while to attempt to take a general view of the indications which the condition of the Continent now presents.

In an age in which nearly all Europe is in arms, the force of a singular moderation alone can render the period on which we are entering generally pacific. We observe that one Court has armed, because it is apprehensive of the ambition of another Court; that a third Court has armed, because it has so misgoverned that it is afraid of its own subjects, on whose support it ought, beyond that of all others, to depend; and that a fourth Court has armed, because it has but imperfectly trampled down alien nationalities that would recoil from its usurpation. Assuming, then, that violence in some shape will mark the passage of the next few years, there are three forms which it will be liable to assume. It may take the shape of a conflict between the traditions of empire and the

treaties of 1815 ; or of popular insurrection contending against the abuse of monarchical power, as in Austria and Naples ; or of fresh nationalities rising into government, as in Hungary and Poland.

The policy of the French Court, touching both Italy and Savoy—in which the first of these problems is in some degree involved—has been too often criticised by the daily press to leave much novelty of remark to a quarterly journal. But there may be a few points illustrative of this question, that have not yet been fully dwelt on ; and we shall endeavour, therefore, to sketch certain incidents in the policy of the French and Sardinian Governments, on the subjects of dispute, from the beginning of 1859.

The personal conduct of the Emperor of the French, since the month of January 1859, has combined the most engaging frankness with profound dissimulation. His duality of character was marked before hostilities began, by an exoteric policy of peace and conciliation for the public and for official personages ; and by an esoteric policy of war, into which we believe that a few private and unofficial friends, both in France and England, were initiated. The truth was, that he was resolved to bring about hostilities with Austria, and that he knew that either Administration of this country would, if possible, obtain a compromise of the questions in dispute. We believe that, just as he had sent Lord Cowley to Vienna, in the flattering position of a mediator between two Emperors, he privately detailed, in an unofficial quarter, the whole scheme by which he at once designed to bring about war with Austria, and to throw on Austria the odium of the initiative, which he contrived soon afterwards to accomplish. We believe also that the French Government had so completely succeeded—with the double view of professing peace, and of enticing Austria first into the field against Sardinia—in veiling the extent of its military preparations, that the British Embassy in Paris reported to Lord Malmesbury, only a week before the war began, that the deficiency of the army in *matériel* would disable it from commencing hostilities until the autumn. Neither can we fail to question whether the Emperor ever seriously designed to carry out his famous declaration, that the Austrian arms should be wholly expelled from Italy. Improbable as it may appear, that he would deliberately commit himself to a programme which he foresaw that it would afterwards be necessary to curtail, he may nevertheless have found it necessary in this manner to rouse Italy to his standard. It is true, indeed, that the immediate cause of the French negotiation at Villafranca, was an intense and unusual heat, which threatened to destroy an army that had previously been in motion, but was then about to be encamped between the marshes of the Mincio and the charnel

of Solferino. This apprehension was even more grave, because more definite, than the threat of a Prussian irruption on the Rhine. But, unless we are misinformed, the Emperor more than once expressed a conviction, before the war began, that two victories in the field, which would still leave the quadrilateral untouched, would restore peace; and instructions were privately issued by him, immediately after the battle of Magenta, for preparations for a triumphal entry into Paris not later than the 1st of August.

In these circumstances, of which time will publicly verify our assertion, there is a uniform design to be deduced, of making war to make glory, which must hereafter render this country watchful over the policy of the French Government. But amid this striking inconsistency of reticence and indiscretion—which those best acquainted with the character of the Emperor Napoleon will not describe as alien to his antecedents—there was one secret profoundly kept. The convention for the transfer of Savoy and Nice to France, in exchange for the intended aggrandisement of Sardinia in Italy, was, we believe, confided by the Emperor exclusively to the King of Sardinia, Count Cavour, M. Piètri, and General Niel. It is supposed to date from January 1859. Whether the extent of territory which should be held to constitute the equivalent of Sardinia were then accurately defined, we are not aware; but at any rate it was presumed to be inconsistent with the boundary of the Mincio on the one hand, and with the reservation of the rights of the Dukes on the other. There was thus the essence of a bargain behind a chivalrous ‘idea,’ behind a dispute with Austria, at least ostensibly legitimate, and even behind a war waged for glory. This is certainly somewhat disenchanting in ‘the poetry of politics.’ But it is necessary to bear this circumstance in mind as a key to events, which have hardly yet received their full explanation.

The complicity of M. de Cavour in the arrangement in question having thus taken place, the war and the armistice successively followed. The inconsistent treaty of Villafranca was then drawn up between the two Emperors; and we believe that we are strictly accurate in stating that the King of Sardinia was called upon by his imperial ally to subscribe his signature beneath the signatures of Napoleon and Francis Joseph. Victor Emmanuel, we learn, hesitated, and expressed a desire for reference to his Ministers. This reluctance was somewhat arbitrarily overruled by the absolute master of 150,000 victorious troops. Indeed, the emergency may have required the decision. The treaty was accordingly signed by the three sovereigns in person; but we believe that it has been chiefly in deference to the personal wish of the King of Sardinia, that the text of the treaty, which would

have divulged his participation in its provisions, has been withheld from the public. All this is perhaps the answer to Lord Derby's inquiry, at the close of the last session, whether any peace had been concluded between Austria and Sardinia, who were the principals in the war, while France was the accessory.

The retirement of M. de Cavour was now inevitable. His royal master had suddenly committed the Sardinian Government to a peace, not only upon terms inconsistent with the language which M. de Cavour had, we believe, with honour and patriotism, held in the Sardinian Parliament touching the emancipation of Central Italy: Victor Emmanuel had done so upon terms equally inconsistent with the express or implied conditions of the prospective transfer of Savoy. Count Cavour accordingly resigned; but that retirement which, when it occurred, was described as his fall, was, in reality, one of the most fortunate incidents of his career. Had not his prompt resignation exempted him from responsibility to Sardinia for the treaty of Villafranca, his restoration to office at this moment would have been impossible. He gained the advantage of retiring untrammelled by the stipulation reserving the rights of the Italian Dukes, which brought so much perplexity to Napoleon in settling with Austria, and to Victor Emmanuel in receiving the deputations offering him the ducal crowns. It was avowedly impossible for France to demand Savoy, without some further annexation to Sardinia than the Lombard territory between the Ticino and the Mincio. Had the Austrians been expelled from Venetia, the Sardinian Ministry which existed at the close of 1859 might have carried out the required cession; or, indeed, more probably, M. de Cavour might never have resigned. But the great statesman of Sardinia was now master of the situation: he returned to office in order to promote an acceptance of the annexation of the Duchies, which harmonized with the policy of his previous administration, as a counterpart to the bargain for Savoy and Nice.

The manner in which these stipulations were long withheld from the knowledge of the British Government, was either singularly accidental or singularly ingenious. Within a month after the return of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell to office, Count Walewski was formally interrogated by Lord Cowley on the question of a cession of Savoy; and the French Minister as formally denied that any such measure was in contemplation of his Government. But we have seen that M. Walewski was no party to the original convention; and we are bound to assume that, either from chance or design, he was then in ignorance that such a bargain had been struck. This conclusion may fairly exonerate M. Walewski individually; but it certainly fails to exonerate the Government of France. When that Govern-

ment urges, in self-vindication, that the Minister knew nothing of the compacts of his Sovereign in the department over which he presided, it is obvious that there is at once an end of ministerial responsibility in France. The Minister of the Crown is degraded to the position of a servant of the Crown, and he ceases to represent his master. It is now, therefore, acknowledged by the French Government itself, that its Minister of Foreign Affairs is no longer to be held as the presumptive exponent of its foreign policy. But this division of responsibility between the Sovereign and his Minister, however it may serve one single end, appears likely to work a very inconvenient result to the French Government. Every ambassador has a right to demand that the assurances which he receives from the Government to which he is accredited, shall be binding on that Government. Since the Minister in France cannot impart such assurances, the Ambassador will be justified henceforth in demanding the sign-manual of the Sovereign.

This circumstance is the more to be noted, that it bears a certain similarity to a diplomatic artifice of the first French Empire, which, so far as we are aware, has never hitherto been revived. It was a habit of the Great Napoleon to play off his Minister against himself, and often one Minister against another. Thus, during the Congress of Prague in 1813, he entered into one negotiation through his Ambassador, M. de Caulaincourt, and into another through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Bassano ; while he left open the alternative, which of the two representatives he should disavow. The final result of such a mode of negotiation is to be found in the resolution of the Congress of Chatillon, that it would treat no more with Napoleon I.

Having thus glanced at the history of a question which has threatened to estrange this country from France, it remains to touch upon its legal positions. It is well known that the French and Sardinian Governments have broken the guarantees of neutrality, as well as the treaties of demarcation, which they had entered into, both with Switzerland and with the other Powers of Europe. France has failed in the promise which she made to defer to the judgment of the Great Powers on the whole question of annexation ; and in spite of her undertaking that she would not constrain the Savoyard population, she has attempted to annex them by aid of the jugglery of a ballot which ought to have been placed in the charge of an international jury. Here are a breach of treaty and a breach of faith.

Without affecting to pursue a subject that has already been almost exhausted, we may refer to the 92d Article of the Act of the Congress of Vienna, which provides that the provinces of

Chablais and Faucigny shall form part of the neutral Helvetic Confederation, and that on the occurrence of war in surrounding States, the troops of Sardinia shall withdraw, and shall be replaced by a Swiss Municipal Guard. The same stipulation, providing for the alternate exercise of power between Switzerland and Sardinia, and between those two States only, is contained in four other and special treaties of the same period, and of which France and Sardinia are each parties to two. It is contained in the treaty between Sardinia and Geneva of 1815, and in the treaty between Sardinia and Switzerland of 1816. It is contained also in the treaty between France and Switzerland of nearly the same date, and in the treaty between France and Great Britain of the 20th of November 1815. France, therefore, has agreed not only with the other parties to the Act of Congress, but specially with Switzerland and Great Britain, to these terms. Indeed, the treaty of the 20th of November 1815 is apparently a provision against the very events which have now come to pass. It fixes the French frontier on the south-east; assigns Savoy and Nice to Sardinia; confirms the neutrality of Chablais and Faucigny according to the Act of Congress; makes stringent provisions regarding the dismantling of certain fortresses, with a view to the security of Geneva; and declares that the former relations of France with Monaco *cesseront à perpétuité*. Such is the covenant of France with England, distinctly broken by France in each of its particulars.

It is simply ridiculous to suppose that the wishes of the Savoyards, if fairly ascertained, could be expressed in favour of an abandonment of the double freedom of Switzerland and Sardinia, which are at once their natural and traditionary Governments, for a French despotism, opposed to their nationality, and contrary to their antecedents:

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam

Perditus, ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

We quit this consideration with the remark, that an appeal to universal suffrage, without some guarantee for the freedom of its exercise, and for the justice and independence in which votes by ballot shall be received, and their result proclaimed, is an insult to public understanding.

The strategic importance of this new frontier to France, is a question to which we shall not revert further than by saying, that the argument on which the policy of France has been sustained is its own most decisive condemnation. If it be necessary for France, with thirty-six million inhabitants, to possess the keys of the Alps, how much more necessary for Sardinia, with only eleven million inhabitants, to possess them? If it be necessary for France to push its frontiers to the Lake of Geneva,

against a Swiss population of less than two millions and a half, how much more necessary for Switzerland to protect that lake against France? If an attack by Sardinia is to be contemplated on her 'magnanimous ally,' is not this tantamount to a confession, that France entertains belligerent designs in another quarter, which all Europe may hold it needful to repress, and which dictate the possession of the Alps for the security of Lyons?

Here, then, we pass from the Savoy question. Its characteristics are not reassuring to the peace of Europe; and they bear an ominous similarity to the annexations effected by the Consulate after the peace of Luneville. We would gladly assign them another construction if we could. We would cheerfully adopt the hypothesis, if possible, that military glory was sought merely to give domestic security to the Government of France; and that the territorial annexation in dispute was demanded simply to present to the French nation a material reward for the sacrifices of war.

It is true that indications exist which may lend a certain plausibility to that conclusion. Since the imperial dynasty has been strengthened by victory abroad, certain domestic measures have been passed, in the interest of civil freedom and of peace, which could hardly have been achieved by the power that the dynasty before possessed. The Ultramontane influence in the Church, and the Protectionist influence in trade, had proved too strong to be overruled by the power of an ordinary Government. The suppression of *L'Univers*, the Ultramontane organ in the press, had not before been hazarded; and when the French Government, in 1856, presented their *projet de loi* for the reduction of duties to 'the dumb Legislature of Napoleon the Third,' it was actually rejected by a considerable majority. But now we certainly see the Ultramontanists put down with an authority which the Government had long desired to exhibit, and trade relieved from restrictions which the Government were before unable to subvert. This is an argument for a pacific future, by which, perhaps, individuals may be convinced; but it is one on which Governments cannot afford to act.

There is no doubt that a policy of commerce, and an occasional pursuit of war, are not necessarily antithetical. A nation may maintain trade with one State, while it draws its sword against another. But the practical problem to be solved, is the degree in which France may pursue war by land, without involving herself in war by sea also. We certainly think it extremely improbable that the French Government, in any such period as we now live in, would desire to break up their relations with this country. They would then not only sacrifice the commercial objects for which they have just been negotiating, in so much

secrecy and dissimulation towards their own subjects ; they would also encounter the hatred of a powerful producing oligarchy, without gaining any counterbalancing support from the friendship of the consuming multitude. In fact, they would dislocate the existing system of industry, without providing an alternative. Such a desire would be the furthest stretch of commercial impolicy.

But assuming that the French Government may, nevertheless, for the future, be in spirit unfriendly to ourselves, there is a distant danger, to be worked out by more subtle expedients, against which it must be our duty to provide. We must impose limits on a policy which shall pursue territorial war, while it maintains maritime peace. We cannot suffer France to disarm, one by one, our contingent allies, while she shall be gaining strength from interchange with us, even though we shall reciprocally gain strength by interchange with her. If the views of the French Government shall develop themselves in further aggression, then the cardinal aim of our foreign policy must be, to render an attack upon one State equivalent to an attack upon all. This would, in that event, be our only guarantee for general peace and safety.

Such a principle, however, could have had no place in the late war between France and Austria. That war was not in itself marked by aggression on the part of the former power ; and the policy of the latter power in Italy was indefensible and barbarous. Neither has the campaign of 1859 largely added to the strength of France.

With these views of the future, the existing securities for the peace of the Continent form the next subject of discussion. But, in order to estimate them, it is needful, in the first place, to glance at the present strength and resources of the French Empire.

It can have escaped no one that France is possessed of geographical and political advantages, both in peace and war, peculiar to its own configuration and government. Its boundaries are nearly equally demarked by sea and land. In this respect it holds a mean between Germany, with the exception of its Prussian coast, almost entirely inland, and Great Britain, entirely insular. Open to three seas for some twelve hundred miles, and yet touching on four chief nationalities for another twelve hundred miles, it is not wholly dependent either on the ocean or the continent. It has therefore a great trade at command, and the means of political alliance both by sea and land. These natural elements of superiority have been steadily developed in the interest at once of war and commerce. France is building up a colossal despotism ; and a despotism, though less in area, resting on foundations more solid, than that of the first Napoleon. If

we compare the France of 1850 with the France of 1860, we shall find a marked change both in the wealth of the people, and in the power and confidence of the Government. We say this, without desiring to provoke the faintest jealousy for the national growth, so far as it is the legitimate result of individual energy, although we regard its naval and military organization as preposterous for the defensive state which France has asserted herself to be. The increasing wealth of the French people can rouse but a generous emulation, and it will widen the scope of our own interchange under the commercial treaty, which in turn will react upon France.

The public character of the Emperor Napoleon III. is partly original and partly imitative. His policy, as perhaps the policy of most men in authority, has been ruled by precedent, by accident, and by conviction, in turn. Resembling Cromwell rather than his uncle, in the prominence assumed by commerce in his administration, he has hitherto shrunk as much from the hostile and active rivalry of the one, as from the violent and misguided restrictions of the other. Here is his chief originality; although, indeed, the freedom of the seas was one of the last maxims adopted by the great Napoleon at St Helena. But he has acted without exception on the principle that, whether his dynasty is to be secured by public prosperity or by military glory, trade and progress can be its only solid basis. He knows that national wealth is as necessary to the final success of war as to public content.

It may be commonly difficult to ascertain how far a despotic Government is to receive credit for the progress of a speculative and energetic people; though, in the exceptional instance of the commercial treaty, the truth lies openly before us. Assuming, therefore, simply that Government and nation have advanced hand in hand in most of the improvements of recent years, we would glance at their extent, and at the manner in which they have reacted on the power of the former. The political centralization of France during the first Empire, and the greater part of the intervening period, was defective only through a want of rapid communication. The network of railways and telegraphs, which chiefly coincide with the reign of the present Emperor, have now perfected that centralization; and they have probably done more to strengthen the French Government, both in war and civil administration, than railways and telegraphs have strengthened government in any other country. There are now, we believe, nearly 8000 kilomètres, or, in round numbers, 5000 miles of French railway in existence. During a considerable part of the present reign, the construction has advanced at an average rate of 700 kilomètres a-year; and the whole represents an expenditure of three milliards and a half of francs, or

L.140,000,000 sterling. Both the national wealth and the public credit were shown in a striking and conclusive manner, in the overflow of subscriptions to the loan of L.20,000,000 contracted in 1859. A revenue of L.68,000,000, drawn apparently without serious pressure, for the ordinary establishments of France, also indicates general prosperity. It has been common, however, to point to the fact that France discharges all her extraordinary liabilities in loans, as an instance that further pressure is impracticable. But the truth probably is, that the standing military force, which is paid from the revenue, is so great that the Government as nearly divides the expenses of the force actually employed in war between the present generation and posterity, as we ourselves did in the Crimean campaign.

We are aware that, of all kinds of 'political infidelity'—to borrow a phrase from Mr Disraeli, and of which Mr Disraeli is himself the most striking champion and illustration—a disbelief in statistics is at once one of the most common and one of the best grounded. The *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, for instance, a reputed authority in French questions, often makes statistical statements of which the absurdity is obvious; and Mr Newmarch, in his contributions to the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, not seldom evinces a profound disdain of the simplest conditions of arithmetic. Such instances as these shake the faith of the public, as well as our own, in theories to be drawn from figures; but we have collected a mass of authorities in either country, and shall presume the few following facts. The total commerce of France now appears, in real value, to represent nearly five milliards and a half of francs; whereas five years ago, and during the Russian war, it represented less than four milliards and a half. We take, therefore, one milliard francs, or L.40,000,000, to represent the yearly increase, at a distance of five years; and L.12,000,000 as the increase of 1859 over 1858; while the increase under the new treaty is not at present to be computed. French foreign and colonial navigation, which is increasing in a similar ratio, represents a tonnage of 7,500,000; and the French coasting trade a tonnage of 2,500,000. The direct trade of France with Great Britain appears to be somewhat in excess of half a milliard of francs, or about one-tenth of the whole. The total trade of France presents a proportion of *five-eighths* of the trade of the United Kingdom; and a proportion of *five-sevenths* of the combined trade of the Prussian Zollverein, the Hanse Towns, and the Austrian Empire, which have double its population, or 72,000,000 inhabitants as compared with 36,000,000. The increase in French trade, it is singular to remark, is much beyond proportion to the increase of its population. During a quarter of a century, from 1831 to 1856, the census has increased only

by four millions, or one-eighth, while the trade of the country has more than doubled. We suspect, however, that the census to be published next year will prove a large increase of the census of 1856.

If we turn from the commercial to the agricultural state of France, we shall find some explanation of both these circumstances. It will be seen that an immense proportion of the soil is either waste, woodland, or ill cultivated. The poverty of landlords, incident to its subdivision, has perpetuated this character of rural districts. The encouragement offered to agriculture becoming therefore indifferent, the rural population have largely migrated to the towns. In rejecting agriculture they have adopted trade, in which protection and monopoly have *apparently* offered the most favourable prospects; but, meanwhile, this dislocation of the natural relations between town and country has unfavourably reacted on the growth of the population. We do not of course assign the disproportion of increase, between the inhabitants and their commerce, wholly to this double cause; but it is certainly an influence of great magnitude.

The superficial extent of France is 52,760,000 hectares, or about 127,000,000 acres. The arable proportion of this area is just 60,000,000 acres. The meadow-land forms but 10,000,000; and the vineyards, orchards, gardens, etc., consist of 7,000,000. There remain, therefore, 50,000,000 acres more or less unproductive. Of this, nearly 20,000,000 consist of woodlands, paying taxation; and 20,000,000 more consist of wild pastures, heaths, and barren land. Of the remaining 10,000,000 acres, one-half is occupied by roads, rivers, and public places; and the other half by unproductive woods, which are not taxed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the aggregate population of France is disproportionate to its area.

Two influences are now tending, we believe, to increase cultivation in France. The Government, on the one hand, has endeavoured to promote it by a direct enactment, passed only a few months ago, and under which the Treasury will advance money for the improvement and reclamation of the soil, somewhat as the State has in England been in the habit of advancing money for similar objects, under direction of the Court of Chancery, but on a larger scale,—in proportion, perhaps, as the general poverty of the French landowner seems to invest the lord paramount of the soil with a grave financial responsibility, unknown in a country divided among such wealthy landlords as ours. But we have no space to enter on the details of this measure.

On the other hand, we believe that the new French tariff in the Commercial Treaty will promote agriculture in France, although its tendencies are obviously various, and may be even

conflicting. It will have been seen that nearly one-fifth of the French soil, or nearly 25,000,000 acres, is woodland, and of this nearly 20,000,000 acres is described as productive enough to pay tax to the State. But, in proportion as English coal becomes a substitute for wood used for fuel, the amount of remunerative woodland will be reduced. This will be one of the first results of the Commercial Treaty to the surface of the soil. The immediate result of that treaty on manufacturing industry, such as prevails in towns, will also probably be the reduction or dislocation of that industry, because goods manufactured here will be at first imported into France at a less cost than they can be produced by France. British manufactures have long been smuggled into France through Catalonia and the Pyrenees, at a price remunerative to the smuggler, in spite of the immense circuitry of the transit, and of the double peril of being challenged by two lines of custom-houses, which are probably more than commensurate with the new duties. And the articles of export to this country, of which there will be an increased manufacture, such as wine, will beat least as much rural products as oppidan products.

There will, therefore, it is to be presumed, be an immediate reflux of population from the towns back to the country. Nevertheless, it is probable that, at a later period—when the town manufacturers of articles which will be exposed to competition from this country shall have obtained British machinery in their mills—such manufactures will revive in France, and will perhaps contend with ours on equal terms. But the *immediate* results of the treaty—a diminished demand for wood, an increased demand for the vine, a certain dislocation in oppidan labour, and the importation of manufactures peculiarly calculated to consult the comfort of the French peasant, as well as the increase of wealth which the action of the treaty must gradually diffuse both through town and country—must produce an agricultural reaction which later events will scarcely countervail. We have seen that forty-five million acres in France are either wood or waste. Assuming that the reclamation of two-thirds of this area is practicable, there arise an immense field of agricultural energy, and probably an equal stimulus.

Hence, if peace prevail, we may look forward to a vast increase in the population of France. The French people are more similar to the Belgians than to any other nation in their general character, their classes of occupation, and their turn of mind. It might have been expected, therefore, that they would approach the Belgians in the proportion of territory to population. But the Belgians have beat them in a ratio of more than *two to one*. Belgium, with 7,000,000 acres, has a population of 4,500,000; France, with 127,000,000 acres, as we have seen,

has only a population of 36,000,000. If equal to Belgium in natural as well as artificial resources, France ought to be capable of supporting a population of 80,000,000.

We turn from this hasty glance at the prospects and resources of France in commerce and agriculture to her military and naval organization. We find an army of 400,000 effective troops in France, 80,000 in Algeria, and 20,000 in the two Indies; the total is half a million. The peace conscription affords a presumptive army of 560,000, since 80,000 are conscribed every year, and serve for seven years. But the Government can increase their army without increasing their conscription, by offering bounty for re-enlistment; and this resort has been had recourse to with a view of procuring an army of veterans. Thus, by the pressure of a bounty on the one hand, and of an increase of the conscription in a year of war, on the other hand, as in 1859, the French army may be indefinitely augmented.

The subject of the French navy involves details beyond our scope; but the same double advantage of system with geographical position that attaches to other sources of French power, applies also here. To a State possessing one arsenal at Cherbourg and another at Toulon (independently of three arsenals in the Bay of Biscay), neither the Channel nor the Mediterranean is a foreign sea; and France, with 40,000 registered sailors in reserve, however imperfect their tactical training may be, can promptly equip, from opposite seaboard, a large steam fleet possessed of extraordinary facilities for immediate counteraction to the policy or the force of any maritime opponent. That she has no such colonial empire as our own, is a cause of her great capacity of naval concentration.

We have offered this rapid digression into the wealth, the prospects, and the armaments of France, because France at this moment forms the axis on which the international policy of Europe chiefly turns. The deduction is ambiguous; for we find nearly equal incentives to peace and materials of war. Neither could any urgency of domestic improvement form in itself an efficient barrier to a campaign, that should again endure but two months, and might hold out the incentive of reviving, when the security of the Government required it, the triumphs of the first Empire. But if the Powers interested in resisting aggression, shall so previously combine against aggression, as to render war, if commenced, probably lasting, and therefore also ruinous to the author of it, the aims of peace may extinguish the schemes of war. In regard to the relations of Great Britain with France, they might be compromised, not simply by the coarse expedient of a direct dispute between the two Governments, affecting rights and dominions—an event in the last degree improbable—

but by an attack either on Germany or Belgium, which might involve us, for the sake of ultimate self-defence,—an alternative perhaps somewhat less improbable ; or, thirdly, by the ingenious artifice of France taking the place of ally of less important States, thrown by France into opposition to us, and of disturbing our Eastern interests in the Levant. The latter course appears not unlikely to provoke at any rate dissension.

The Germanic Confederation presents itself as, in theory, the leading fortification of European independence against attack either from France or Russia ; and accordingly it demands the first place in the defensive alliances of the Continent. This Confederacy was urged by Prince Metternich on the Congress of Vienna, with the view of extinguishing the policy under which German rulers had before been singly defeated or allied, and in either case alienated by treaty from the German cause. But, acknowledging the difficulties on which any political union of Germany was based in 1815, and the opposition by which any reform of the present system is attended in 1860, no one can confide in the organization that Germany now possesses.

In the first place, the extent of this Confederacy is not defined, even in its legal constitution. The Act of the Confederation of 1815, incorporated into the General Congress Treaty of Vienna, no doubt described its frontiers with sufficient, though not absolute precision ; but in 1854, the Federal Diet assumed to itself the questionable right of including all the non-German provinces of Austria and Prussia. A Confederation of forty millions was thus technically extended into a Confederation of seventy millions ; although the late Austrian war evinced, that Germany placed little reliance on an act which can hardly be pretended to have been legal. But assuming the Confederation to be still described by the boundaries of 1815, it is nevertheless so linked with extra-German States, that it is brought into endless relations and innumerable disputes with which it has no legitimate concern. Not only did the Austrian and Prussian Governments make it subservient to the interests of their non-German States : the King of Denmark became a member of it, as Duke of Holstein ; and the King of the Netherlands, as Duke of Luxembourg. A Confederation formed of forty millions, nominally Germans, and linked with another forty millions of all races, stretching from the Cattegat Sea to the Mincio, must be incapable of vigorous or consistent action. As a defensive body, it ought to be concerned only in the maintenance of German interests. But, in fact, the Confederation is continually dragged down by Austria into her own extra-German quarrels. Whenever Austria declares war, the whole of her German territory—more than one-fourth of the Confederation—becomes alienated from the Federal body ; and on the conclusion of

peace in July last, after bringing all Germany to the verge of hostilities with France, for a defence of her tyrannous exactions and illegal aggressions throughout Italy, she entered upon a violent recrimination with the Prussian Government, for not taking the field in a war which Austria had begun, by demanding the disarmament of an independent State, with whose freedom Prussia sympathised, and Germany stood unconcerned.

The dilemma of German federal reformers, then, may be stated to be, that Germany must either act with Austria, or set herself free from Austria; and that while the prominence of extra-German interests at Vienna renders the first course impossible, the tenacity with which Vienna clings to a Confederation, of which its Government is a legal part, is inconsistent with the second. What sympathy can exist between a people whose bond of union is emphatically that they *are* a people, and a government under which race rules race, religion rules religion, Hungarian troops are conscribed to trample down Venetian rights, Venetian troops are conscribed to trample down Hungarian rights, itself the impersonation of military violence, the archetype of reckless government, and the chief example of financial malversation? Austria, indeed, talks largely of her patriotism. A government without a country! An empire in which the first principle of administration is to subjugate, and to solve the problem by which the dominance of six or seven million Germans—of whom few probably but Styrian and Tyrolese mountaineers are naturally attached to the throne—shall be maintained over populations five times their number, not seldom their superiors in energy, and their equals in civilisation and intelligence. There can hardly, then, be any other community of feeling between Germany and Austria than the sense of a common danger arising in menace of war either from the Vistula or the Rhine.

Nevertheless, perhaps, neither Prussia, nor even the Zollverein, is capable of standing altogether alone. To maintain Prussia, with a population of only 18,000,000, as a Great Power—while France lies on the west with 36,000,000, Austria on the south still with 37,000,000, and Russia on the east, with nearly 65,000,000 in Europe—has been an object only to be realized by means of the military system peculiar to that State. Nor is this all. The frontiers of Prussia are more threatened, and less defensible, than those of any other State. In the first place, Prussia has a vast seaboard stretching nearly from Denmark to Russia, with scarcely a ship for its protection. A State which possesses a great seaboard without a fleet illustrates the antithesis to M. de Talleyrand's ideal excellence of a state without a frontier. Again, Prussia touches all the three great monarchies of the Continent, whereas France is walled off against all but Prussia by intervening States. Her Polish frontier directly abuts on Russia,

her Silesian frontier on Austria, and her Rhenish frontier on France. The Vistula bisects her Polish provinces, the Oder bisects her Silesian provinces, the Rhine bisects her Rhenish provinces, as the Elbe bisects her central dominions; yet no one of these natural boundaries serves her for a frontier. Extending from Russia to Belgium over the vast plain which marks the southern shore of the Baltic, there is no high ground in Prussia for a choice of points of defence. No one can travel successively through the Austrian and Prussian territories without being struck by the great superiority of the former for defensive tactics. Prussia, indeed, possesses rivers and fortresses for a base of strategic operations; but rivers and fortresses only.

It may be assumed, therefore, to be only by means of federation, as well as of the extent and organization of the Landwehr and Landsturm, that Prussia can maintain herself as a great power; and it may even be questioned whether that scheme for the aggrandisement of Prussia, which stands among the latest of the views of Mr Pitt, would have corrected her inferiority. During the negotiations preceding the campaign of Austerlitz, in 1805, Mr Pitt proposed to throw the whole of the Low Countries, if conquered from France, into Prussia. Thus, he contended, Prussia might at once cope with France; and by stretching herself to Antwerp and Ostend, she might be brought into more direct alliance with Great Britain. Such an empire would have now given Prussia a population of 26,000,000, but still without a more defensible frontier than before. The proposal of Mr Pitt, however, is now simply curious, and not practical; and it is more important to consider the practicability of a political Bund, inferior to the German Confederation in extent, but co-existing with it, and generally describing the circle of the Zollverein. To supplant the present Confederation by such a confederation as this would be neither possible nor expedient. It would not be possible, as has been said, because the opposition of Austria would be insurmountable. It would not be expedient, because the existing security, that neither Austria nor Germany should ever combine against the other with either France or Russia, is dependent on the maintenance of the present Confederation. If the Austrian Empire and the States of the Prussian Zollverein could legally take the field against each other, the independence of the centre of Europe would be worth no more than in the age of the First Napoleon.

There is reason to hope that German politics are tending towards the formation of some such subordinate confederacy as that which we have indicated. The Zollverein now comprises a population of 32,700,000, and its existence indicates a strong *rapprochement* among the component States. Corroborative indications are not wanting. The public men of Saxony

have now abandoned the asperity with which they spoke of Prussia, both after the partition which she effected of that country, and even so lately as 1850,—when Saxony allied herself with Austria in the league which Austria, led by Prince Schwartzemberg, formed against Prussia, led by General von Radowitz, to decide the question of the constitution of Hesse Cassel. The public men of Bavaria, in spite of a dynastic alliance between their Court and that of Austria, are inclining to Prussian institutions; and the liberalism of the Court of Baden has just been strikingly evinced. Princes and people are alike sensible to the danger of their present divided state, and they perceive Prussia to be their natural protector. The force of interest and the decline of jealousy point to a general willingness to recognise Prussia as the head of such a confederacy.

As one great advantage of France, both in attack and defence, is her centralization, under which her forces can radiate from a common centre of action, so one great disadvantage of Germany is her decentralization, as well as her disunion. To govern Germany from Frankfort is as different from governing France from Paris, geographically, as it is politically. But Germany might be directed in war from Berlin, almost as efficiently as France from Paris. It is hard to believe that the states of the Zollverein—without annulling the existing confederation, which would still offer both to Germany and German-Austria reciprocal aid—would decline to form a federal body in war, in which the ruler of Prussia, jointly perhaps with two colleagues chosen by the other States, should direct its military forces. This infraction of the Act of the Confederacy would be much less considerable than that of 1854.

Some simple expedient such as this is apparently sufficient to shield Western Europe from ambitious war. The Federal empire of Germany and the Composite empire of Austria, two well-organized, distinct, yet confederate powers, together numbering 70,000,000, would form a barrier between France and Russia; and while the one would protect Belgium in the West, the other would protect Turkey in the East. We believe Austria, with all the errors and crimes of her administration, to be even yet necessary to what is termed a balance of power in the East of Europe; for she has been convinced that she could not share with Russia in a partition of Turkey upon equal terms, since the defeat of her aggressive policy by Great Britain and Prussia in the treaty of Sistova, of 1786. But as the independence of Hungary was formerly one of the main objects for which the existence of the Austrian empire was held to be beneficial in the East of Europe, so the conquest of Hungary by Austria has lessened the European importance of an empire, whose overthrow would, after all, promote a consolidation of Germany.

The force of stern necessity is now, however, favouring a restoration of some part of the prescriptive rights of Hungary, doubly abolished in government and religion; and we may here offer a statement of the demands of the Hungarians from the new and important work of M. de Szeméré, the Ex-President of the Council of Ministers in Hungary: ¹—

“Henceforth vague promises, half-measures, partial concessions, will not satisfy Hungary. The changes she will require are as follows—

“1. The restitution of her ancient historical limits, which all her kings have sworn to maintain and defend. This is likewise the unanimous wish of Croatia, Transylvania, the Woiwodina, and the Military Frontiers, which have all been violently detached from the mother country.

“2. The re-establishment of her old constitution, according to which the legislative power resides in the Sovereign and the nation conjointly, the latter acting by means of two chambers, one hereditary, the other elective.

“3. The restoration of her municipal autonomy, the most essential part of her constitution, as it supplies the best bulwark against the encroachments of the central Government, gives her the faculty and capacity for self-government, and is the best school for training a constant succession of public men.

“4. The re-acknowledgment of all the laws and treaties which secured the political and national independence of the kingdom; civil and political equality (proclaimed in 1848), as also the right of association for all the inhabitants; the voting of the budget and fixing the number of recruits by the Diet—in short, the most complete participation in all the internal and external affairs of the kingdom.

“5. Lastly, the maintenance of the pragmatic sanction—that is to say, dynastic union with the Austrian provinces, but only on condition that they shall have a constitution; for it is impossible to imagine a perfect and durable union between States, some of which are governed constitutionally, others despotically. Hungary does not aspire to any exceptional position: what she asks for herself, she also asks for the other provinces.

Nothing can be easier than to effect this change of system. It would only be necessary—

“1. That Francis Joseph should cancel all he has done during the last ten years, from 1849 to 1859, as that great sovereign, Joseph II., cancelled with sublime courage all he had done between 1780 and 1789. The wounded self-love of Francis Joseph must give way to higher considerations. The points at issue are,

¹ *Hungary from 1848 to 1860*, by Bartholomew de Szeméré, late Minister of the Interior and President of the Council of Ministers in Hungary. London, Bentley.

the existence of an empire, as regards Europe; the restoration of liberty and nationality, as regards Hungary; and the continuance of his dynasty, as regards himself.

"2. He must name, provisionally, a palatine, as constitutional head of the State when the king is absent from the kingdom.

"3. He must convoke the Diet, in accordance with the electoral laws of 1848, which shall act as a constituent assembly, the relations of Hungary with the other provinces necessarily requiring modification, as they too would be constitutional States.

"4. He must enter upon and follow up this constitutional and progressive policy sincerely, frankly, and without reserve. The more reasons nations have to mistrust a dynasty, the more difficult it is to gain their confidence, and that is certainly the only basis on which a new and powerful Austria can be founded.

"Such are the sole means of giving new life to Austria. If adopted, the diversity of races, which is now her weakness, would become her strength. It would be a powerful federation of free nations under one sovereign; she would be strong in herself, and her existence would no longer depend on the good pleasure of her neighbours. Despotism has brought Austria tottering to the brink of a precipice; liberty and respect of nationalities would render her powerful.

"To Hungary especially falls the mission of forcing the dynasty to enter upon this path of safety; but in this great enterprise on whom must she fix her hopes?"

It appears that the Court of Vienna has at length acquiesced in the necessity of restoring some portion of the rights of Hungary.

Thus far we have glanced at a few of the leading international relations of Europe; and such a view of the condition of the Continent presumes, that the political questions that may arise will probably prove foreign rather than domestic. But the most superficial inquiry will evince, that there lie wider questions between Governments and their respective subjects, than between one Government and another. A social revolution has gradually, and for the most part peacefully, transpired throughout a great part of Western Europe during the last half century; and the progress of government has not, in any country but our own, kept pace with the progress of society. In Prussia, the abolition of baronial tenures and feudal servitude, which was carried out by Stein and Hardenberg between the years 1807 and 1821, has brought a new and immense class into being; the same change has been effected nearly throughout Germany; in Spain, the sales of the immense property of the Crown, of the Church, and of a great portion of the embarrassed or exiled nobility, have introduced an allotment of the soil into proprietorships hardly inferior to those of France in number and subdivi-

sion. Even in Italy the same tendencies have prevailed, though they have been less prominent; and in Hungary, under the Parliamentary Government of that State, the servile tenure had actually, if not also technically, disappeared. A great expansion of democratic power forms the social fact of our own age; and it is to be assumed, either that that power must be brought into harmony with the existing polity of Europe, or must provoke a new conflict with it, on those questions which the violent repression of an equally violent revolution in 1848 has left unsolved. Premising that a perpetual dynasty of bayonets is impossible, we take the general alternative of Western Europe to lie between revolution and reform, and to be not distant.

Two cardinal distinctions in the distribution of classes present themselves, however, between Great Britain and the other States of Western Europe; and they render us cautious of judging the interests of the Continent by the example of a country so dissimilar from it as our own in its social organization. The prevalence of great estates is now peculiar to the United Kingdom. England and Scotland, with their large ownerships and large tenancies—and Ireland, with its small tenancies indeed, but still with its large ownerships—form a contrast to the system of tenure and cultivation on the Continent, too well credited and known to require an appeal to the evidence of statistics. But, on the other hand, while the aristocratic power in country districts is here vastly greater than in any other State, the oppidan influence, or the popular power of the towns, is also much greater here than elsewhere. The population of the boroughs of Great Britain amounts to more than two-fifths of her total population; and after deducting enfranchised towns too inconsiderable to represent town interests, a third of the total population will still be found to be oppidan. In Spain, there is a population of 15,000,000; but of this number more than 12,000,000 belong to rural districts, and barely 3,000,000 to the towns. In France, the total population is 36,000,000, as we have already said; but the population of the towns which possess 20,000 inhabitants, is, we believe, largely under 5,000,000. In the Austrian Empire, there are not six towns which possess 60,000 inhabitants. It may be too much to assert, that if the Continental States of Western Europe had generally been marked by large proprietorships like ours, they would certainly have enjoyed Governments at once less centralised and more stable; but it may be maintained with confidence, that if they had been generally marked by large towns such as ours, their despotic Governments would have been annihilated.

But while we therefore hardly venture to institute political comparisons between Great Britain and the Continent, and to draw inferences from them, we assume that the general ten-

dency of this new-born democratic power,—if not deliberately kept in antagonism with existing institutions, by a refusal of popular concessions, may prove in favour of liberty and peace. The French Revolution may be pointed to as a contrary example; but in France institutions and traditions were swept away by the maintenance of that very antagonism; and though it cannot be pretended that the wrongs now sustained by the Germans, for example, bear any comparison with those which the French peasantry were enduring before the Revolution, that precedent may serve to indicate the critical period which continental statesmen have now to guide. But we may reasonably base this conclusion on the example of States which gained a similar popular development in former periods. We allude to Norway, the Low Countries, and Switzerland; and these countries have been remarkable through successive ages, for their maintenance of peace from without, and liberty from within, whether their constitution were republican or monarchical. The issue of this new rural system, nevertheless, must obviously depend on the idiosyncrasies of each people and state; on the character of the religion; on the mode and extent of education; on the prevalence of bureaucracy; and, more than all, on the proportionate influence of the middle and town classes, and on the policy of the remaining great landowners who form the aristocracy. These circumstances are so various as to promise a great diversity of aspects in the different States of Europe.

It is worth remarking that, of all the continental countries which have attracted attention by their movements during the last quarter of a century, Sardinia is the only one which has brought its aristocracy into harmony, like our own aristocracy, at once with the throne and the people. In German Austria, for instance, we find the great landowners generally allied with the throne against the people; in Hungary and the Two Sicilies, they are as generally allied with the people against the throne; in France they are unequal to the support of either; in Spain they deliberately stand aloof from both. The distinctive success of Sardinia in uniting the monarchy with the Milanese and Florentine nobility, as well as with all classes in her old kingdom, renders her Government hardly less than our own, a model for other countries to imitate; and it refutes all the vaticinations of the opponents of Italian independence, and of the disbelievers in Italian unity. But no other Continental State has made this advance. The Prussian constitution stands next to the Sardinian in importance; but the Prussian constitution is by no means calculated to effect the required conciliation of classes. The Prussian representatives consist of 90 nobles, 80 district coun-

cillors, 70 bureaucrats, 64 judicial magistrates, 140 officers of the army, and 20 religious superintendents. Such a parliament is likely to produce, not free legislation, but administrative conflict, judicial venality, and military insubordination.

The proposed emancipation of the serfs in Russia evinces the desire of the Russian Government to follow in the career of Germany; but this question is still somewhat obscure; and Prince Peter Dolgorouki,¹ who has done more than any other writer to expound it, has just painted Government and nation in so deplorable a condition of finance, administration, and commerce—and the Sovereign himself, so trammelled by his nobility on one side and his bureaucracy on another—as to offer an indifferent prospect of the attainment of a measure which he also paradoxically describes as calculated to increase the poverty of the serf. His picture of Russia has also a certain bearing on the Eastern intrigues, which public rumour has ascribed to the courts of Paris and St Petersburg, under the euphonism of a civilisation of Turkey; for even the problem of self-civilisation seems insoluble in Russia.

In this medley of foreign and domestic danger on the Continent, Great Britain, not only free, through wise legislation, from the disharmony of classes within her own seas, but secure even in the loyalty of her most distant colonies, will be concerned chiefly with the maintenance of a maritime superiority, which is necessary to protect her coast, to secure her commerce, and to maintain her communication with an empire scattered over either hemisphere and through every zone. Nor will she be held unequal to this task, however active be the rivalry of France, by those who remember that, in countries such as Spain and Holland, there no longer remain the elements of those maritime confederacies which, fifty and sixty years ago, she defeated and dissolved.

The increasing force of popular interests may yet preserve our peace with France; our irresistible affinity with Germany, as the most powerful of defensive nations, promises us an ally in war; and the Treaty of the 15th of July 1840, negotiated with Russia by Lord Palmerston, and by Lord Clanricarde—and perhaps our greatest diplomatic success since the alliances of 1813—still serves for a monument that Russia, then brought into our alliance against France, stands in no necessary antagonism to our policy. These are the advantages on the development of which our position in Europe depends; and there is reason to hope that that union of firmness and temper, which has uniformly marked the present Administration in the conduct of foreign affairs, may employ them with success, in the forthcoming negotiations, for the maintenance of peace.

¹ *La Verité sur la Russie.* Paris, 1860.

ART. X.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Archaia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.G.S., Principal of M'Gill's College, Author of "Acadian Geology," etc. Montreal: Dawson and Son. 1860.

WE have read this volume with great pleasure. There are some things in it with which we do not agree; but every page bears testimony to the substantial literary, scientific, and theological attainments of its author. There are no attempts to look askew at any of the important topics discussed. Candour, good sense, and a fine Christian spirit, happily distinguish Principal Dawson's work from many which, on both sides of the Atlantic, have been written on the same subjects. We were aware of Dr Dawson's accomplishments as a geologist, but we were not prepared to accord to him that varied learning, evidences of which are everywhere apparent in this volume.

Turning to an examination of the cosmological peculiarities of the Bible, he takes for his starting-point the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. He does not examine, in order to find whether or no the references to natural science in them are such as warrant him to accept the Scriptures as inspired; but, confessing his faith in their inspiration, he shows how his inquiries can be best prosecuted from this point of view. An opposite course has led only to error. Writers have set themselves to interrogate them as to one physico-theological question and another, having no faith in the witness. No wonder, then, that the testimony has often *seemed* absurd or contradictory. But, with a "cross-questioner" like Dr Dawson, the utterances are seen to be not inconsistent with the character of the witness; though we may sometimes have to aver that another construction might be put on them than is done by him. An enumeration of the general contents will indicate the range and importance of the subjects discussed in "*Archaia*." We have Objects, Character, and Authority of the Hebrew Cosmogony—General Views of Nature contained in the Hebrew Scriptures—The Beginning—The Desolate Void—Light—Days of Creation—The Atmosphere—The Dry Land—The First Vegetation—Luminaries—The Lower Animals—The Higher Animals—Man—The Rest of the Creator—Unity and Antiquity of Man. To these is added an Appendix, chiefly containing quotations from well-known works in science, which bear upon the topics discussed in the body of the work. The views stated in the first chapter as to the harmony between science and religion, and as to the attainments of the writers of Scripture in the knowledge of natural science, have more than once been brought out in this journal. So also has the importance of scientific knowledge to the Christian Church. At one time there was some likelihood that prominence was about to be given to this in Scotland; and, had Dr Fleming been spared a few years longer, he would have compelled even the most ignorant theologians to acknowledge the truth of his views. But it is always difficult to persuade men of the importance of branches of knowledge, with which they are only partially, even not at all acquainted.

We have not space to give that prominence to the volume now

before us which undoubtedly it deserves, and must limit our remarks to one or two points. In referring to the first verses of Genesis, the author dissents, and we think on good grounds, from Dr Pye Smith's local chaos theory. He thinks that what is most generally known as the reconciliation scheme of Chalmers is as little satisfactory. Now, while we should not like to hold that this scheme is unobjectionable, we continue of opinion that it meets many difficulties. Dr Dawson rightly thinks that, *à priori*, "it is improbable that the first act of creative power should have resulted in the production of a mere chaos;" but no such charge as this can be alleged against a general scene of desolation, before the introduction of a new epoch and the bringing in of species wholly distinct from previously existing ones. We have often wondered at the want of reflection which has characterized many geologists, when dealing with this question. We suppose that few will be found to deny the general submergence of the land of the northern hemisphere before the beginning of the Pleistocene period, during the progress of which the Drift was realized. Nothing more than a general prevalence of such a phenomenon is demanded for the chaos of theologians. Why might not the local pass into the universal? The contemporaneous existence of animals characteristic of both is, however, the stumbling-block here. But if you grant the introduction of new species, you give a place to miracle in the development of the cosmical scheme of life. Now, what greater difficulty is there in believing that old types were planted anew by the hand of the Creator in the midst of those novel forms which were to distinguish the period, than in holding that *new* species were intruded? There is miracle in either case. Again, looking at the days of creation, we are of opinion that Dr Dawson has not succeeded in shutting up readers to his opinions as the only sound ones, notwithstanding the breadth of view and the great ability which characterize his discussions on this point. He holds what is now generally known as the "Age Theory." But it is due to the author to state that he has arrived at this by a process peculiarly his own. While acknowledging the ability and freely using the arguments of Cuvier, Jameson, Hugh Miller, and others, he is far from relying on these great names. His conclusions result from independent and original investigations.

Referring to Genesis i. 5,¹ Dr Dawson says: "The first important fact that strikes us, is one which has not received the attention it deserves—viz., that the word day is evidently used in two senses in the verse itself. We are told that God called the *light*, that is, the diurnal continuance of light, day. We are also informed that the *evening* and the *morning* were the first day. Day, therefore, in one of these clauses, is the light as separated from the darkness, which we may call the *natural day*; in the other, it is the whole time occupied in the creation of light, and its separation from darkness, whether that was a *civil or astronomical day*, of twenty-four hours, or some longer period." After having followed Dr Dawson's reasoning and illustrations with great care, we frankly confess that we have not been led

¹ "And God called the light Day; and the darkness he called Night. And the Evening and the Morning were the first day."

into his views. We would rather hold by the words as an intelligent man would at once accept them, who has no pet theory to plead for, and would urge that the second clause is simply explanatory of the first. We have day and night in the first, and then we are told that day includes the period from dawn to dusk, and night the period from dusk to dawn. It is no doubt possible that the interpretation which Dr Dawson pleads for may be the true one, but another than man must come and tell us so before unbiassed men will accept it. The references to creation in the Scriptures are no more numerous than were needed in order to make the higher revelation intelligible to us. Let geology deal with the records on the rocks as not being mentioned in Genesis—as not even contained under the expression, “in the beginning”—and the Bible will be saved from many foolish interpretations, and critics from much not very pleasant work. But what say you of the six days? Well, we take them as every unbiassed reader has read them from earliest times, and aver that they cover the record of the making of the things therein described. Before the first day, the earth lay ready for the introduction of new forms, as it had done when the Silurian ceased, and the Devonian has to be realized, or as it did when the well-marked Carboniferous was to be ushered in. The alleged astronomical difficulty might be stated in the same way; but we spare our readers.

It appears to us that the difficulties in the way of such an interpretation as Dr Dawson, following Hugh Miller and others, has put upon the *seventh day*, are even more formidable. If you receive the theory that God's Sabbath began with Adam, and still continues, the inference in sound logic is that every day is alike. And if you answer that God has specially told off six days as for man, then we answer that He has set apart a seventh *in the same way* for Himself,—the weekly Sabbath, at the close of which man may hasten forth to his own work. Like the other view, there is a possibility that Dr Dawson, Hugh Miller, etc., may be right on this point; but, we again repeat, a new revelation will be required before that great multitude, who find in the Bible the words of eternal life, will accept the theory as true. Will Dr Dawson do us the favour to look at Hebrews iv., and say whether his views will harmonise with the views of the Spirit of God given there as to the Sabbath rest, when set alongside of the rest of Canaan, and the rest of the soul in Jesus Christ? In all these not very profitable discussions, this chapter has been habitually kept out of sight.

We might subject all the author's remarks on the days of creation to criticism of this kind; but were we to do so, we should not like to be held as committed on the side of any of those theories, the weak parts of which he points out with much skill and to much profit. As regards the strictures on Professor Hitchcock, at p. 114, it should be borne in mind that the Professor, to whom both pure science and physico-theology is much indebted, wrote the sentences reviewed at a time when comparatively little prominence had been given to those palæontological discoveries which now seem to contradict them.

The chapters which follow that now noticed are devoted to the dis-

cussion of such subjects as "The Atmosphere—The Luminaries—The Dry Land—The First Vegetation—The Lower Animals—and Man." To the discussion of these the author brings a strong intellect, a richly furnished mind, great and accurate scientific attainments, an extensive acquaintance with the literature of physico-theology, and, withal, a manifest love to the Creator as a covenant God. These are qualifications which are seldom met with in such literature. The chapter on the "Unity and Antiquity of Man" will well reward the painstaking perusal of candid inquirers, on a subject which is likely to be as keenly discussed in Britain as it has, for some years, been in America. Many of the views brought forward by Mr Darwin, in his recent work on the "Origin of Species," point to this. Should the question arise, we can cordially recommend Dr Dawson's chapter, now referred to, as a safe guide. It was our first intention to have offered an analysis of this chapter to our readers, but the space at our disposal for this notice prevents us doing more than refer to it. In conclusion, we beg to thank Dr Dawson for his able work. As has been shown, we are not disposed to accept it, as a whole, without note or comment, but this does not prevent us characterizing it as the best of its kind which has been recently published. It will give us much pleasure to meet soon again with the author of "Acadian Geology" and of "Archaia."

Pre-Adamite Man ; or, The Story of our Old Planet and its Inhabitants, told by Scripture and Science. London : Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1860.

THIS volume stands in direct contrast to "Archaia." Unlike Dr Dawson, the author, or, as we should perhaps rather say, authoress, evidently can lay no claims to high scientific attainments. The book, nevertheless, is well written, and contains a good *resumé* of the opinions of others on the subjects reviewed, with, here and there, some original matter, in the form of hypothesis and speculation. We may thus recommend it to any of our readers, who are not as tired as we are of theories of creation. We need not enter very fully into the discoveries which have urged the writer to take up the ground occupied in the volume. If he or she will turn to Dr Dawson's notices of the flint weapons, those fertile themes for speculation, an answer will be found, which, if not amounting to absolute proof as to the comparatively recent character of the flint weapons, yet to an hypothesis which takes away much of the importance which credulous theorists have been so ready to assign to them. That no human bones have been found *in situ* with them, might have suggested an explanation. During the action of physical disturbance, which led to their being left in their (alleged) position, those who had been making them, or had laid them up for use, had been compelled hastily to make their escape. But even if bones had been found, before we could have been justly entitled to draw such conclusions from them as those ever ready to believe wonders are, we would have required to show, that the physical action in the localities described have at all times been the same as they are now.

As to Gen. i. and ii., we have none of the difficulties which this writer, and some others, find in harmonising them. The differences are just such as might be expected to characterize an exact account of any one series of events, and a general statement of this afterwards. What says the writer to this, as an explanation of the difficulty in regard to the fowls referred to in Gen. i.; and those mentioned in Gen. ii.—‘the water-fowl are associated with the waters, and the land birds with the dry land?’ The writer holds the six days to indicate six great ages, whose periods may be examined in the earth’s crust. We have so often stated the grave objections to this, presented in the geologic record, and in the word itself, if we look at it in the light of a correct exegesis, that we shall not repeat them. Since the death of Mr Hugh Miller, our views have received one testimony and another in their favour, in recent scientific discoveries. The position in the scale of life assigned by Mr Miller to certain animals and plants, in the bringing in of organic forms, and whose place, as fixed by himself, he found necessary to his theory, has been altered at one point and another. As regards the point, however, now under notice, it is quite clear that the world will be troubled with schemes of harmony until we come to take other ground than apologists at present, almost without exception, hold. We must say at once, “If you will speculate on creation, don’t mix up your theories with the Bible at all. The sacred volume was not given to instruct us in natural science, or in the physical history of the globe, but in the knowledge of a covenant God, in ‘the great love wherewith He hath loved us.’”

The author of the book now before us thinks there is warrant to conclude, “with the Bible in one hand and science in the other,” that there were men before Adam, “whose mundane history, whatever its course, must have run out long ere our Adamic family appeared!” And then they were a race to be much envied. “As a sentient being, he must have enjoyed an existence of exquisite satisfaction.” There would be no work demanded of him, no painstaking toil of body or of mind. A very Mahometan paradise would that pre-Adamic world be for man! We can only say to all this, that, “with the Bible in one hand, and *some* science in the other,” we believe that the said race has its existence only in the author’s not very well trained imagination. It would be making far too much of the volume to give ourselves in earnest to its refutation. We think so well of the talent shown in the work, that we are quite sure the author has not the least confidence in the views stated.

Farm Insects: being the Natural History and Economy of the Insects Injurious to the Field Crops of Great Britain and Ireland. By JOHN CURTIS, F.L.S., etc. London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son. 1860. ABOUT fifty years ago, Mr Kirby complained of the little attention paid to his favourite science, Entomology. “Her champions,” he said, “hitherto have been so few, and their efforts so unavailing, that all her rival sisters have been exalted above her; and I believe there is scarcely any branch of natural history that has had fewer British admirers.”

That this is no longer true, we are mainly indebted to Mr Kirby himself. He took the true way to secure success. Spence, in 1809, gave him the hint of the way to success. He remarks: "Everybody reads with avidity anecdotes of the uses, injurious properties, habits, etc., of insects; and only admit your readers through such a vestibule, you will get numbers to the science, who would have been deterred at the very threshold of mere technical discussions." All are aware how successfully Messrs Kirby and Spence carried out this idea in "The Introduction to Entomology."

Mr Curtis should obtain many readers, if the same inducements have still weight, for he has added to these one much more powerful than any of them. The attractiveness in the case of this work is much increased by the direct appeal to man's self-interest. The insects described are those from which man is ever anxious to keep the crops, in the raising of which he spends so much time, work, and skill.

"A feeble race! Yet oft
The sacred sons of vengeance, on whose course
Corrosive Famine waits, and kills the year."

How to keep the pests from destroying the produce of the season, is the problem put before the farmer. Mr Curtis comes to his help in this volume. If a remedy is to be supplied, the disease must be well known; if insects injurious to crops are to be killed, the farmer must know his enemies when he sees them, be acquainted with the various changes which they undergo in their progress to maturity and their habits while under these,—must know where to find them, and what weapons to use most successfully against them. Contrary to the conviction of kind, warm-hearted Uncle Toby, farmers have no wish to treat these insects as kindly as he did the renowned fly "which buzzed about his nose, and tormented him cruelly all dinner-time." They do not think that the "world is wide enough for themselves" and the insect pests. "I'll not hurt thee," says Uncle Toby, rising from his chair, and going across the room with the fly in his hand; "I'll not hurt a hair of thy head. Go," says he, lifting up the sash, and opening his hand, as he spoke, to let it escape, "Go, poor devil, get thee gone; why should I hurt thee? This world surely is wide enough to hold both thee and me!"

The crops especially liable to the ravages of insects are the turnip and corn crops. In addition to these, potatoes, pease, beans, rape, mangel-wurzel, carrots, clover, etc., suffer less or more from them annually; and during certain seasons some of them may be almost or wholly destroyed. The seasons and circumstances least favourable to the growth of any one of these crops, must always afford most opportunity for the ravages of injurious insects, just as the sickly human frame is ever most open to the inroads of prevailing diseases. Mr Curtis devotes four chapters to the natural history and economy of the insects which affect the turnip crops. These may not only be read with much profit by every practical agriculturist, but we are quite sure every student of scientific entomology will find them full of interest. Having given some attention to the subjects treated of, we are free to acknow-

ledge having gained much instruction in following Mr Curtis through the pages (more than a hundred) in which he deals specially with the turnip pests. His well-known skill as a first-rate entomologist, his dislike of assertion in regard to points which he has not fully investigated, his thorough acquaintance with the literature of his favourite science, and his readiness to give honour to whom honour is due, in regard to priority of observations, will all arrest the attention of the reader. These remarks on the pages devoted to the turnip fly are equally true of the injurious insects and caterpillars, referred to in connection with other crops.

When we took up this volume, we began to prepare an analysis of the topics referred to, but we soon found that justice could not be done to them in such a notice as we must now be satisfied with. Not only is the work one which deserves an elaborate review as a work of true science; it is one, moreover, which even the unscientific reader may study with profit. It ought to find a place in every intelligent agriculturist's library. Messrs Blackie have done a good work in putting it within the reach of farmers. We may add that the work is illustrated by admirable engravings on steel plates and on wood.

The Aquarian Naturalist. A Manual for the Sea-Side. By THOMAS RYMER JONES, F.R.S., etc. London: John Van Voorst.

THIS volume deserved sooner notice. It has not only lain long on our table, but it has been used. So that, if we have been long in directing the attention of our readers to it, now that we do so, we are in circumstances to speak decidedly of its merits. Professor Jones has here brought together a great amount of useful information for the sea-side student. Whether the present mode of writing popular hand-books will be found ultimately favourable to science itself, may, perhaps, be doubted. It will certainly lead to a more general interest in scientific subjects, and send many more forth to collect in favourite fields. But we fear the interest is so general as not to include in its range that painstaking application which the attainment of all substantial information demands. "Making collections" is in danger of being little more than a short-lived fashion, for those who are engaged in it seldom know more than the names of the most common species. Good, doubtless, results from all this; though it may not be in the direction of scientific progress. It is good to give "the habit of the eye"—to lead many forth into field and forest, to mountain and valley, to rill and river, and to the shallows on the sea-shore. Old and young are the better for it. They pick up health in the open air, and this reacts on their spiritual nature; they may even meet with one of those glimpses into the thoughts of a present Creator which sometimes, as if by accident, meet even the most unobserving when left alone amidst the works of God. But, while this is the case, we suspect there is some reason to believe that many, who might have become students in the highest sense, ever impressed with the attractiveness of sound information, and willing to face any amount of labour in order to attain it, have had the way made too plain for them, and have become contented to have others read for them what they would have been the

better of reading for themselves, and to have others observe for them, in order that they might have at second-hand what they ought to have mastered by the forthputting of direct personal energy. Thus, give a man almost any one branch, or even any one hundred branches, in natural history, and he will quote readily authorities which he has never seen, refer to facts which he has never taken the trouble to verify, and mention, as if from the personal point of view, experiences in the study of the works of God which have never in reality crossed his path. There may thus be a danger of making attainments too easy. The spirit of self-reliance in observing, of persevering waiting upon nature, and of willing toil in order to substantial knowledge, may be lost, and that which might be well fitted to discipline the whole mind may come to nourish its natural indolence. To very many it may seem the highest praise we can bestow on Professor Jones' work to rank it in the list of those which make the study of Marine Zoology too easy. There is some likelihood that, when *Miss Mary* and *Master Thomas* have glanced over it, they may hasten with collecting jars to the shore to fill the aquarium which fond paterfamilias has set up for them; and, when it is well stocked, the wondering parents may be called to listen to the young lady's remarks about "Sir John Dalyell's discoveries," or to the hopeful brother's correction, "You forget, sister! what you refer to is to be found in a remarkable paper by Quaterfages, in the '*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*,'" or, "The observation is recorded by Kölliker," while the accomplished Miss takes her revenge by adding, "Here is Professor Jones' '*Aquarian Naturalist*,' and you will find from it that we were both mistaken. He says that Van Beneden first noticed it." Let not any reader smile: the picture is from life.

We are glad, however, to observe the prominence given by Professor Jones to the late Sir John Dalyell's discoveries in Aquatic Zoology. He was among the first in Scotland who gave himself in earnest to the study of this branch of natural science, at a time when many obstacles had to be cleared away before a hearing could be got, even from men who, in other branches of zoology, were adding greatly to our knowledge of nature. His work on the "*Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland*" was the fruit of very great toil and expense; though it has found a place in our chief public libraries, it has not hitherto attained the wide circulation which its merits as a work of true science deserve. In one way, indeed, many of the facts first recorded by Sir John have become well known, even in the popular literature of Aquatic Zoology. They have been copied at first and at second-hand most freely, and all connection with the original source left out of view. It will form an evidence of true love for such studies, when a work like that of Sir John Dalyell's "*Rare and Remarkable Animals*" shall be sought for as a guide by students.

While Professor Jones is careful in pointing out authorities, he is, perhaps, too ready to accept alleged facts on the testimony of one witness. Thus says Sir John, in regard to the food of *Actinia*, "It is in the highest degree carnivorous. . . . The fiercest of the Crustacea . . . fall a prey to the *Actinia*."—("*Rare Animals*,"

p. 197, vol. ii.) And says Professor Jones, "The fiercest of the Crustacea . . . all fall a prey to Actinia."—P. 154. We pointed out some time ago, in this Journal, that there is good cause for believing Actinia will have nothing to do with crabs. Lewes, in "Seaside Studies," has called attention to this likewise, and with the same note. Sir John's sister, Miss Dalyell of Binns, a good naturalist, and Sir John's constant companion and partner in all his zoological studies, holds that her brother was not in error when he made the remark quoted above. Miss Dalyell says, in a letter, "I have seen Actinia swallow crabs, but it was by the merest accident. . . . What is there to prevent an Actinia eating a crab? If the shell is hard, it will suck the meat and then disgorge the shell, in the same manner as the mussel." We candidly reply, "We have seen Actinia habitually turn away as with disgust from active young crabs." We need scarcely add that we cordially recommend Professor Jones' able volume.

The Museum of Natural History ; being a Popular Account of the Structure, Habits, and Classification of the Various Departments of the Animal Kingdom. Glasgow and London : William Mackenzie.

EIGHT parts of this work have recently come under our notice. What the "Regne Animal," as edited by the illustrious disciples of Cuvier, is to scientific students, the enterprising publisher of the "Museum of Natural History" wishes it to be to popular readers. The realization of such a design implied many difficulties. It is possible to make a work of this kind too popular, even for the taste of the people. The demand for books in natural science, stripped of the nomenclature of science, is not so great as is often alleged. The fact is, that there is a widely-spread desire among intelligent classes, whose education has not included any of the learned tongues, to become acquainted with scientific terminology through means of the English language. This, among other most important aspects of instruction in natural history, is kept in view in the work before us. "Divided into sections," it has been appropriated as follows:—Mammalia—T. Spencer Cobbold, M.D., F.L.S. Birds—William S. Dallas, F.L.S. Fishes—Sir John Richardson, C.B., F.R.S. Reptiles, Mollusca, Infusoria, Radiata, etc.—William Baird, M.D., F.L.S. Entomology and Crustacea—Adam White, Esq., "of the British Museum." The names are a guarantee for the correct and substantial character of the information. We have carefully looked into the different parts, especially in regard to subjects associated with our own present studies, and have found them treated in a peculiarly lucid and correct way. The work is illustrated with numerous engravings on steel and wood, from drawings by Charles Landseer, F.O. Finch, N. J. Holmes, etc. These are generally exceedingly characteristic, and must convey to readers well defined impressions of the forms of life sketched. In one or two examples, we think the effect might have been more successful. Thus, as to colour, *Sturnus Vulgaris* is too green. Even when this bird is seen at ease, on a branch in bright sunlight, the sheen on his glossy feathers is never so high-coloured. His bill, too, tapers over much, and looks liker the bill of the leading members of the Sylviadæ than of *Sturnus*. As to

form, it strikes us that the figure of *Rollulus Cristatus* conveys to the reader the impression that this bird is much larger than it is. But these are very small matters indeed. The anatomical figures are excellent. The work is one of sterling merit. It is not unworthy of such names as Dallas, Richardson, Baird, and White, and it speaks most favourably to the enterprise and commercial energy of the publisher. It deserves all success.

Englische Geschichte vornehmlich in Sechszehnter u. siebzehnten Jahrhundert.

VON LEOPOLD RANKE. Erster Band. Berlin: Duncker u. Humblot. 1859. Pp. 606.

FROM Germany and France, Ranke has now turned to England. In the first volume of his history, now before us, he displays the same extent of research, largeness of views, and impartiality of treatment, which made his former works so acceptable to the historical student. He embraces the Tudors and the first Stuart in the present instalment of his work, sketching in a preliminary book the course of the English annals until the death of the last Plantagenet. The connection and involvement of English with Continental history is ably traced throughout. Ranke is, however, we think, somewhat too much of the old school of historians in not paying sufficient attention to the state and progress of the people. The court, camp, and cabinet take up his attention too much, to the exclusion of the plough and the workshop. The age of guilds was quite as deserving of notice as the later era of factories. The countryman of Hans Sachs and Albert Dürer should not have fallen into this mistake. Nor has he sufficiently noticed the literary aspect of the Reformation and early Puritan period. The German historian might have been expected to have noticed works so remarkable from their passing interest, and from closing the first era of Scottish song, as the "Cardinal" and the "Monarchie" of Lyndsay. For Ranke, Scott's words do not hold good:—

"Still is thy name of high account,
And still thy verse has charms."

Again, a series of productions so memorable in the history of the Puritans as the Martin Mar, Prelate Tracts, the satire *Menippée* of England, should have received at least a passing notice. A few inaccuracies may be mentioned. Ranke somewhat antedates the raising of the Prior of St Andrews to the Earldom of Moray. The influence of Knox in regard to the destruction of the ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland is exaggerated. Knox's own expression of "the rascall multitude" has been overlooked. On the other hand, from more mature consideration of some not unimportant points, Ranke is able to correct even so accurate a writer as Hallam. Two very admirable parts of the book are the unfolding of the progress of the separation of England from Rome in Henry's time, beginning with the importance attached to the views of those canonists, who held that such a marriage as his with Catherine could not, even by a Pope, be made valid; and the tracing of the different parts of the foreign policy of James I. in the period of his reign when the Cecil interest prevailed. The latest authorities have been turned to account. Froude has been carefully

read, but Ranke's estimate of Henry differs widely from that formed by his accomplished advocate. The last chapter in the fourth book, and the concluding one of the volume, is on the Elizabethan literature. With some good thoughts, it is not very satisfactory. The theological and other prose literature of that Augustine age of our country has been apparently only superficially studied by Ranke. From Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, and Marsden's *Puritans*, perused together, the general reader will get a far better view of the subject than from the book before us. Those who are accustomed to consider German books as in appearance somewhat between the cheap newspaper and the brown paper parcel, will be astonished at the externals of the volume. The paper and typography are admirable; for Germany they are superb.

Storia dei Mussulmani in Sicilia. Scritta da MICHELE AMARI. Volume Secondo. Firenze. Le Monnier. Pp. 561.

Ricordi Biographici e Carteggio di Vincen Gioberti. Raccolti per cura di G. MOSSARI. Tomo primo. Torino.

We have classed these two books together as the productions of men who have toiled and suffered in that cause of Italian freedom which has now, we trust, begun permanently to triumph. Amari has not, in his present subject, one admitting of the popular interest in treatment which was supplied by his former work on the Sicilian Vespers. He has aspired to do for the Sicilian Mahometans what had been effected for their more distinguished Spanish co-religionists by Condé. The present volume embraces the period of their greatest glory, as the succeeding will contain the era of their decline and giving way to the Normans. M. Amari occasionally shows a narrow spirit when treating of non-Romanist Christians. A more careful revisal would have prevented names being differently spelt in different places, and repetitions of narrative occurring. But these are small defects when compared with the thoroughness of research, the fulness of information, and the interest thrown alike around the civil, the military, and the literary topics embraced. From Arabian, Italian, and French sources, M. Amari has largely drawn and carefully selected. German and English authorship on this theme has not been so freely resorted to.

Gioberti did not live, as Amari has done, to witness the merging of Sardinia in a united Northern Italy. He died in exile in 1852. But none among the Italians of this century has contributed more to prepare the way for the present state of matters in the Italian Peninsula. The author of the "Modern Jesuit" heralded the revolt of his native country from ultramontanism. The present biography is in connection with a complete edition of the works of the Piedmontese philosopher. As yet it only comes down to 1838; but the care and affection which mark its composition, lead us to anticipate even greater pleasure from the remaining volume, which will embrace the events of 1848, Gioberti's Ministry at Turin, and his latter days of exile. The lovers of Italian liberty, the friends of philosophical speculation, the well-wishers to a liberalized Romanism, will all find much to interest in M. Mossari's meritorious publication. Sardinia has made large advances indeed since the period when its first eminent man of letters,

Alfieri, found its atmosphere too intellectually stifling to admit of his living there. To military renown, always its characteristic, the more peaceful glories of intellect have been, in fair proportion to other divisions of the Peninsula, added during the present century.

Historie des Classes Laborieuses en France, depuis la Conquete de la Gaule par Jules César jusqu' à nos Jours. Par M. F. DU CELLIER. Paris, Didier et Cie. 1860. Pp. VII. and 479.

ONLY within the last two generations has the history of the working classes in Britain been specially treated. Their Revolution, introducing the same period, has likewise directed the French mind to the topic. M. Du Cellier has ably shown how little the declamations of the last century in favour of the people were based upon thorough knowledge. He has throughout treated his important subject with calmness of investigation, as well as breadth of research. Neither political extreme in this country, nor in any other, will resort to his pages, to find easy material of declamation or invective. To his general impartiality almost the only exception is his undervaluing the educational and benevolent, while admitting the preaching and writing activity of the French Protestants. If they were so deficient as he alleges, how were there so many edicts issued by the king and the provincial parliaments against Huguenot schools? M. Du Cellier has particularised the religious reaction against Montaigne and the classicism of the Renaissance, which the Oratorians, the Sorbonne, and the Jesuits produced. Without too minutely scrutinizing on this point, it is to be wished that he had given more attention to such works as Drion, De Felice, and others, on the Protestant side. But it is more pleasing to advert to the generally well-proportioned character of the book. It is divided into sixteen chapters, of which the first three treat of the Ancient, the next five of the Medieval, and the remainder of the Modern sections of his subject. While he has had recourse to the original authorities, classical, middle-age, and others, he has also carefully studied such contemporary writers as Guizot and De Broglie, who have investigated particular sections of his theme. M. Du Cellier gives brief but sufficient information as to the extent in which the current literature of France, in different ages, has influenced the working man. He has well shown how thoroughly the lower classes participated in the fierce passions of the League, and how far, at a period somewhat earlier, the higher orders were from being alone guilty in the Bartholomew Night. To descend to more modern events, the concluding chapters on the Restoration, the Monarchy of July, and the Republic of 1848, severely test his impartiality. But he stands the trial. The one-sidedness of French Conservatives and Liberals—the breach between the *bourgeoisie* and the *ouvriers*, leading to the expulsion of that monarch who was the impersonation of the former; the readiness of all but a comparatively limited section of the latter to be led away by Communistic delusions, are clearly and fully unfolded. Not a page of mere sentiment, not a paragraph of idle rhetoric, deforms the volume. From what in this country are termed the French faults of style, the book is thoroughly

free. His manly protest against the enervating literature of the day is admirable in its tone and touch. Free as it is from all exaggerating favouritism of topic, the volume of M. Du Cellier is worthy of the careful perusal of all who wish to know the points of comparison and of contrast between the past state and present position of the French workman, urban or rural, and his compeer on this side the Channel. Doubtless the author has, on principle, excluded them; but we confess we should have liked the insertion of some of the songs, and axioms, and anecdotes, which labour has in every age liked to employ in its own service at the expense of capital. The work would have gained thus in *piquancy*, and would not have lost in truthfulness. The statesman, the philanthropist, the man who has raised himself, the man who hopes to rise, alike are appealed to in this work. Though an inexpensive book, it is issued with all the elegance which, even in closely printed volumes as this, invariably characterizes the Didier press. Few French works of our day are more worthy of a rendering into English.

De Villahermosa a China. Colloquios de la Vida intima. Par NICODÉMES PASTOR DIAZ. Madrid. 1859.

Pastor Diaz is by birth a Gallician. Bred to the law, he early gave literary promise. On his first coming to the Spanish capital, he was kindly received by the literary veteran Quintana, who introduced him to intellectual society. His first literary efforts were poetical. His "Ode to the Moon," published in the Madrid "Artista" in 1836, first gained for him a decided reputation as a lyric poet. A few years afterwards he collected from periodicals his pieces into a volume. Like a number of other literary men in the Peninsula, he has occupied himself with politics. He has been a deputy to the Cortes, a Minister, and ambassador at Turin. The book before us, his latest work, is a novel of modern life, in which a number of moral and psychological questions are discussed. Less distinctively Spanish than his fair rival Fernan Caballero, he has not attracted so numerous an audience in his native country, nor can he count upon so largely as she is entitled to do the appreciation of foreigners. But those who prefer in prose fiction to have their intellect as well as their imagination and feelings appealed to, will peruse with pleasure the work of M. Pastor Diaz. It may be hoped that, now that the national honour has been satisfied by the successful termination of the Morocco war, the inhabitants of the Pyrenean Peninsula, as the Germans call it, will cultivate more successfully the liberal arts. At present the temper of this country seems to be to pet Italy at the expense of Spain. But a more general acquaintance with the literature of the latter would show that the land of Cervantes and Calderon has still the materials for a distinguished intellectual career. The organs of public opinion have been led tacitly to recall the disparaging statements which, at the beginning of the late war, they made about the Spanish army. The works of such writers as Caballero and Pastor Diaz, if studied, would be found as adapted to reverse hasty judgments, as the brilliant military services of O'Donnell and his gallant fellow-generals. It is to be regretted that, among us, so few, except Romanist clergymen, attracted by such able but sectional

writers as Balmez and Donoso Cortes, should pay attention to the tongue in which the best known of prose fictions has been written. Spanish was the study of our literary men in our Augustan era. More remote from our ordinary rules of thought and expression than either French or German, it is, in this respect, a more useful mental occupation than either. The "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" keeps before the highest French mind, with impartiality and critical power, the literary productions of Spain, as well as its compeer and rival in the other South Europe Peninsula.

Le Chancelier D'Aguesseau ; Sa Conduite et ses Idées Politiques. Par M. FRANCIS MONNIER, Professor au College Rollin. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1860. Pp. 499.

A SERIES of able articles in the *Moniteur* on D'Aguesseau lately appeared from the pen of M. Oscar de Vallée. A more complete work on the famous Chancellor has now been issued by Professor Monnier. It is a book of permanent value, through extent of research and carefulness of narrative. The fortunes of the eminent legal family from which Francois D'Aguesseau was descended have been carefully, but not in a disproportionate manner, considered. The book is divided into three parts, of which the first treats of D'Aguesseau's history till his accession to the Chancellorship in 1717. The second embraces the period which elapsed between his thus reaching the summit of his professional career, and his second exile in 1722. The third comprehends the twenty-nine years between that date and his death. M. Monnier has accurately shown the real merits of the great Chancellor, and has neither disguised nor explained away his occasional weaknesses in action. He has carefully abated the somewhat vague and rhetorical eulogies which the less accurately informed of modern French liberals have passed upon D'Aguesseau. Not aiming at brilliancy, M. Monnier has yet produced a book of great interest, in which the political and social life of France in the first half of the eighteenth century is ably depicted. The state in which D'Aguesseau found French law, his views as to its reform, and the manner in which his legal designs and efforts have been adopted or modified by succeeding jurists, are clearly and freely unfolded. A good selection is given of the chief causes with which, as pleader or as judge, his name is associated. But there is no section of the work which can reasonably be regarded as dry by a non-professional reader. To the more public matters treated of, a fine relief is afforded by the well-chosen details about the Chancellor's country life at Fresnes, and an account of his writings on subjects not connected with the law. The book is an important contribution to the history of that pre-revolutionary period, on which MM. de Tocqueville, de Carné, and others, have recently written so fully and with such interest. The favourable opinion of such judges as Cousin and Barthélemy St Hilaire, encouraged M. Monnier to this publication. We hope that the reception of his book will be such as to render him independent of anything more than suggestions from his literary friends in regard of any future work.

INDEX

TO THE

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME OF THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

Amari's, Michele, account of the Sicilian Mahometans, 555.

Australian Ethnology, 366-368—Dr Latham's varieties of the human family, 369-371—Hon. T. M'Combie's report regarding the aborigines of Victoria, 272—the physical geography of the Oceanic Archipelago, 373-375—Victoria colony, 376—the aborigines of Australia, 377-380—educational aspects, 381-386—whence have the aborigines derived their language, 387-388.

Austria—see Protestants, persecutions of.

Babbage, Mr, on the employment of coloured papers for printing, 147.

Bohemia, execution of distinguished insurgents, 96—cruelties by Romish nobles, 96—sufferings of Protestants, 97—St John Nepomuk, 97—overthrow of the Protestants by Count Fappenheim, 98.

Brewster's, Sir David, observations on colour, 135—new lenses, 497.

British Lighthouse system, 487—delivery of select committee of House of Commons in 1834, 488—private individuals the proprietors of lighthouses, 489—Captain Cotton's statement, 489—English lighthouses, 490—Scotch, 490, 491—management of Irish lighthouses, 491—list of Irish lighthouses, 492—inequality of light dues, 493, 494—sum collected as light dues, 495—sketch of Scotch lighthouses, 496—Sir D. Brewster's lenses, 497—consequence of rejecting the dioptric system, 499—varieties of distinguishing lights, 500, 501—Mr Stevenson's report, 502—dangerous character of lights employed, 503—Sir D. Brewster and Sir J. Herschell read papers to the Royal Society, 504—analysis of Mr A. Stevenson's evidence, 504, 505—his reply to the "Edinburgh Review," 506—Bell Rock lights still dangerous, 507—the holophota light, 508—Messrs Stevenson's report to the Board of Trade, 509, 510—proceedings of the Scottish Board, 511—Sir David Brewster's correspondence with the Commissioners, 512—Mr Macconochie's letter to Sir David Brewster, 512—lighthouses placed under the control of Trinity House, 513—list of lighthouse instruments, 514—further improvements still demanded, 515—ample powers invested in commissioners, 515—suggestions offered to commissioners, 516—importance of the merchant shipping interest, 517—public apathy regarding lighthouse officials, 518—responsibility of lighthouse administration, 519.

Bryce, Dr James, on the geology of Clydesdale and Arran, 273—ancient canoes dug up in Glasgow, 274—fallacies in Dr Bryce's work, 275-277.

Buchanan, Rev. Dr, on the Book of Ecclesiastes, 279, 280.

Bunting, Dr Jabez, Life of—see Wesleyan Methodism.

Caballero, Fernan, works of, 266—character of her writings, 267.

Campbell, Thomas, Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of, 287—true idea of biography, 288-290—the poet's parentage, 291, 292—his childhood, 293—juvenile pieces, 294, 295—early religious impressions, 295—anecdote of the poet, 296, n—enters college, 296—progress, 297, 298—interest in public events, 299—poem, 300—depression in adolescence, 301—becomes a private tutor, 302, 303—engagements as a copying clerk, 304—first literary engagement, 305—publication of the "Pleasures of Hope," 306—visits Germany and England, 308—death of his father, 309—arrested on a charge of high treason, 309—dealings with his family, 312—London life, 311—marriage with his cousin, 312—is pensioned by Government, 313—appointed editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*—elected Lord Rector of Glasgow College, 314—decline, 315—death, 316—his sincerity of impression, 317—his earnestness, 319, 320.

Cellier's, M. F. du, history of the working classes in France from the conquest of that country by Cæsar, to the present time, 556—alleged deficiency of Protestant teaching, 556—tendency of French literature, 556.

Ceylon and the Singhalese, 188—Point de Galle, 188—its physical features, 189-191—historical records, 192—ancient history, 193, 194—medieval history, 195—Portuguese rule, 196—the Dutch settle in Ceylon, 197—falls into the hands of the British in 1796—a governor appointed, 198; Singhalese duplicity, 199—revenge, 199—climate, 201-203—zoology, 204-211—geese, 212, 213—social life, 214—ichthyology, 215—elephant hunting, 216-220—Adam's Peak, 220, 221—snakes, 222.

Chevalier's, M. Pitre, ancient Brittany, 268.

Church and State—the spiritual and civil courts, 416—different theories of the relation between them, 416-418—impossibility of identifying them, 419, 420—alliance implies not identity, but distinctness, 421—they differ in their origin, and in respect of their members, 422—

- also in respect of the powers they possess and employ, 423—in regard to the matters with which they have to deal, 424—distinction implies mutual independence, 425—the distinction founded in nature, 427, 428—independence of Church the same as liberty of conscience, 429, 430—office of the Church ministerial, 431, 432—equal toleration for churches as for individuals, 433, 434—connection between civil and religious liberty, 435, 436—Lord Mansfield's judicial opinion, 437—the principle on which he founds his interpretation of the Toleration Act, 438—things spiritual and civil known to the law, 439—two points to be inquired by the magistrate, 440, 441—independence of churches by common law, 442, 443—forms necessary by judicial procedure, 444—informality of procedure no ground for State interference, 445—civil interests affected by spiritual proceedings, 446, 447—remedy in cases of civil wrong, 449, 450—independence of Church not founded on contrast, 451—contracts are partly spiritual and partly civil, 452–453.
- Coast Defences and Rifle Corps, 26—military career of Sir J. F. Burgoyne, 27—his essays, 28—letter of the late Duke of Wellington regarding our coast defences, 29—the navies of France and England, 30—our militia, 31, 32—volunteer corps, 33—floating defences, 35—army estimates and military establishments, 36, 37—employment of soldiers in the construction of fortifications, 38, 39—staff appointments—relative merits of ship and shore batteries, 40—Sir J. Burgoyne's scheme for the defence of Constantinople, 41—the Crimea, 42—army administration, 43—military detail, 44—the educational element, 45, 46.
- Cobra de Capello, 206.
- "Colloquies" of Erasmus, 60—the false knight, 60—"Charon," 61—the soldier, 62—saint-worship and confession, 63—"child's piety," 64—the Apostle's Creed, 65, 66.
- Congress, general scientific, 264—utility of a general scientific congress, 264—Hand-Book of the British Association, 265—patronage of men of high rank required, 266.
- D'Aguesseau's life, 558.
- Darwin, Charles, on the origin of species, 455—his facts in proof, 457, 458—Cuvier and Agassiz's theories, 459—final causes, 460, 461—definitions of species, 462, 463—genera and differentia, 464, *n.*—variation under domestication, 465—the subject of reversion, 466—experiments with goats, 467, *n.*—Mr Pritchard's examples, 467, 468—M. Roulin's observations on the oxen of South America, 468, *n.*—permanent varieties, 469—mixed races, 470, 471—man's selection, 471—species are not immutable, 473—the struggle for existence, 475–477—extravagant theories, 478, 479—Mr Darwin's principles of natural selection and of divergence, 480—on difficulties, and on transitional varieties, 481–483—instinct and hybridism, 484—Sir C. Lyell adheres to Mr Darwin's views, 485—character of Mr Darwin's work, 486.
- Dawson, Dr, studies of the cosmogony and natural history of the Hebrew Scriptures, 545—contents of the book, 545—views on the creation, 546—remarks on Genesis i. 5—the pre-Adamic world, 547—the Sabbath, 547, 548.
- Diaz's, M. Pastor, novel of modern life, 557.
- Dues levied for the support of lighthouses, 493–495.
- Elephant hunting in Ceylon, 216.
- English lighthouses, tabular list of, 490.
- Erasmus as a satirist, 49—at Oxford, 50—is influenced by Colet, 51, 52—departs for Italy, 53—writes the "Praise of Folly," 54—satire on the schoolmen, 55—morals of popes and clergy, 56—indulgences and saint-worship, 57—wordly prospects, 58—religious writings, 59—the Colloquies, 60–65—Erasmus' last words, 67.
- Europe, state of, 520—continental powers indebted to England for the growth of freedom since 1815—aspect of affairs in Italy, 521—fruits of the thirty years' peace between England and France, 522—alliances of England with continental states, 523—general arming of European powers, 523—policy of Napoleon III., 524—causes which led to the Villafranca treaty, 524, 525—the secret treaty with the King of Sardinia, 525—conduct of the French Emperor when signing the treaty of Villafranca, 525—retirement of M. de Cavour, 526—anomalous position of the French ambassador, 526—the 92d article of the congress of Vienna, 527—international treaties, 528—the Savoy question, 528—home government by Napoleon III., 529—what ought to be the aim of our foreign policy, 530—geographical and political position of France, 530—public character of Napoleon III., 531—French railways, 531—great increase in the commerce of France, 532—its agriculture, 533—probable results of the new commercial treaty, 534—population of France, 534—her army and navy, 535—Germanic Confederation, 536—position of Prussia, 537, 538—Austria necessary for the balance of power in Europe, 539—extract from M. de Szeméré's work, 540, 541—statistics on population, 542–544.
- Form and Colour—see Sir J. G. Wilkinson.
- Fossil Footprints—see Hitchcock, Professor.
- Friends, Society of, essays on, 321, 322—struggle between the formal and spiritual, 323, 324—George Fox begins to preach,

- 325—W. Penn's opinion of him, 325, 326—mental conflicts of Fox, 327—jottings from his journal, 328—330—extraordinary document addressed to Fox, 329, *n.*—system of discipline, 331—revival of all sects during the eighteenth century, 333—doings of the Friends, 334—imperfect views regarding the pastoral office, 335—silent meetings, 336, 337—causes tending to the decrease of Quakerism, 338—their peculiarities, 339—eager pursuit of riches, 340, 341—laws regarding marriage, 342—is the sect likely to revive, 343.
- Gioberti's, Vincen, biography of, 554.
Glasgow Volunteers, the, poem by Thomas Campbell, 300.
- Heine's, Henrich, complete poems, 389—Mr Bowring's biographical sketch, 389, 390—poem on the reminiscences of his Hamburg life, 390, 391—visits England, 391—the Ex-watchman, 392—Heine pensioned by the French Government, 393—illness and death, 394, 395—evening gossip, 395—style of Mr Bowring's translation, 396, 397—specimens of the translations, 398—401—Heine influenced by the writings of De Larra, 401—has certain points of resemblance to Leopardi, 403—defective renderings, 403—406—Friederike, 407—satirical pieces, 409—411—the poet Ferdusi, 412—Heine's criticisms, 413.
- Hitchcock's, Professor E., fossil footprints, 247—fossil marks accidentally discovered at South Hadley in 1802, 248—Dr Duncan of Ruthwell's directs attention to fossil footprints in Dumfriess-shire, 248—Dr Buckland's theory regarding Dr Duncan's discoveries, 248—Professor Owen on the footprints of birds, 249, 250—organic remains of the Connecticut sandstone, 251, 252—economical bearings of palæontology, 253—review of Professor's Hitchcock's work, 254—difficulties, 255, 256—trap agency, 257—footprints afford good grounds for determining to what class the animal belonged, 258—position of the footprints, 259—Professor Hitchcock on the formation of the sandstone of the Connecticut valley, 259—zoology and botany of that valley, 261, 262—rival claims, 263.
- History, the museum of natural, 553.
- Hungary, the reformation in, 99—the Jesuite Peter Pazmann, 100—Leopold I., 100—execution of Tattenbach, 102—military occupation proclaimed, 103—Protestant officials summoned to Presburg, 103—the minister Lobkowitz, 103—Hungarian exiles return to their native land, 104—Emeric Tekeli, 104—league with the Turks and Hungarians, 105—John Sobieski, 105, 106—the Hungarian revolt crushed, 107.
- India, essays on, 345—the brothers Lawrence, 346—extracts from Sir Henry's essay of 1846, 347—is opposed to the annexation of Oude, 348—has an intimate knowledge of native character, 349—motives of native rulers in making public works, 350—Sir Henry's report for the years 1850, 1851—Punjab administration, 351, 352—system of jurisprudence, 353—agricultural and general improvements, 354, 355—financial results, 356—strategical importance of the Punjab, 357—the Indian army, 358, 359—army reform, 360—363— orphan asylum, 364—his influence for good, 365.
- Insects, the natural history and economy of farm, 549—how crops are to be preserved from the ravages of insects, 550—crops liable to their attacks, 550.
- Irish Lighthouses in 1834, list of, 492.
- Jesuits, History of the, 269.
- Jones', T. S., manual for the sea-shore, 551—Sir John Dalyell's aquatic zoology, 552.
- Latham's, Dr, varieties of the human race, 369—372.
- Lawrence, Sir Henry—see India.
- Leopold I. of Austria, 100, 101.
- Lights, suggestions on, 516.
- Macpherson's, Rev. John, philological system delineated, 270—statement in Genesis xi. 7, 271—on pronunciation, 271.
- Man, pre-Adamite, 548—Gen. i. and ii., 549.
- Manchester, prayer-meetings in, 174.
- Methodism—see Wesleyan Methodism.
- Military education, 45—Sir John Burgoyne disapproves of examination with regard to general education, 45—education of officers, 46—military educational establishments, 47.
- Miller, Mr Hugh, on the organic remains of the Connecticut sandstone, 252.
- Monnier's, M. Francis, life of the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, 558.
- Mossari's, G., life of Gioberti, 554.
- Neaves', Lord, opinion of Dr Wilson, 236.
- Owen, Prof., the footprints of birds, 249, 250.
- Page's, David, Geological Terms, 278.
- Penn's, W., estimate of G. Fox, 325, 326.
- "Praise of Folly, The," 54—58.
- Pritchard's, Mr, remarks on the original stocks of domesticated animals, 467, 468.
- Protestant, persecutions of, by the Austrian Government, 90—character of M. Michiels' history, 91—scope of Spanish literature, 92—Ferdinand I. urges reform in the Romish Church, 93—Romanist reaction in Austria, 94, 95—persecutions in Bohemia, 96—98—the thirty years' war, 98—the reformation in Hungary, 99—diet of Presburg, 101—dealings of Austria with Hungaria, 102—104—Gustavus Adolphus—John Sobieski, 105—Tekeli, 106—persecution in Salzburg, 107—French influ-

- ence, 109—social state of Austria in the eighteenth century, 109—the Empress Maria Theresa, 110—Prince von Kaunitz, 111—Riegger, 113—Sonnenfels, 115—Joseph II. grants toleration, 115—he suppresses monasteries and nunneries, 116—Josephism, 117, 118—Lombardy in 1792, 119—wars with Napoleon, 120—Austrian policy in 1813, 121—the future of Austria, 122, 123—Austrian statistics, 124.
- Quakerism—see Friends, Society of.
- Ranke's von Leopold, history of England, 554.
- Récamier, Madame, 1—the institution "salon," 1, 2—French and English modes of seeking amusement, 3—French gambling, 4, 5—Madame Récamier's social position—her pliant nature, 7—fête of 10th December 1797, 9, 10—meets the First Consul, 11, 12—arrest of Madame Récamier's father, 13—his offence, 14—dishonest politicians, 15—M. Bernard released, 16—M. Fouche's overtures, 17—Madame Récamier's refusal, 18—bal masque, 19—intrigues, 20—M. Récamier's bankruptcy, 21—French society, 22–25.
- Redding, Mr Cyrus—see Campbell, Thomas.
- Revival Literature, 280—revivals in post-apostolic times, 282—in Britain and America, 283, 284—notice of the different works, 284, 285.
- Rifle Corps—see Coast Defences.
- Salzburg, persecution of Protestants in, 107—they receive aid from neighbouring princes, 108.
- Scotch Lighthouses, list of, 490, 491.
- Scripture, the silence of, 68—negative internal evidence, 69—silence as to the nativity, 71, 72—were the Evangelists illiterate? 73—their social position, 74—Jewish and Christian festivals, 75—Romish festivals, 77, &c.—silence regarding the infancy and youth of Jesus, 77–80—legends regarding his infancy, 80, 81—early life, 82—personal appearance, 82, 83—the scope of the Evangelists writings, 83, 84—import of the negative evidence, 85–87—value of the silent evidence, 88, 89.
- Singhalese—see Ceylon.
- Smith, Professor, on the present state of the longitude question, 285, 286.
- Species, the origin of—see Darwin, Charles.
- State—see Church and State.
- Stevenson's Mr, report on lights, 502.
- Stevenson, Mr A., analysis of evidence before the Lighthouse Committee of House of Commons, 504, 505.
- Trinity House, lighthouses placed under the control of, 513.
- Victoria colony, description of, 376.
- Wesleyan Methodism, 159—its influence on society, 160—its rise in England, 161—persecutions, 162—progress, 162—Wesley's adherence to the Church of England, 164, 165—labours of the Wesleyan preachers, 166, 167—Wesleyanism in 1790, 168—after Wesley, 169—Jabez Bunting, 170—his parentage, 171—early training, 172—studies for the medical profession, 173—prayer meetings in Manchester, 174—Bunting becomes a local preacher, 175—resolves to abandon the study of medicine—completes his term of probation, 175—is offered Episcopal orders and an incumbency—rejects the overtures, 176—the question of matrimony discussed, 177—correspondence, 178—notice of several of the London ministers, 179—appointment of finance committee, 179—Manchester circuit, 181—Sheffield circuit, 182—the ecclesiastical policy of Bunting, 183—establishment of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 183—general view of his life, 184–187.
- Whitefield, mental conflict of, 328, &c.
- Wilkinson, Sir J. G., on the harmony and contrast of colours, 126; Goethe's Farbenlehre, 126; M. Chevreux's discoveries, 128—simultaneous contrast of colours, 129—Sir J. G. Wilkinson's birth and parentage, 131—purposes to enter the army, 131—visits Egypt, 132, 133—is knighted by her Majesty in 1839—visits Egypt in 1855, 133—list of his published works, 134—Sir D. Brewster's observations on colour, 135—effect of distance given by colour, 136—colours of individual flowers not in harmony, 137—the Italians have a true perception of the harmony of colours, 138—coloured glass windows, 139–144—classification of colours, 145, 146—Mr Babbage on printing upon coloured papers, 147—necessary conditions for harmonious colouring, 148, 149—the harmony of complimentary colours, 151—on taste in ornamental design, 151, 152—examples of bad taste in works of art, 153—on the decoration of houses, 154—on the propriety of colouring statues, 155—on dressed and geometrical gardens, 156—the social value of the diffusion of taste, 157.
- Wilson, the late Professor George, works of, 223–226—parentage, 226—education, 227—visits London, 228—lectures on chemistry, 229—undergoes amputation of the foot, 229—letter to Professor Simpson, 230—religious convictions, 232, 233—failing health, 234—appointed to the chair of Technology, 235—subjects discussed, 236—a member of learned societies, 238—letters, 238–271 death, 242—writings, 242–246.
- Zoology of Ceylon—birds, 204—cheiroptera, 205—cerastes, 206–209.

